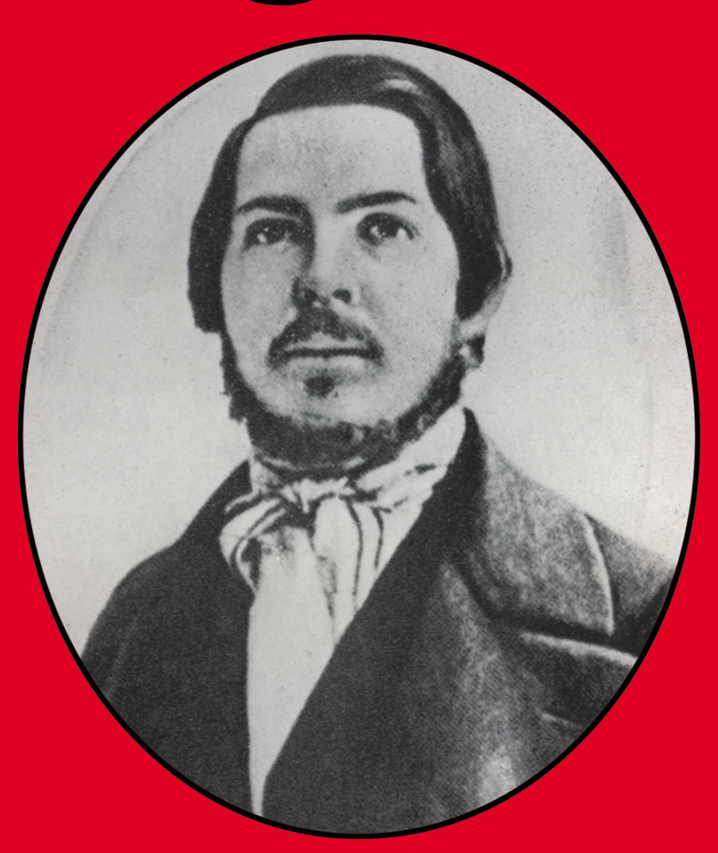
Volume One

The Life of Friedrich ENGELS



W.O. Henderson

THE LIFE OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Other Works on Friedrich Engels by W. O. Henderson:

Engels: Selected Writings, edited by W. O. Henderson (Penguin Books, 1967)

Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England, by Friedrich Engels, with an introduction by W. O. Henderson (Verlag J. H. W. Dietz, Hanover, 1965)

"Friedrich Engels in Manchester", by W. O. Henderson, in *Friedrich Engels 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1971)

"The Firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester", by W. O. Henderson in *Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondez*, Heft 11/12, pp. 1–10, April, 1971

Books and Articles by Friedrich Engels translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner:

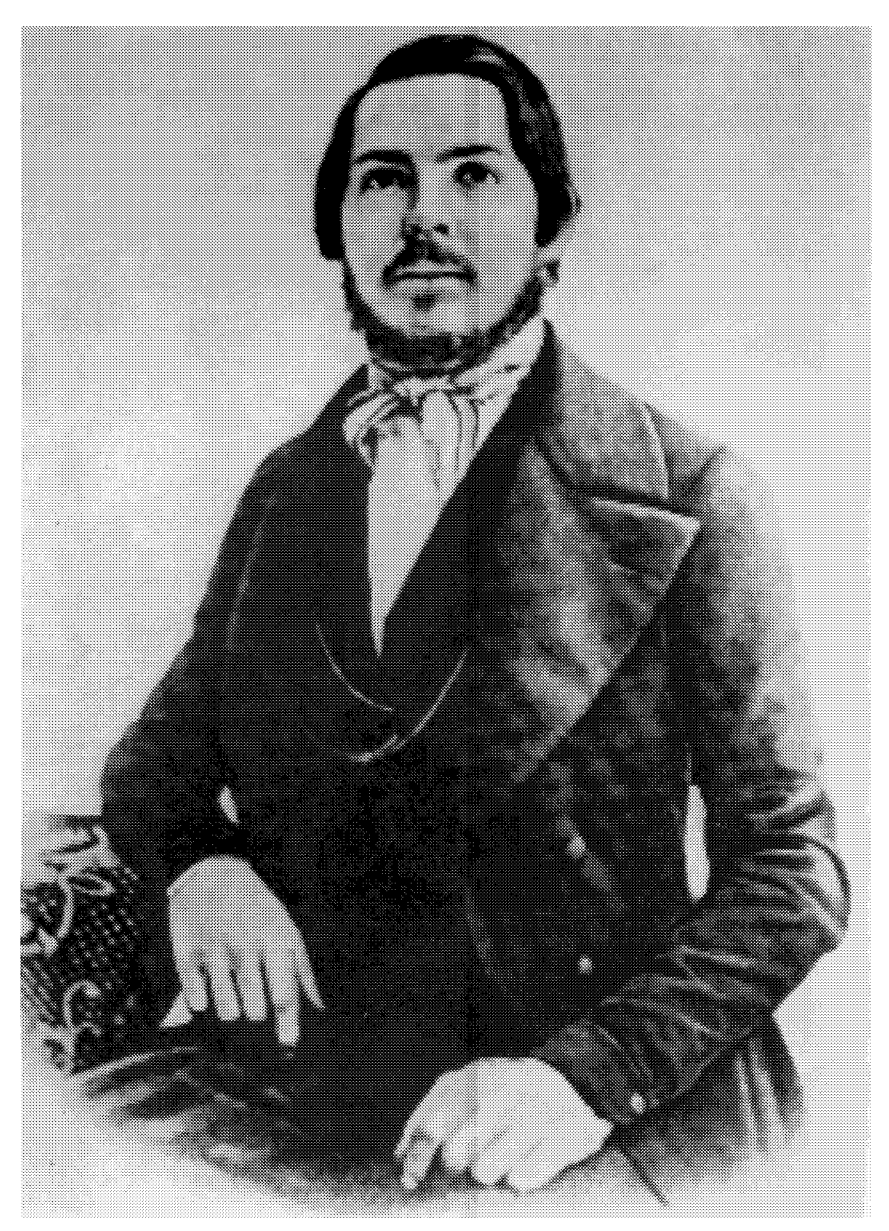
Condition of the Working Class in England, by Friedrich Engels (Basil Blackwell, 1958; new edition 1970; Stanford University Press, 1968)

Friedrich Engels as Military Critic (Manchester University Press, 1959)

By W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner:

"Friedrich Engels in Manchester" (*Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. 98, Session 1956–7)

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Friedrich Engels at the age of 25, 1845

The Life of Friedrich Engels

W. O. Henderson

In two volumes

VOLUME I



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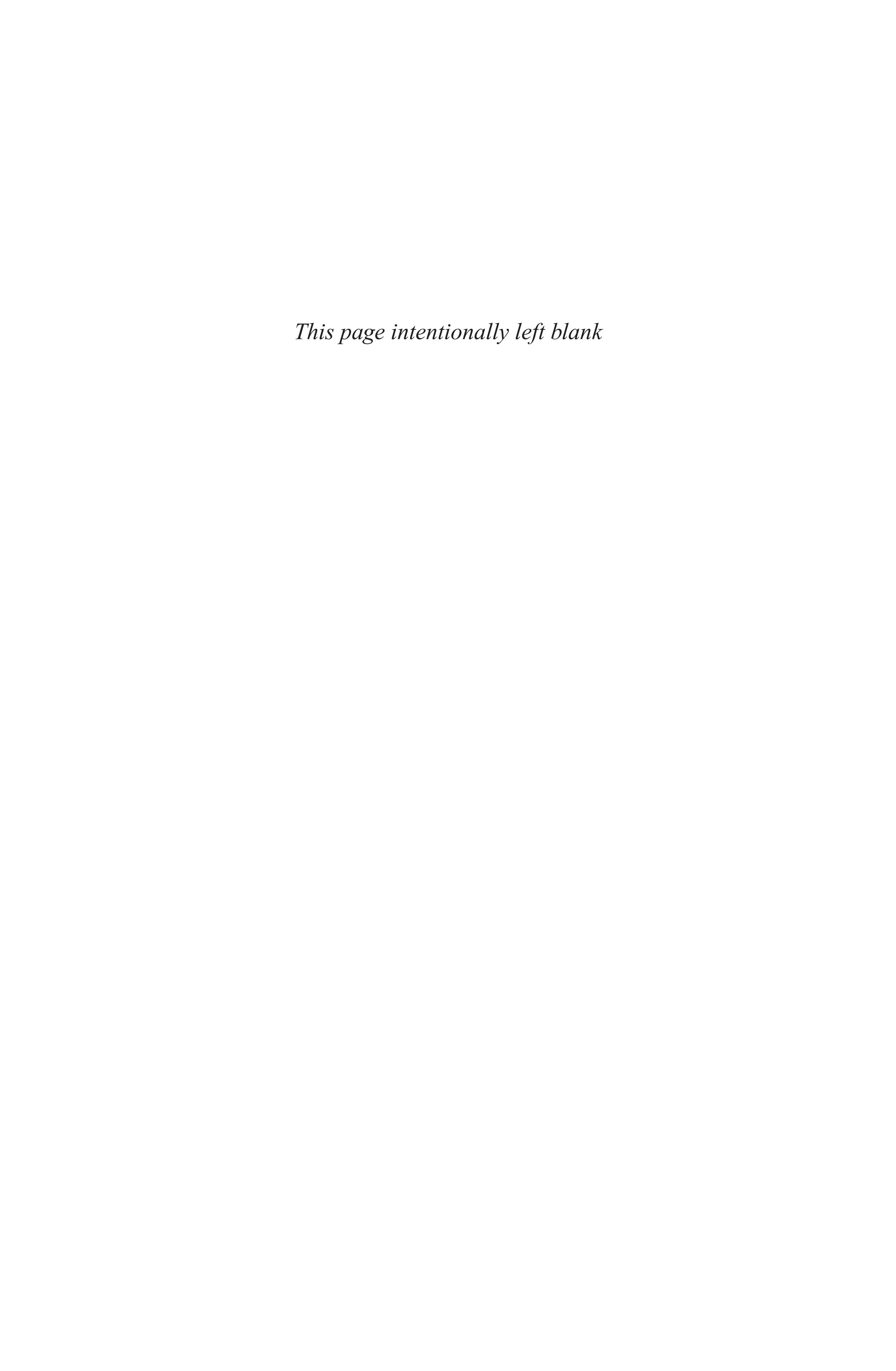
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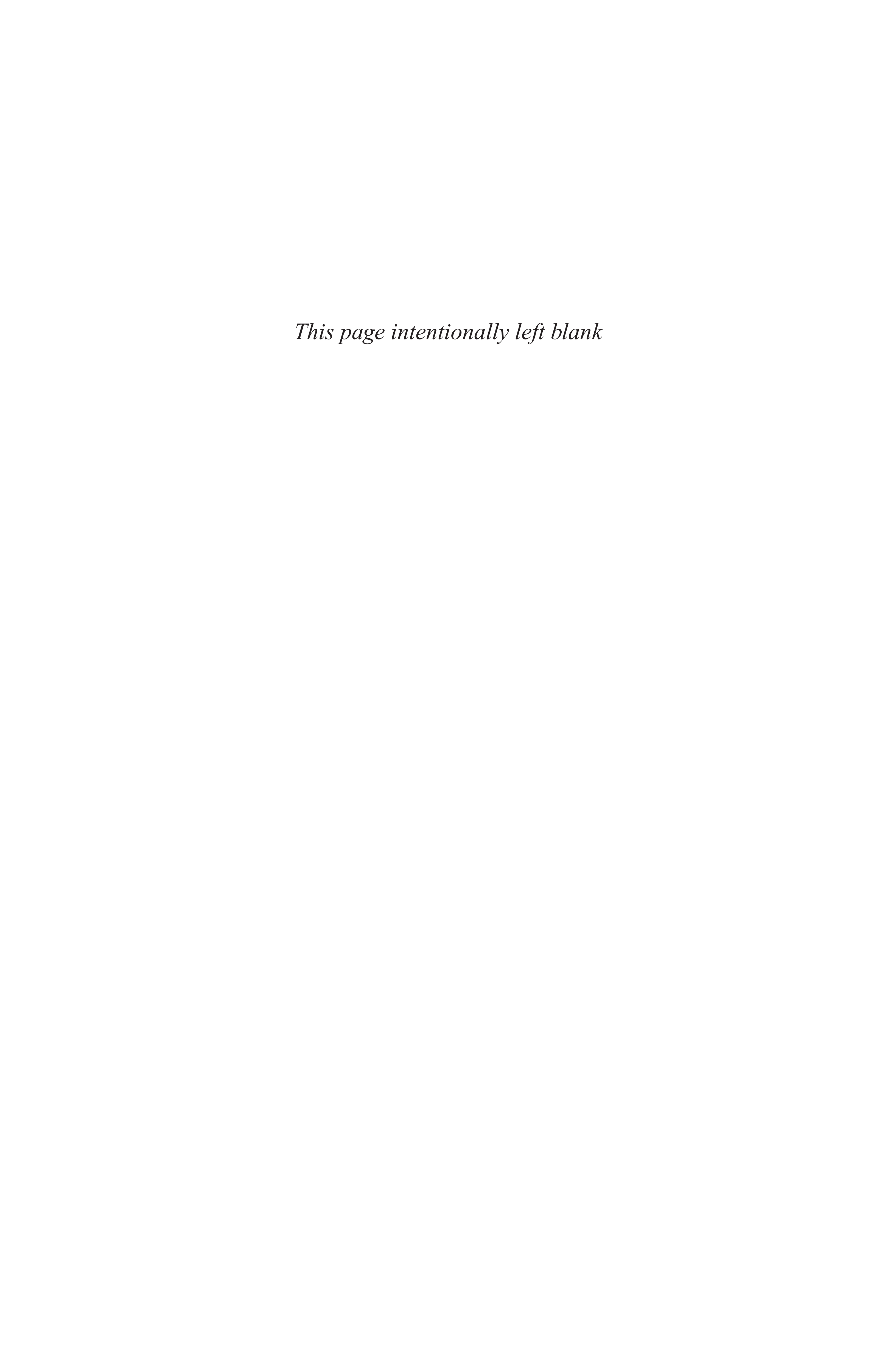
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Introduction

The year 1970 saw the 150th anniversary of the birth of Friedrich Engels who was Karl Marx's most intimate friend and collaborator. Today the disciples of Marx and Engels are numbered in millions and the way of life of great states is based upon their doctrines. An understanding of the career and work of Friedrich Engels is essential to an appreciation of the origin and development of the Marxist form of socialism in the nineteenth century. Since the publication of Gustav Mayer's biography of Engels in 1934 – only an abridged version is available in English – additional material on Engels's life has become available and many scholars have been engaged in research on various aspects of the early socialist movement. The studies of Auguste Cornu and Herwig Förder on Engels's career as a young revolutionary to 1848 are of particular value. Attention has also been paid to the activities of some of the disciples of Marx and Engels – such as Georg Weerth and Wilhelm Wolff – in the 1840s and 1850s. My own study of Engels's career endeavours to bring together for English readers the results of this recent research.

My interest in Engels began when Dr W. H. Chaloner and I made a new translation of Engels's *Condition of the Working Class in England* and also edited the military articles which he contributed to the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*. The task of preparing a new life of Engels has been facilitated by the University of Manchester which allowed me to have a term's leave of absence and the West German Government which gave me the opportunity of meeting various scholars interested in Marxist studies at a conference held in Trier in 1968. Among those who have helped me – but are in no way responsible for my errors – I should particularly like to mention Professor Ernst Hoffmann, Professor Helmut Hirsch, and Professor Wolfram Fischer. I should also like to thank Dr W. H. Chaloner and my wife for reading the proofs of this volume.

W. O. Henderson
1975



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1

THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM 1820–1844[1]

I. Marx and Engels

Life in six cities in three countries helped to mould Karl Marx's closest friend and colleague into a communist. In Barmen, his birthplace, Friedrich Engels learned to hate the millowners and the Puritan way of life. In Bremen the life of a great seaport gave him his first glimpse of a wider world than that of a small provincial manufacturing town. In Berlin he gained his first experience of military affairs when he served for a year in the Prussian army while at the same time he received intellectual stimulus from his attendance at University lectures and from his contacts with the Young Hegelians. In London he met a group of exiled German workers who had become professional revolutionaries. In Manchester Engels became aware of the social evils brought about by the industrial revolution and he met Julian Harney, James Leach and other Chartists. And a brief visit to Paris in the autumn of 1844 saw the beginning of his collaboration with Karl Marx that lasted for nearly forty years.

Friedrich Engels became the junior partner of the most famous intellectual team of the nineteenth century. Marx and Engels formulated the doctrine of dialectical materialism and spent a lifetime in applying it to politics, to philosophy, to economics, to history, to literature, to art and to science. Together they founded the international socialist movement and gave it a programme in the Communist Manifesto. Together they started a political movement whose adherents accepted its principles with all the fervour of a new religion. The followers of Marx and Engels came to be counted by millions and fifty years after the establishment of the communist régime in Russia the influence of their ideas is more powerful than ever. Karl Marx gave his name to a new system of philosophical ideas and to a new political movement. His genius was recognised in his own day even by those who most detested his ideas and his political aims.

Yet without Engels the genius of Marx might have withered away. It was Engels who was largely responsible for stimulating

Marx to apply his philosophical doctrines to the study of economics. It was Engels who gave Marx the financial help that saved him from perishing miserably in his London lodgings. It was Engels who readily placed his facile pen at Marx's disposal so that the arid pages of *Das Kapital* sprang to life in *Anti Dühring* which enabled thousands of readers to understand the basic tenets of the Marxist doctrine. Ten years after Engels's death the German socialist historian Franz Mehring declared that there was "more danger of underestimating than of overestimating him".[2] Engels was far more than a mere assistant of Marx or an interpreter of Marx's ideas after his master's death. He worked with Marx as an independent collaborator and he made his own contributions to socialist doctrines.

II. Barmen 1820–38

The fact that Friedrich Engels was born in Barmen (November 29, 1820)[3] had an important influence upon his formative years. Barmen differed in two respects from many other German towns in the 1820s and 1830s. It was part of a manufacturing district in which the social evils of industrialisation could be seen some time before they became evident elsewhere[4] and it lay in one of the few regions in which most of the Protestant churches accepted the Pietist – or Puritan – doctrines and way of life. Engels's father was both a leading industrialist and a staunch Pietist and these two circumstances dominated Engels's boyhood.

The twin towns of Elberfeld and Barmen – with a population of over 40,000 after the Napoleonic wars – lay in the steep valley of the River Wupper, a tributary of the River Rhine. They formed part of the district of Berg and had been incorporated in the Prussian province of the Rhineland in 1815. In the later middle ages the lime-free waters of the Wupper were found to be suitable for bleaching linen yarn. At first the yarn came from the Low Countries but later some of it was spun and woven locally. By the eighteenth century silk and cotton had been added to the yarns that were bleached in the valley of the River Wupper. Barmen specialised in the production of cotton goods. The first cotton mill to be driven by water power in the valley of the Wupper was erected in 1785.[5] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the spinning process was largely mechanised but much weaving was still done on handlooms. In 1809 P. A. Nemnich described the Grand Duchy of Berg – which included the valleys of the Ruhr and the Wupper – as "a miniature England".[6] After the Napoleonic wars the collapse of the Continental System and the consequent revival of

English competition led to a depression in Elberfeld and Barmen and many of the handloom weavers were out of work.[7]

The fortunes of the Engels family had been founded in the second half of the eighteenth century by Johann Caspar Engels (the elder), who was Friedrich Engels's great-grandfather. This Johann Caspar began his career as a yarn merchant in a small way and in about 1770 he set up his own bleachworks and workshops for the manufacture of lace and ribbons. He became one of the leading citizens of Barmen and had the reputation of being a good employer who assisted his workers to buy their own cottages and gardens.[8]

In the next generation the firm was carried on by the two sons of the founder, one of whom was Johann Caspar (the younger), the grandfather of Friedrich Engels. He expanded the business and carried on the family tradition of social work by founding a school for the children of his operatives (1796) and by setting up a co-operative granary to provide cheap flour during the food shortage of 1816. On the death of Johann Caspar (the younger), his three sons – Engels's father Friedrich and two uncles – inherited the business. This partnership did not work smoothly and eventually Engels's father went into partnership with the brothers Godfrey and Peter Ermen to operate cotton spinning in Manchester,[9] Barmen and Engelskirchen[10] (1837–41). The German firm combined the manufacture of various kinds of cotton yarn and thread with the old established bleachworks. The English firm owned the Victoria Mills near Pendleton.[11] Engels's father is said to have been one of the first millowners in the Rhineland to install English machines in his factories.[12]

As a schoolboy Engels became familiar with the cotton trade since so many members of his family were engaged in it and he was sufficiently observant to appreciate something of the conditions under which the operatives and craftsmen of his native town lived and worked. At the age of nineteen he wrote an article in which he described the wretched lives of the lower classes in the Wupper valley and he pilloried the millowners whom he held responsible for this state of affairs. He declared that the weavers were robbed of their health by bending over their looms for excessively long hours, that the tanners were physical wrecks after only three years, that the carriers were "a crew of utterly demoralised fellows", and that over a thousand children of school age were employed in the factories.[13] Many workers suffered from consumption and syphilis because of bad working conditions and poor housing. At week-ends the inns were packed and disgraceful scenes were witnessed at closing time.[14] Many years later Engels

recalled the evil consequences of the introduction of Prussian brandy into the Wupper valley in the late 1820s. He claimed that he could remember seeing crowds of drunken revellers staggering arm in arm along the streets and that quarrels and knifings were a common occurence.[15]

All this made a deep impression upon the young Engels. Already he recognised the gulf that separated the two social classes in his native town – the millowners on the one hand and the operatives and craftsmen on the other. He came to detest the millowners – the class to which his own father belonged – for he held them responsible for the wretched condition of the workers. He considered that the middle classes of the Wupper valley were to be condemned not only for the callous way in which they exploited their operatives but for their philistine way of life. "In Elberfeld and Barmen", he wrote in 1839, "a person is considered to be educated if he plays whist and billiards, talks a little about politics and has the knack of paying a compliment at the right time. These fellows lead an awful life and yet they are quite content. All day long they immerse themselves in figures in their offices and it is difficult to realise how zealously they throw themselves into their work. In the evening all of them regularly go to their clubs to smoke, play cards and talk politics. At the stroke of nine they all go home. One day is just like another without anything changing. And woe to anyone who interferes with this strict routine. The penalty would be to fall into disgrace with all the best families."[16]

Elberfeld and Barmen were not only industrial towns but they were also one of the main centres of the Pietist movement in Germany. There had been Puritan sects in Germany in the late seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century which subscribed to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and ran their affairs on Presbyterian lines. Like the English Puritans they tried to regulate strictly the daily lives of their members. They wore sombre garments, they were strict Sabbatarians, and they frowned upon such worldly pleasures as reading novels, dancing, and visiting the theatre or the opera. Pietism had declined in the late eighteenth century with the rise of the rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment. But the movement revived in a new form in the early nineteenth century as a reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution. It was this type of Pietism – known as "Restoration Pietism" – that flourished in the Wupper valley in the 1820s. The Pietists believed in the literal truth of every word in the Bible and they were intolerant of those who views differed from their own. Their leader in Elberfeld and Barmen was Pastor F. W. Krummacher who eventually became court preacher to Frederick William IV

of Prussia. Krummacher was a fiery preacher whose "narcotic sermons" (as Goethe called them) moved his congregation to tears when he described the fate that awaited evildoers in the next world.[17]

Since Engels's parents were Pietists he had a strict upbringing at home, in church and at school. Engels does not appear to have reacted against his religious instruction during his school days and when he was confirmed at the age of seventeen he was, at any rate outwardly, a believing Christian. But after he had left home for Bremen his attitude changed. In 1839 he wrote to his friend Friedrich Graeber that the Wupper valley was very properly criticised for its mysticism and obscurantism.[18] He claimed that he had never accepted the doctrines of the Pietists and that he was a "supernaturalist".[19] "If, at the age of 18, one has read Strauss,[20] the Rationalists and the *Kirchen Zeitung* one must either stop thinking for oneself or one must begin to doubt one's Wuppertal faith. I simply do not understand how the orthodox clergy can be as orthodox as they are in view of the fact that the Bible is so full of contradictions."[21]

Engels declared that he was "a wholehearted disciple of Strauss"[22] and that through Strauss he had taken "the road that leads straight to Hegelianism".[23] He dismissed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination as a patent absurdity[24] and he attacked Krummacher for being so silly as to expect his flock to believe that the sun revolves round the earth. "The fellow dares to shout this to all the world on April 21, 1839 and yet he argues that Pietism is not leading us all back to the middle ages. It really is a scandal!"[25] In the following year Engels wrote an article describing a lively controversy which had broken out in Bremen when Krummacher delivered two sermons there. Engels attacked "the Pope of the Wuppertal Calvinists and the St Michael of the doctrine of predestination" in no uncertain terms.[26] By this time he had taken the first step on the road from Pietism to atheism.[27]

If Barmen was exceptional because of its relatively early industrialisation and its fervent Pietism, it shared with many other Prussian towns a firm loyalty to the Hohenzollerns. Although the Wupper valley had only been joined to Prussia in 1815 the inhabitants quickly accepted their new rulers. Provided that they could keep the liberal *Code Napoléon* they were quite prepared to become loyal subjects of the King of Prussia.[28] And so Engels grew up in a household in which respect for the throne came second only to unqualified acceptance of Pietism doctrines. Here, too, there is ample evidence that soon after he left home for Bremen, Engels began to deviate from the political views of his parents and school-

masters. In October 1839 he recommended Venedey's book *Preussen und Preussentum* to his friend Friedrich Graeber. He told Graeber that Venedey had shown that the rulers of Prussia favoured absolutism, suppressed political freedom, supported the rich at the expense of the poor, and aimed at keeping the majority of the people in a state of ignorance.[29] And in other letters and articles the young Engels left his readers in no doubt that he held the Hohenzollerns in the greatest contempt. Of Frederick William IV he wrote: "Compared with him Napoleon was an angel. If our monarch is to be regarded as a member of the human race then His Majesty of Hanover is a god indeed."[30]

Until the age of fourteen Engels was educated at the Town School in Barmen. This poorly-endowed school was controlled by a Pietist governing body which normally only appointed Pietist teachers. When he wrote about his old school in 1839 Engels commented favourably upon only two of his former teachers: Phillipp Schifflin, the French master, whom he regarded as "the best teacher in the school", and the young Heinrich Köser, a friend of the poet Freiligrath, who taught German literature. Engels's assessment of the intellectual attainments of the rest of the staff may be judged by his anecdote of the small boy who asked his teacher who Goethe was and received the answer: "A godless fellow". Engels was later sent to the grammar school at Elberfeld which enjoyed a high reputation for sound scholarship. It was run by a Pietist congregation but, according to Engels, the clergy generally left the governors to their own devices and interfered little in the running of the school. Engels commented favourably upon the classical scholarship of Dr Hantschke, the acting headmaster, in whose house he lodged since his home was too far away from the school for him to travel every day. His highest praise, however, was reserved for Dr Clausen who taught history and German literature. Engels's final school report showed that Dr Hantschke recognised the wide range of his pupil's interests. He paid tribute to Engels's unusual linguistic abilities.

When Engels left school Dr Hantschke in his final report (September 25, 1837) stated that he had originally intended to go to a university. But he left a year before he was due to take his final examination. It is not clear why Engels's father decided that his son should enter the family business at once. Engels may well have welcomed this arrangement. Had he studied at a university he might have been expected to enter the Prussian civil service and he had no ambitions in that direction. His real interests lay in literary work and in journalism, but his father would not have been prepared to accept this as a suitable profession for his son.

Engels may have felt that a career in business would give him time to achieve his literary ambitions. Perhaps he was influenced by the example of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath who was able to carry on his literary work although he earned his living in an Elberfeld office. Engels worked in his father's office for twelve months (September 1837–August 1838) after leaving school but no information about his activities in this period has come to light.[31]

III. Bremen, 1838–41[32]

In the autumn of 1838 Engels left Barmen for Bremen to gain experience in the office of Heinrich Leupold who was the head of a firm of exporters. Engels's father probably sent his son to Bremen not only because he knew Leupold but because the Pietists were as strongly entrenched in Bremen as in Barmen. Engels lodged with a clergyman – Pastor Treviranus – and his father hoped that his son would continue to come under Pietist influences even after he had left home. But Treviranus[33] was no Krummacher. He was less interested in theology than in applying his faith to practical affairs and he founded societies to care for discharged prisoners and distressed Protestant emigrants. Engels's letters to his younger sister Marie and to his schoolfriends the Graeber brothers – and also his newspaper articles – record his impressions of Bremen and show how his ideas on literature and on politics were developing.

Engels was now in a quite different environment from that to which he had been accustomed at home. In the Treviranus household there was little of the intolerant Calvinist orthodoxy that he had known in Elberfeld and Barmen. He was given the front door key so that he could come home when he pleased.[34] And the free and easy atmosphere of the office of Consul Leupold[35] – whom Engels described as "a thoroughly decent chap"[36] – was a welcome change from his father's office where the clerks were expected to apply themselves strictly to their duties.

The Free Hanseatic City of Bremen had little in common with provincial Barmen. It was a sovereign state and a member of the German Confederation in its own right. It was one of Germany's largest ports, importing cotton, coffee, sugar and tobacco from the Americas and exporting linens and other manufactured goods from Westphalia and Silesia. It handled an ever-increasing volume of emigrant traffic from central Europe to the United States. In its streets, cafés, and bars traders and sailors from all over the world were to be found. Bremen was governed by a group of old families whose rule – old-fashioned though it might be – was less oppressive than that of the governments of the large north German states such

as Prussia and Hanover. Despite the influence of an out-of-date patrician oligarchy and of the Pietist pastors, a young man of unorthodox views could enjoy a greater freedom in Bremen than in Elberfeld or Barmen.

In an article of 1840 Engels described the hierarchy of a small Bremen office of the type in which he worked. "The chief clerk already gives himself airs as a person of some importance for his next step will be to start up a business on his own account. He is the general factotum of the firm. He knows the business inside out. He is well-informed concerning the state of the market. When he visits the exchange he is surrounded by brokers. Below him is a senior clerk who flatters himself that he is very nearly as important a person as the chief clerk. Naturally he is not on the same footing as the chief clerk when it comes to discussing matters with the head of the firm but he certainly knows enough to be able to deal with a broker, a warehouseman or a boatman. If the head of the firm and the chief clerk are both away he represents the firm to the outside world and the good name of the firm depends on how he conducts himself. The junior clerk, on the other hand, is an unlucky fellow. He represents the firm only in relation to the packers and to the postman in whose round the office is situated. Not only must he copy out all the business letters and the bills of exchange but he has to make out the accounts and pay small bills. Moreover he has to act as a general errand boy. He goes to the post office to collect and to deliver letters. And he has to wrap up all the parcels and address the crates and packing cases."

Engels, however, found that the duty of copying Consul Leupold's business correspondence into a ledger was interspersed with more agreeable social activities. He occasionally complained of overwork,[37] but most of his references to the office in his letters suggest that life in Consul Leupold's somewhat unconventional establishment could be a very pleasant experience. He wrote to his sister: "There is a bar in our office. We have beer bottles under the table, behind the stove, and behind the cupboards – beer bottles all over the place. And if the old man is thirsty, he borrows one of our bottles and fills it up again afterwards. Our drinking is done quite openly and no one makes a secret of it. A bottle of beer and some glasses stand on the table all day. The empty bottles are in the corner on the right and the full bottles are on the left. I tell you Marie it is quite true that youth gets worse and worse. As Dr Hantschke says: 'Who would have thought 20 or 30 years ago of such goings on as beer drinking in an office?' "[38] A sketch in one of Engels's letters shows the writer reclining comfortably in a hammock after lunch enjoying a cigar.[39]

When the head of the firm and his son were away from the office the clerks left their ledgers to read, write and drink. Engels studied works on philosophy, theology, history and literature and improved his knowledge of modern languages. He carried on his private correspondence and he began to write for the press. In his free time he joined a choir and a fencing club[40] and he read the foreign papers in the Union Literary Institute.[41] He frequented bars, the theatre and the opera. At week-ends he indulged in horse riding, walking and swimming with his friend Richard Roth and he went on a steamship excursion on the River Weser.[42] He obviously enjoyed life to the full – even if he did get into debt.[43] His philosophy was summed up in a letter to Wilhelm Graeber: "To get the most out of life you must be active, you must live, and you must have the courage to taste the thrill of being young."[44]

In addition to his numerous other activities Engels found time to write for the press. His early articles either appeared anonymously or under the pen name 'Friedrich Oswald'.[45] They were influenced by the literary movement known as 'Young Germany'. In 1839 he told Friedrich Graeber that he was "a Young German with all his heart and soul".[46] The Young Germans were the angry young men of the 1830s. They rejected the fairy tale world of the romantic movement and wrote about live social issues. In politics they were radicals who supported parliamentary government, the right of public assembly, a free press, an independent judiciary and the emancipation of women. Their religious views were extremely liberal. They strongly opposed the narrow-minded orthodoxy of the Pietists. Their attitude towards social problems showed an awareness of the need to deal with the poverty and unemployment brought about by the first phase of the industrial revolution. These doctrines aroused the wrath of the reactionary rulers in Germany. An edict of the German Confederation of December 10, 1835 denounced 'Young Germany' for "attacking the Christian religion in a most impertinent manner, for denigrating the existing social order, and for flouting all standards of decency and morality". The edict named Heine, Gutzkow, Laube, Wienberg and Mundt as the leaders of the movement and ordered all members of the Confederation to ban the publication of the works of the Young Germans.

Carl Gutzkow, a leading Young German and editor of the Hamburg *Telegraph für Deutschland*, encouraged Engels's literary aspirations by publishing some of his early essays in 1839–41. Gutzkow, who had considerable experience in these matters, revised Engels's articles so that they passed the censor's scrutiny. Engels, however, soon found Gutzkow's tutelage to be irksome.

He objected to changes being made in his manuscripts and after 1841 he ceased to contribute to the *Telegraph*.[47] Gutzkow complained to Alexander Jung of this shabby treatment. "Nearly all these young authors (he wrote) are the same. We give them a chance to think and to write but as soon as they can stand on their own feet they indulge in intellectual patricide."[48]

At the same time Engels was acting as 'Bremen correspondent' for the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* which was published in Stuttgart by the firm of Cotta.[49] Except for an ode to Immermann his essays were concerned with local events such as the theatre, the opera, military manœuvres, the Gutenberg festival, trade and commerce, and the controversy between the Pietists and the Rationalists.

These essays are important partly because they throw some light upon Engels's early life at home and in Bremen and partly because they contain evidence of the writer's progress towards intellectual maturity. In some of the articles – such as "Letters from the Wupper Valley", "A Trip to Bremerhafen" and "Landscapes" – Engels wrote about his home town or about excursions that he had made from Bremen. In these essays the young author showed both remarkable powers of observation and the ability to describe what he had seen in vivid phrases which held the reader's attention. Many years later Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote that Engels "had a clear bright mind, free from any romantic or sentimental haze". "He never saw men or things through coloured spectacles or a misty atmosphere but always in clear bright air. His clear bright vision pierced the surface to the bottom of things. . . . That perspicacity which Mother Nature so rarely bestows at birth was an essential feature of Engels and I was immediately struck by it when we met for the first time."[50] These qualities of keen observation and brilliant descriptive writing were characteristics of Engels's literary work throughout his life. His accounts of the Baden rising of 1849 and of the review of the volunteers on Newton Heath in 1860 can still be read with pleasure as descriptive pieces of unusual merit. And his vivid account of the English slums raised his book on *The Condition of the Working Class in England* far above the level of other works written about industrial England in the 1840s.

It has been seen that Engels's first contribution to the *Telegraph* – the "Letters from the Wupper Valley" – was a bitter attack upon the millowners and Pietists of Elberfeld and Barmen. Engels declared that the manufacturers were responsible for the wretched condition of the factory operatives and the domestic workers and that the Pietist pastors were responsible for keeping their flocks in

ignorance of all modern thought and progress. These articles infuriated the pious citizens of Elberfeld and Barmen. According to Wilhelm Blank copies of the journal were quickly sold and there was much speculation concerning the identity of the author. Some thought that the poet Freiligrath had written the articles but no one seems to have guessed that they came from the pen of the nineteen-year-old son of one of the most respected Pietist millowners in the district. Engels himself was delighted at having thrown the cat among the pigeons in his home town. "Ha! ha! ha," he wrote to Friedrich Graeber, "Do you know who wrote the article in the *Telegraph*? I wrote it myself but I beg you not to say anything about it. If the authorship were known I would be in hot water with a vengeance."[51] So strong were the protests from Elberfeld and Barmen that Gutzkow felt it necessary to print a reply to Engels's articles from an anonymous correspondent.[52]

Engels's article on "Landscapes" gave a brief account of a journey to Holland and England in 1840.[53] His impressions of the Dutch countryside are of interest because of his suggestion that there might be a link between the physical environment of a people and its religious practices. The essay contains a hint of the materialist doctrine which later formed the basis of his philosophy. His description of a railway journey from London to Liverpool was Engels's first reference to a visit to the country in which so much of his life was to be spent. Engels's lively account of a river trip to Bremerhaven in the summer of 1840 was another early essay which gave the young author full scope for exercising his powers of observation.[54] He began by describing some of the passengers who boarded the *Roland* steamship – the office clerks, the craftsmen, the peasants, the prospective emigrants and a sprinkling of merchants who held themselves aloof from the common herd. When he reached Bremerhaven Engels visited an emigrant ship which was lying at anchor. He criticised the unsatisfactory accommodation of the steerage passengers, but consoled them with the reflection that they were better off than those who sailed from Le Havre.

While Engels's essays on life in the Wupper valley and in Bremen show the flowering of his style as a descriptive writer, his early efforts to establish himself as a literary critic are significant because they illustrate the speed with which the disciple of 'Young Germany' outgrew his enthusiasm for the writings of Gutzkow and Beck and became absorbed in the study of Hegel's philosophy, which proved to be the key to his future intellectual development. In July 1839 Engels still regarded the Young German poet Karl Beck as a genius[55] yet only six months later he curtly dismissed Beck's most recent verses as "utterly and childishly naive."[56] Soon afterwards

he condemned the reactionary tendencies and the lack of originality in contemporary German literature but he saw a ray of hope for the future in the increasing influence of Hegel's system of philosophy on German writers and artists.[57] A brief note in April 1840 on August Platen's poems on Poland showed that Engels was already taking an interest in international affairs and that he was strongly opposed to the reactionary Tsarist régime in Russia.[58]

Engels's stay in Bremen enabled him to escape from the stifling restrictions of a Pietist home and at first he appreciated his good fortune in being able to live with the Treviranus family and to work in Consul Leupold's easy going office. And for a young man from provincial Barmen there were new experiences to be gained in a great seaport like Bremen. But Engels never really settled down in Bremen. He made a number of acquaintances but few friends. Adolf Torstrick and Richard Roth were the only new companions mentioned in his correspondence. Engels had a restless disposition and less than a year after going to Bremen he was already discussing with his father the possibility of leaving. But on January 20, 1840 he wrote to Friedrich Graeber: "I have delayed writing to you until I knew for certain if I am going to stay here or to leave. Now at last I can tell you that, for the time being, I shall remain in Bremen."[59] Early in 1841 Engels's father agreed that his son should come home. In a letter of March 8, 1841 Engels wrote to his sister: "Thank God I will soon be getting out of this boring hole where no one does anything except fence, eat, drink, sleep and work – and that's the lot."[60] By April he was back in Barmen.

IV. Berlin, 1841–2

Little is known of Engels's activities between his departure from Bremen in April 1841 and his arrival in Berlin in September or October of the same year. Only four letters, written to his sister Marie in these months, have survived.[61] Engels appears to have spent his time in private study and in enjoying himself. On April 5 he wrote that he was reading Italian books, that he had been fencing and that he had recently met a number of his old school friends. He declared that Barmen was as dull as ever and he complained of a boring visit to friends of the family.

Early in May he told his sister that he expected to be in Milan in a week's time. His visit to Switzerland and Italy is described in two essays which appeared in the *Athenäum* in December 1841.[62] By August he was home again and he told his sister that no decision had yet been reached concerning his departure for Berlin. "I do not worry about anything at all," he wrote, "and I am content to

let others do the worrying." On September 9 he wrote to his sister that he expected to leave for Berlin in a week or a fortnight to perform his military service.[63]

The long interval between Engels's return to Barmen and his departure for Berlin was probably due to differences between his father and himself concerning his future career. There is no suggestion in his letters that he worked in his father's office at this time. And this would have been the obvious course to adopt if he intended to continue his training in the cotton business. It may be assumed that his father was pressing him to join the family firm while Engels was hoping to make a name for himself as a writer or a journalist. Eventually Engels went to Berlin for a year to perform his national service. Since he detested the Prussian army and all that it stood for one might have expected that he would have evaded conscription which was quite possible in those days for a young man with wealthy parents. Engels may well have been influenced by two considerations. While he was serving in the forces a final decision concerning his future career could be postponed. Moreover by going to Berlin he would have the opportunity both to attend lectures (as a visiting student) at one of the greatest universities in Germany and to make contact with a group of Young Hegelians with whose views he sympathised.

Engels went to Berlin in the autumn of 1841 as a "one year volunteer" in the Guards Foot Artillery.[64] In later years he became a recognised authority upon military affairs and his friends called him "the General".[65] But there is no evidence to suggest that he took his military training very seriously. He grumbled to his sister Marie about the "accursed shooting range" and the parade ground where men sank up to their knees in sand.[66] He complained about church parades but appears to have experienced little difficulty in avoiding them.[67] He boasted of his success in dodging a night route march by feigning toothache.[68] Although he performed his duties well enough to earn promotion to the rank of bombardier[69] and to secure a satisfactory certificate of discharge[70] his brief spell of duty under Captain von Wedell "did not increase his admiration of the Prussian military system or the Prussian government".[71] But Engels's experience of the parade ground seems to have left its mark upon him. Friedrich Lessner, who met him in London in 1847, described him as one who looked "more like a smart young lieutenant than a scholar".[72]

What Berlin had to offer Engels was not exercises with the artillery but lectures at the university, discussions with Young Hegelians, and a very agreeable social life. He did not have to live in barracks but was able to rent a private room in the Dorotheen-

strasse. He wrote to his sister Marie about his visits to the theatre and the opera and the café which specialised in Rhenish dishes. He was fond of music and enjoyed a choral festival which was held in the spring of 1842.[73] Engels despised the officers, civil servants, courtiers and aristocrats who dominated Berlin society and the petty tradesmen and workers[74] whose way of life Glassbrenner described in countless sketches.[75] Yet Engels probably agreed with Michael Bakunin that the Prussian capital in those days was "a good town to live in". "It has excellent wine, cheap living, a very good theatre, and many newspapers in the cafés."[76]

As a contributor to the *Telegraph* Engels naturally made contact with the Young Hegelians in Berlin. They were a lively group of atheists, republicans and revolutionaries.[77] A little later – in July 1842 – they established a society called 'the Free'. The leaders of the group were not in Berlin when Engels arrived. Bruno Bauer[78] was teaching at Bonn University while Arnold Ruge[79] was lecturing at Halle University. Engels's closest friend among the Young Hegelians was Edgar Bauer[80] – Bruno's younger brother – and he also met Max Stirner,[81] Köppen,[82] and Nauwerck.[83]

Engels attended courses at the university including those of Schelling, Marheineke, Werder and Henning.[84] He wrote that "the fame of Berlin University is due to the fact that – more than any other seat of learning – it stands in the very forefront of modern intellectual movements. It is the arena in which the great controversies of our time are fought out. Many universities – Bonn, Jena, Giessen, Greifswald and even Leipzig, Breslau and Heidelberg – have sunk into intellectual apathy because they have ignored these controversies. Unfortunately for many years such a withdrawal has been the hallmark of scholarship at German universities. But in Berlin professors and lecturers have been appointed who hold very different opinions and they indulge in lively controversies which give their students an admirably clear picture of modern intellectual trends."[85] Engels's contacts with the Young Hegelians and with the university greatly stimulated his intellectual development and soon involved him in philosophical and political controversies that reverberated throughout Germany.

Engels's arrival in Berlin coincided with the publication of Feuerbach's book on *The Essence of Christianity*.[86] In later life Engels declared that only those who had "experienced the liberating effects of this book" could appreciate the impact upon the Young Hegelians of Feuerbach's attack upon revealed religion. "Enthusiasm was universal and we all immediately became disciples of Feuerbach." For Engels the significance of the book was that it "enthroned materialism once more" and showed that "nothing exists

outside Nature and Man".[87] Feuerbach's ideas – a halfway house between idealism and materialism – profoundly influenced Marx and Engels in their years of "storm and stress". By analysing and criticising Feuerbach's views they came to realise how the doctrine of dialectical materialism could be derived from the Hegelian system of philosophy.

When he was in Berlin Engels wrote several articles and pamphlets which helped to establish the reputation of 'Oswald' as a political commentator. A new era for writers and journalists opened in 1840 when Frederick William IV came to the throne of Prussia. This brilliant but unstable monarch was conservative and autocratic in outlook. Yet his accession was marked by the cautious introduction of various reforms. In December 1841 the censorship authorities were told to interpret the regulations in a liberal spirit. At the same time, however, newspaper editors were warned not to abuse their new freedom. In 1842 books and caricatures – but not pamphlets – were freed from the censorship. This encouraged radical journalists to express their views with greater freedom than before. Engels took advantage of the new situation to contribute to left-wing journals such as the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*. He wrote a little later that during the "temporary relaxation of the censorship of the press . . . papers, published under the authorisation of a government censor, contained things which, even in France, would have been punished as high treason, and other things which could not have been pronounced in England, without a trial for blasphemy being the consequence of it."[88] But the royal honeymoon with the press was of short duration. In February 1843 caricatures were again censored and soon afterwards the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung* were banned.[89]

The most important of Engels's writings while he was in Berlin dealt with the controversy concerning Schelling's attack upon the Hegelian system of philosophy. When Frederick William IV ascended the throne he persuaded Schelling to exchange his chair at Munich for one at Berlin in the hope that the new professor would counteract the influence of the existing lecturers in philosophy. The King abhorred the rationalist and freethinking tendencies shown by these teachers whose influence upon the students he considered to be wholly pernicious. Schelling's lectures were held in the winter term of 1841–2. Engels attended the course and gave a vivid description of the scene when the inaugural lecture was delivered.[90] Men of all nations, professions and religious beliefs filled the *auditorium maximum*. Grave scholars and clergymen who had matriculated fifty years before and grey-haired staff officers sat next to students and young army volunteers. It was a great occasion

in the academic world for it was understood that the venerable Schelling – he was 67 years old – would reveal a new philosophical system on which he had been working for many years. And this system would sound the death knell of Hegel's influence upon the learned world in Germany.

Hegel had endeavoured to prove the existence of the Absolute scientifically by historical facts. Schelling now argued that the Absolute could be shown to exist by a process of reasoning. But he went further when he developed his own "philosophy of revelation" and claimed that "revelation must include within itself something more than reason – yet something that can be attained only by exercising one's reason". And as Schelling's lectures proceeded and his arguments were unfolded the philosopher moved into a private world of mystical phantasies into which few of his listeners could follow him. Engels was first in the field to defend the views of the Young Hegelians. In March 1842 – before Schelling had completed his lectures – his pamphlet on *Schelling und die Offenbarung* was published anonymously in Leipzig.[91]

In this pamphlet Engels discussed the development of Hegelian philosophy after Hegel's death in 1830. Hegel's followers had split into two groups – the orthodox disciples and the Young Hegelians. The latter accepted Hegel's principles but not his conclusions. They used Hegel's technique to undermine revealed religion and monarchical principles. Engels argued that the Young Hegelians were the most faithful followers of their master since they had pursued Hegel's ideas to a logical conclusion. He had no difficulty in disposing of Schelling's criticisms of Hegel but – since he dealt only with Schelling's first three lectures – had little to say about Schelling's own "philosophy of revelation". Engels's pamphlet aroused considerable interest. Ruge reviewed it favourably in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* while Marheineke and Paulus made use of it in their own defence of Hegel.[92]

In a second pamphlet called *Schelling der Philosoph in Christo* Engels denounced the "philosophy of revelation". It appeared to be the work of a devout Christian who was arguing that the new philosophy demolished Hegelianism and supported the Pietist point of view. In fact it was a clever – if cruel – parody of the Pietist style of writing and it showed Engels's contempt for the faith in which he had been raised. This pamphlet fanned the flames of the controversy between Schelling and the Hegelians.[93] At first the Young Hegelians, tongue in cheek, pretended to accept the pamphlet at its face value but before long the *Rheinische Zeitung* admitted that it was a parody.[94] The conservative *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* on the other hand declared that the parody was not a matter

for levity. It was an exceedingly offensive attack upon the truths of revealed religion.[95]

The controversy between Schelling and his opponents soon came to a dramatic end. Professor Paulus of Heidelberg published Schelling's lectures with highly critical footnotes of his own. Schelling appealed to the courts for protection since his lectures had been printed without his permission. He lost his case and resigned his chair in disgust. Thus the King failed to stifle the new trends in the teaching of philosophy and theology at Berlin. Next – through his Minister of Education, Eichhorn – he tried to suppress revolutionary and rationalist ideas by dismissing radical teachers and by banning their journals. In 1842 the poet Hoffmann von Fallersleben lost his professorship at Breslau, while Bruno Bauer's licence to teach theology at Bonn was withdrawn. Soon afterwards Nauwerck was dismissed from the staff of Berlin University. Engels – in collaboration with Edgar Bauer[96] – sprang to Bruno Bauer's defence in a satirical poem entitled *Der Triumph des Glaubens*.[97] The verses proved to be of more than ephemeral interest since the authors named all the Young Hegelians who had recently formed the society known as "the Free" in Berlin.

In 1842 Engels wrote regularly for the *Rheinische Zeitung* which had recently been established by leading businessmen in Cologne as the principal organ of Rhenish liberalism. When Karl Marx became its editor in October 1842 the tone of the paper became much more radical than before. The most interesting of Engels's contributions was his article on Liberalism in north and south Germany. He observed that for many years Baden, Württemberg and the Bavarian Palatinate had been in the forefront of progressive political thought in Germany. He argued that "the new German philosophy" – the doctrines of the Young Hegelians – had given an impetus to a new and more powerful radical movement in north Germany which would one day sweep aside the forces of conservatism and reaction.[98] At this time, too, Engels wrote an essay on Alexander Jung for Arnold Ruge's *Deutsche Jahrbücher* – the leading journal of the Young Hegelians[99] – and an article on Frederick William IV for Georg Herwegh's *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*.[100] He dismissed Frederick William's ideal of a medieval feudal Christian monarchy as quite impracticable in the 1840s and argued that the King would soon be forced to concede both a free press[101] and representative government to his subjects. In the summer of 1842 Engels told Ruge that he did not propose to write anything further for the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* as he wished to devote more time to his studies.

A year later, in an article published in Robert Owen's *New Moral*

World, Engels gave his own view of the astonishing progress of the radical and socialist agitation in Germany in 1842 under the stimulus of the Young Hegelians. He wrote:

"The Young Hegelians of 1842 were declared Atheists and Republicans; the periodical of the party, the *German Annals*,[102] was more radical and open than ever before; a political paper was established, and very soon the whole of the German liberal press was entirely in our hands. We had friends in almost every considerable town in Germany; we provided all the liberal papers with the necessary matter, and by this means made them our organs; we inundated the country with pamphlets, and soon governed public opinion upon every question. A temporary relaxation of the censorship of the press added a great deal to the energy of this movement, quite novel to a considerable part of the German public. Papers, published under the authorisation of a government censor, contained things which, even in France, would have been punished as high treason, and other things which could not have been pronounced in England. without a trial for blasphemy being the consequence of it. The movement was so sudden, so rapid, so energetically pursued, that the government as well as the public were dragged along with it for some time. But this violent character of the agitation proved that it was not founded upon a strong party among the public, and that its power was produced by the surprise and consternation only of its opponents. The governments, recovering their senses, put a stop to it by a most despotic denial of the liberty of speech . . . the princes and rulers of Germany at the very moment when they believed to have put down republicanism for ever, saw the rise of communism from the ashes of political agitation; and this new doctrine appears to them even more dangerous and formidable than that in whose apparent destruction they rejoiced."[103]

Engels left Berlin in the middle of October 1842.[104] He went to Cologne to meet members of the staff of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He saw Moses Hess, one of the editors, whom he later described as "the first communist" of the Young Hegelian party.[105] Hess, a leading supporter of utopian socialism in Germany,[106] believed that world revolution was inevitable and that France, Germany and England each had a special *rôle* to play in its accomplishment. From France would come the revolutionary spirit of 1789 and from Germany the intellectual stimulus of the Young Hegelian philosophy. But England, where the Chartists were on the march, would be the first country actually to achieve a social revolution.[107] Engels became one of Hess's disciples. Moses Hess wrote that "Engels was a revolutionary to the core before we met but when he left me he was a passionate communist."[108] Engels, who had been studying English social conditions,[109] accepted Hess's view of

England's *rôle* in the revolution of the future. He now proposed to go to England to examine the situation on the spot.

For once, Engels's plans coincided with those of his father. The elder Engels had become alarmed at the dubious company that his son had been keeping in Berlin and was horrified at his son's attitude towards politics and religion. His concern for his son was shown in a letter which he wrote to his brother-in-law, Karl Snethlage, in October 1842. He declared that he would not quarrel with his son. "A dispute would only make him more obstinate and more embittered. His salvation must come from above. I know that at his confirmation he had genuine religious feelings and I am certain that anyone who has once felt the power of God's Word in his heart can never be permanently satisfied with new beliefs. He may have to travel a hard road before he descends from his proud heights and realises that he must bow his head humbly before the mighty hand of the Almighty." "It is a heavy cross to bear that I have a son at home who is like a scabby sheep in a flock and openly opposes the beliefs of his forefathers. I hope however to give him plenty of work to do and – wherever he may be – I will arrange for him to be very carefully watched so that he does not do anything to endanger his future career." The elder Engels hoped that his son could be kept out of mischief in England where he could complete his training in the cotton trade. And where better could this be done than in the offices of Ermen and Engels in Manchester?

From Cologne Engels went home to Barmen to prepare for his forthcoming journey to England. On the way to London towards the end of November 1842 he again called at the offices of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and on this occasion he met Karl Marx. Many years later he recalled his first talk with the man who was to become his closest friend. He had a decidedly cool reception. This was because Marx "had taken a stand against Bruno and Edgar Bauer and has announced his opposition to the view that the *Rheinische Zeitung* should be mainly a vehicle for theological propaganda, atheism, etc. rather than for political discussion and action." Marx was also opposed to Edgar Bauer's "windy communism". Marx was also well aware of Engels's friendship with Edgar Bauer and he assumed that Engels shared Edgar's views. Consequently Marx regarded Engels's visit with some suspicion. Despite his somewhat unfriendly reception Engels seems to have been invited to continue to write for the *Rheinische Zeitung* during his forthcoming visit to England.[110]

V. London and Manchester 1842–4

Engels lived in England from November 1842 to August 1844. Since his correspondence for that period has not survived, his activities can be traced only by piecing together scattered items of information which appeared in his published works. There are also a few references to Engels's visits to England in 1842–4 in the writings of Harney, Weerth and Herwegh.

For most of the time Engels lived in Manchester but he was in London on at least two occasions. The evidence for the visit of 1842 is the fact that an article by Engels in the *Rheinische Zeitung* was headed "London, November 30" (1842). The fact that articles written towards the end of the year were headed "from Lancashire" suggests that Engels was in London for about three weeks. There is evidence for the visit to London in 1843 in Engels's account of the origins of the Communist League, written in 1885. Here he stated that he had met the German refugees Karl Schapper, Heinrich Bauer and Josef Moll in London in 1843. Although they made a deep impression upon him – they were "the first proletarian revolutionaries" he had met[111] – he declined their invitation to join the secret society (the League of the Just) to which they belonged. There is evidence that Engels visited Ostend in September 1843[112] and it is possible that he broke his journey in London. Moreover the vivid descriptions given by Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* of the shipping in the Thames and the slums of St Giles suggest that he wrote from personal observation.[113]

In the first two articles which he wrote in England, dated November 30, 1842, Engels asked: "Is a revolution in England possible or even probable?" And he gave an affirmative answer to his question. He declared that the English stoutly denied that a revolution was imminent. They might admit that there was a social crisis but they considered that England's "wealth, industry and institutions would enable ways and means to be found to overcome the crisis before a catastrophe occurred". Engels considered that the English were deceiving themselves and would soon face a rude awakening. He argued that since the English economy was based entirely upon commerce, shipping and industry, the survival of the country depended upon a continual growth of its output of manufactured goods. But England's industry could not expand indefinitely. The sale of English goods abroad was being checked by hostile tariffs since other countries wished to foster their own industries. And the home market was stagnant since prohibitive

import duties led to high prices which the poorer customers could not afford.

Engels argued that this situation had precipitated the crisis of 1842. Faced with a trade depression some northern manufacturers had attempted to reduce wages. The workers had gone on strike and had resorted to violence but the Plug Plot riots[114] had failed through lack of "preparation, organisation and leadership". Engels thought that the workers now realised that an improvement of their condition could be achieved only by overthrowing the nobility and the manufacturers by force. He asserted that hunger would soon drive the workers to new acts of violence.[115]

This article is of interest for two reasons. First, its date shows that it was written within a few days of Engels's arrival in England. The opinions expressed could not have been based upon an investigation of the condition of the factory workers. They were preconceived ideas similar to those held by Moses Hess. Shortly before – in June 1842 – Moses Hess had written an article in which he declared. "England, where distress has reached frightful proportions, is heading for a catastrophe sooner than had been expected. And no one can foretell the consequences that this catastrophe will have not only for Great Britain but also for the Continent."[116] Secondly, Engels's article illustrates his belief that he could predict the course of political events in England. As early as the autumn of 1842 he asserted that a workers' revolution in England was inevitable. Events proved him to be wrong. For years Engels waited for the fulfilment of his gloomy prophecy and for years he waited in vain.

In December 1842 Engels arrived in Manchester and stayed until 1844, working as a clerk in the office of the cotton firm of Ermen and Engels[117] of which his father had recently become a partner. His spare time was spent in free-lance journalism and in examining the life and work of the factory operatives in the industrial districts of the north. In an address to the English workers, written on his return home, he declared that he had come to England:

> "to see you in your homes, to observe you in your everyday life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors." "I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner parties, the port-wine and champagne of the middle classes, and devoted my leisure hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working Men; I am both glad and proud to have done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life – many an hour, which else would

have been wasted in fashionable talk and tiresome etiquette; proud, because thus I got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men who with all their faults and under all the disadvantages of their situation, yet command the respect of every one but an English money-monger; proud, too, because thus I was placed in a position to save the English people from the growing contempt which on the Continent has been the necessary consequence of the brutally selfish policy and general behaviour of your ruling classes".[118]

Engels came into contact with various working class leaders, trade unionists, Chartists, and Socialists. He went to Leeds to see George Julian Harney,[119] the editor of the *Northern Star*,[120] which Engels regarded as one of the best newspapers in Europe. Harney later recalled a visit from "a slender young man with a look of almost boyish immaturity, who spoke remarkably pure English and said that he was keenly interested in the Chartist movement."[121] In Manchester Engels attended Chartist meetings in the Carpenters' Hall and met James Leach,[122] who was the author of a pamphlet on *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*. Leach was a member of the committee of the National Charter Association and Engels regarded him as a "good friend".[123] Engels also attended some of the Sunday lectures given by the Owenite secularist John Watts[124] in the Hall of Science in Campfield. At that time he regarded Watts as an "important person" and an able pamphleteer but in later years he took a less favourable view of Watts's activities.[125] Engels's companions on his tours of Manchester and other industrial towns included his girl friend the Irish millgirl Mary Burns and Georg Weerth, a young German friend who was then living in Bradford.[126]

Soon after he arrived in Manchester in December 1842 Engels wrote two further articles for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. In the first he argued that the situation of the British workers was becoming "more precarious every day". It was true that the excitement of the Plug Plot riots had subsided in Manchester where nine out of ten operatives were now in employment. Workers on the Continent would envy their standard of living since they could afford meat every day and drank tea, porter and brandy. But there was unrest among the English coalminers and ironworkers while in Scotland there was unemployment in the Glasgow district. Engels declared that when the next commercial crisis came – and it was due within the next few years – hunger would drive the English workers to revolt.

The second article discussed the Corn Laws. Engels believed that the bread tax would be swept away not so much by the efforts of

the Anti-Corn Law League as by the fury of the "embittered masses". But he thought that the great landowners would fight to the last to defend their privileges. He considered that the propaganda of the Anti-Corn Law League had converted the tenant farmers to Free Trade and that they would now defy their Tory landlords and vote for the Whigs.[127]

In the summer of 1843 Engels contributed four articles on English affairs to a Swiss journal. The first described the English political parties and discussed the agitation concerning the education clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill. The Dissenters bitterly opposed these clauses which appeared to hand over religious instruction in the factory schools to the Church of England. Supported by the Whigs, the Dissenters organised many public meetings to protest against the Bill. Engels attended such a meeting in Salford which ended in disorder when Chartists in the audience tried to propose an amendment to the resolution put forward from the platform.[128] The second article denounced the London correspondent of the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* who had informed his readers that the Anti-Corn Law League was "a power in the land". Engels declared that the League had no influence over the ministry or parliament and that its propaganda was overshadowed by that of the Chartists.

The third article discussed the socialist movement in England and described Sunday meetings addressed by men like Dr Watts in the Hall of Science in Manchester. The fourth article examined O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union. Engels considered that only egoism, vanity and lack of judgment prevented O'Connell from making himself master of Ireland. "Give me two thousand Irish", he wrote, "and I will destroy the British monarchy once and for all." It was characteristic of Engels that in these articles he should have confidently forecast the future course of events in England. His confidence was sometimes misplaced. Contrary to his expectations the Anti-Corn Law League achieved its aims while the Chartist movement failed.[129]

Engels also wrote two articles for Robert Owen's *New Moral World* in 1843 in which he gave English readers a brief outline of the spread of communist ideas on the Continent.[130] While paying a tribute to the communist propaganda of Wilhelm Weitling among the Swiss and German workers Engels emphasised the importance of Marx, Ruge, Hess and Herwegh as leaders of a new communist movement in Germany. In a short third article, which appeared on February 3, 1844, Engels drew attention to the forthcoming publication of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* to be edited by Ruge and Marx.

The first and only number of this journal appeared in Paris in February 1844.[131] Its youngest contributor was Engels whose "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" was his first essay on economics.[132] It is a significant article because it showed the progress that Engels had made on the road to communism before the commencement of his long period of collaboration with Marx. And Marx had a high opinion of the article since he referred to it as "a brilliant outline criticism of economic categories".[133]

In addition to criticising some of the contradictions inherent in the theories of the English classical economists, Engels attacked the entire capitalist system in no uncertain terms. He denounced the factory system because it undermined family life. "It is a common practice for children as soon as they are able to work – that is to say when they reach the age of nine – to spend their wages themselves and to look upon their parental home as a mere boarding house." Engels argued that the exchange of goods under the capitalist system lacked any moral basis and was no better than legalised robbery. "In commerce one is allowed to take the utmost advantage of the ignorance and the trust of the opposing party. One may bestow fictitious qualities on a commodity that one wishes to sell."

In a capitalist society the production and consumption of goods is regulated by supply and demand. In practice, according to Engels, "supply is always either a little too big or a little too small and never corresponds exactly to demand." This leads to "a state of continual fluctuation which never achieves equilibrium" with the result that "we now have a slump every five to seven years". Engels believed that "every new crisis must be more serious and more universal than the last". He warned his readers that eventually "commercial crises will lead to a social revolution far beyond the comprehension of the economists with their scholastic wisdom." The uncertain future of the economy fostered gambling in shares on the stock exchange. "The speculator always gambles on disasters – particularly bad harvests. He tries to profit from every disaster – such as the New York fire."[134] Engels argued that only the national planning of production – based upon a rational forecast of demand in the future – could cure the chronic evil of periodic slumps.

Although Engels had asserted that supply "never corresponds exactly to demand" a little later he described a situation in which "a state of equilibrium is reached between supply and demand and between production and consumption." When this happened "people starve from sheer abundance. England has been in this crazy position for some considerable time." So Engels was arguing

that capitalism failed to work satisfactorily whether supply equalled demand or not.

Engels next criticised Malthus's population theory. He observed that "according to this theory population always presses upon the means of subsistence. . . . The inherent tendency of population to expand in excess of the available food is the root of all misery and vice. . . . Since it is the poor who are the surplus population nothing should be done for them except to make their starvation as easy as possible." Engels argued that there was a simple solution to the problem posed by Malthus. On the one hand there appeared to be a "surplus population". On the other hand there was "surplus wealth". Mankind had enormous productive powers. There was no limit to the potential increase in the productivity of land and factories. "Every day new scientific knowledge increasingly subjects the power of nature to mankind's needs." If human resources were intelligently planned the problem of a "surplus population" would vanish. Industrial societies were perfectly capable of producing all the goods and services required to maintain a decent standard of living for a growing population.

Engels regarded capitalism as inefficient, unfair, cruel and immoral. It was inefficient because of its chronic instability. It was cruel because its slumps condemned hundreds of thousands of workers to unemployment and distress. It was unfair because it tolerated great wealth side by side with grinding poverty. It was immoral because in a capitalist society men's actions were dictated solely by selfish motives of profit. Engels argued that private property – the root evil of capitalism – must be abolished and that uncontrolled competition must be replaced by central planning on rational principles. The essay was a remarkable one because it discussed issues with which we are quite familiar today but were still largely ignored by many of Engels's contemporaries. He examined factors of economic growth, the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, the phenomenon of the trade cycle, the tendency for free competition to lead to monopoly, the expansion of large businesses and estates at the expense of small firms and peasant holdings. It will be seen that Engels elaborated some of these points in his book on the English workers which was written in the following year.

It was with this book in mind that Engels gathered material on the political and economic history of England at the same time that he was engaged in the study of economics. He wrote two articles in *Vorwärts*, the radical organ of German emigrants in Paris with which Marx was associated. These articles may be regarded as a preliminary survey of the historical background of

his forthcoming account of the condition of the English workers.[135] Engels described the course of the industrial revolution and the creation of a proletariat of wage-earners living in great manufacturing towns. He considered the emergence of a new kind of working class to be the most significant factor in the history of England in the eighteenth century. In his view there were now three social classes in the country – the landed aristocracy, the financial aristocracy, and the wage-earners. The first two shared the effective control of the state while the proletariat had no political power. Such a situation could not last for long. There would be a struggle between the propertied middle class and the oppressed workers. "In England the clash between aristocracy and democracy is the struggle between the rich and the poor." Engels concluded: "Democracy itself is incapable of curing social evils. Democratic equality is a chimera. The struggle between rich and poor cannot be fought on the basis of democracy – or indeed on the basis of politics. A political struggle between the rich and the poor is merely a transitional phase. It is simply a last attempt to solve the problem by purely political means. Out of this struggle will emerge a new principle overriding political conflicts. This is the principle of socialism."

Many years later Engels summed up the way in which his intellectual development had been furthered by his stay in England in 1842–4: "In Manchester it was forcibly brought to my notice that economic factors, hitherto ignored or at least underestimated by historians, play a decisive role in the development of the modern world. I learned that economic factors were the basic cause of the clash between different classes in society. And I realised that in a highly industrialised country like England the clash of social classes lay at the very root of the rivalry between parties and were of fundamental significance in tracing the course of modern political history."[136]

Twenty months in Manchester and London had turned Engels from an inexperienced youth to a young man who had found a purpose in life. Dr Julius Waldeck, a Berlin doctor, wrote in May 1844: "Engels has wrought a miracle in himself. His views and his style are more mature and more manly than they were a year ago."[137]

VI. Paris, 1844

In August 1844 Engels left Manchester and returned to Barmen. On the way he paid his first visit to Paris where he stayed for about ten days. At this time Paris was the centre of revolutionary

movements in Europe and many observers considered that the fall of the July Monarchy would be the signal for the collapse of reactionary régimes in Austria, Germany and Italy. In July 1842 Heinrich Heine wrote that "the middle classes in Paris are obsessed by a nightmare apprehension of disaster. It is not fear of a republic but an instinctive dread of communism – of those sinister fellows who would swarm like rats from the ruin of the present régime." He added that the shopkeepers of Paris "sense instinctively that today a republic might no longer represent the principles of the 1790s. It might become the instrument through which a new unacknowledged power would seize control – a proletarian party preaching community of goods."[138]

It was in a city where the thunder clouds of social upheaval were already looming on the horizon that Engels met a group of exiles – Bakunin,[139] Bernays,[140] Ewerbeck[141] and Marx. And it was Paris that saw the beginning of the lifelong friendship between Marx and Engels.

Engels subsequently wrote: "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844 we found ourselves in complete agreement on questions of theory and our collaboration began at that time." Engels had already met Marx on one occasion – when he had not been very warmly received – and had been in touch with Marx as a contributor to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and *Vorwärts*. With all the enthusiasm of young messiahs they proposed to overthrow the existing political and social order. Capitalism was to be replaced by a new kind of socialism. Established religions and philosophies were to be swept aside in favour of a new materialist ideology. The boldness of their plans was matched only by the astonishing successes that they eventually achieved.

Marx and Engels were well-matched collaborators. As Auguste Cornu has observed: "Since Engels had practical experience in the world of commerce and was always in contact with people in various walks of life he was an ideal partner for Marx who was applying theoretical principles to economic and social problems. On the other hand Marx had made greater advances in working out the basis of dialectical historical materialism and scientific socialism and he was able to help Engels to broaden his outlook on these matters. Marx was the leader in the partnership for he achieved, as Engels later admitted, what Engels could not have achieved by himself."[142]

After Marx's death Engels's verdict upon the years during which they had worked together was as follows: "I cannot deny that both before and during my forty years' partnership with Marx I had a certain independent share in working out the theory (of scientific

socialism). But Marx was responsible for most of the leading basic ideas – particularly as far as economics and history were concerned – and he put those ideas into their final classic form. What I achieved – apart from work in a few specialised fields of study – Marx could have achieved without me. But what Marx achieved I could not have achieved."[143]

Karl Marx, two years older than Engels, was born in Trier in the Rhineland on May 5, 1818, of Jewish parents. On both sides of the family he was descended from rabbis who were highly respected in the Jewish community for their scholarship. Among his ancestors were several rabbis of Trier, but Heinrich Marx – Karl's father – was a lawyer. When Napoleon's empire collapsed Prussia secured substantial territories on the left bank of the Rhine, including Trier. Jews were not treated so liberally in Prussia as they had been under French rule. In 1815 they were not allowed to hold public office and in the following year they were excluded from various professions. In order to be able to continue to earn his living as a lawyer Heinrich Marx became a Christian. But he did not join the Catholic Church to which the vast majority of his neighbours belonged. He was baptised by the army chaplain Mühlenhoff and became a member of the tiny Protestant community.

These circumstances had a profound influence upon Karl Marx. At an early age he felt that he was different from his fellows. The fact that he had been baptised did not change the blood that ran in his veins. He was still a Jew and he suffered from the anti-semitism that was prevalent in Germany in his day. Yet he was outside the Jewish community. He reacted to the situation by conceiving an irrational hatred for his own race and he condemned the Jews as usurers and capitalists whose only purpose in life was to make money. Marx's anti-semitism was one of the less agreeable aspects of his character. If Marx could not escape from being classed with the despised Jewish minority he could derive little comfort from his membership of the Protestant Church. The Protestant congregation of Trier was a very small one, so that Marx was again a member of a minority group. While his father was a patriotic Prussian, Marx detested Prussian absolutism and militarism and eventually gave up his Prussian nationality.

As a young man he felt that he was different from his fellows in another way. He realised that his intellectual ability and will-power were greater than those of his contemporaries at school and at the university. In an essay, written for his school leaving examination, he discussed the choice of a profession. He argued that a professional career should not be adopted because it promised

material rewards or honours. The only good reasons for adopting a profession were a sense of dedication and a desire to serve humanity. A profession should be a calling. But he realised that a young man might be restricted in selecting a profession because "his position in society has to some extent already been fixed before he can make his choice." And a time came when Marx believed that he was destined for higher things than a normal occupation. He was to be a philosopher who would show the world a new way of life. Like his rabbi ancestors he saw himself as a prophet and a teacher though his message to humanity was no religious faith but a doctrine of materialism. A messiah was no ordinary mortal and Marx felt that he was not bound by ordinary conventions of society. He had, for example, no need to concern himself with such mundane problems as earning a living, supporting a family, or even balancing a budget.

Marx secured his school leaving certificate at the early age of seventeen and went to the University of Bonn in the autumn of 1835 to read law. He did not devote himself very assiduously to his studies and in 1836 became secretly engaged to Jenny von Westphalen, the daughter of a titled senior official who was an old friend of the Marx family.[144] Marx's father now decided that Karl should go to the University of Berlin. At this time Berlin had a reputation for hard work. Feuerbach declared that Berlin was an intellectual factory compared with other German seats of learning which were little more than glorified taverns. Moreover Berlin was far from Trier and Karl would have fewer opportunities of seeing Jenny.

In Berlin Karl Marx enrolled for a few courses in jurisprudence but most of his time was spent in private study. In a letter to his father of November 10, 1837 he explained how he had spent his first year in Berlin. Apart from writing romantic verses for Jenny's edification he had studied philosophy and history so intensively that his health had suffered and on the advice of his doctor he had moved for a time to the village of Stralau. Karl explained that the purpose of his studies was to construct an entirely new system of metaphysics. No wonder that Heinrich Marx became alarmed at his son's conduct and that relations between father and son deteriorated. Heinrich Marx had discovered – as Engels found out later to his cost – that Karl was incapable of living within his allowance. More serious was Karl's neglect of his legal studies. Heinrich Marx warned his son that his engagement imposed responsibilities which should not be neglected. If he seriously intended to marry Jenny he should complete his studies and earn his living so that he could support a wife. Philosophy and poetry were no substitute for

bread and butter. Instead of following his father's advice Karl continued to bury himself in his books. Although he had decided to give up law in preference for an academic career he postponed the writing of his doctoral thesis which would have been the first step to securing a university post.

The intellectual stimulus which Marx received in Berlin came not from his university teachers but from his membership of the Doctors Club, the forerunner of the group known as 'the Free' with which Engels was in contact shortly afterwards. The leading members of the Doctors Club – the theologian Bruno Bauer, the historian Karl Friedrich Köppen and the teacher Adolf Rutenberg – accepted the twenty year old student Marx as their intellectual equal and before long he came to dominate their discussions. In 1840 Köppen dedicated his book on Frederick the Great to "his friend Karl Heinrich Marx of Trier". The Doctors Club supported the Young Hegelian movement which emphasised the dialectical aspect of Hegel's teaching – the idea of change and progress – while rejecting the conservative aspect of Hegel's philosophy which regarded the existing Prussian State as the perfect culmination of a process of evolution. The radical ideas of the Young Hegelians found expression in the *Hallische* (later *Deutsche*) *Jahrbücher*, a periodical founded by Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermeyer in 1838.

In the autumn of 1839 Bruno Bauer was appointed to the post of lecturer in theology at the University of Bonn and he urged Marx to join him so that they could found a new radical periodical. But first he must procrastinate no longer. He should complete his doctoral thesis without delay. Marx however refused to be hurried. Bruno Bauer was waiting in Bonn to start his journal while Jenny was waiting in Trier to get married. But Marx continued to work on his manuscript until the early months of 1841. It was typical of Marx that his analysis and criticism of the philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus should have been only part of a more comprehensive survey of the Greek natural philosophers which he planned to write. His attitude towards the Prussian universities at which he had studied was shown by the fact that he submitted his thesis to the University of Jena in Thuringia although he had never been enrolled there. It took the philosophical faculty only nine days to award Marx his doctorate.

Any hopes that Marx may have had of securing a post at the University of Bonn through Bruno Bauer's influence were shattered when Bauer's licence to teach was withdrawn in 1842.[145] Marx's extreme radical views were such that it was unlikely that he would obtain a university post and he now turned to journalism as a

career. He began to contribute to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, a newspaper established in Cologne on January 1, 1842 by a group of liberal businessmen in the Rhineland to challenge the powerful *Kölnische Zeitung*. Two young men – Georg Jung and Dagobert Oppenheim – soon secured for themselves an influential position on the editorial staff. They were Young Hegelians and they were influenced by the socialist writer Moses Hess. Jung and Oppenheim tried to secure contributions from fellow Young Hegelians and Marx was one of the first to be approached. Marx wrote a series of highly critical articles on the proceedings of the Rhenish Provincial Assembly which had met for nine weeks in Düsseldorf in the previous year. In October 1842 Marx was appointed editor in chief of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He resigned in the following March owing to continual difficulties with the Prussian censorship. Soon afterwards the publication of the newspaper was forbidden by the government. His brief experience as a newspaper editor forced Marx for the first time to concern himself with the social problems of the day.

Arnold Ruge now suggested that Marx should join him in establishing a new left-wing periodical in Paris where they would be free from the exasperating restrictions of the Prussian censorship. Marx accepted this proposal. Although his income had ceased – and he had to accept the disagreeable fact that there was no chance of getting any money from his father's estate so long as his mother was alive – Marx was in no hurry to go to Paris. He married Jenny von Westphalen in June 1843 and afterwards Karl and Jenny lived for five months with Jenny's mother at Kreuznach. Leaving his bride to her own devices Marx spent his days in the study immersed in philosophy and French history in preparation for his future work as joint editor of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Not until November 1843 did Marx and his wife move to Paris and it was not until February 1844 that the first – and only – number of the *Jahrbücher* appeared. Arnold Ruge, in a letter to Feuerbach, gave a sketch of Marx as he knew him in Paris. He considered that Marx was a born scholar and writer. But he would never be a successful journalist. He was an omnivorous reader and was capable of working with great intensity when the spirit moved him. Yet he rarely finished anything that he had begun. Half way through a project he would break off to throw himself wholeheartedly into some new plan.

In Paris Marx was soon in touch with French and German radicals and socialists such as Proudhon and Moses Hess. He also met the exiled German romantic poet Heinrich Heine whose work he greatly admired. The failure of the *Deutsch-Französische*

Jahrbücher meant that Marx was again in financial difficulties. He had no regular source of income and he now had a wife to support. Fortunately some of his friends in Cologne raised 4,400 francs to enable him to continue to live in Paris. And early in 1845 he secured 1,500 francs advance royalties from a German publisher for a book that he never wrote.

The economic manuscripts on which Marx worked at this time and his criticism of Hegel's philosophy of law in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* show how closely Marx's views now corresponded with those of Engels. The Paris manuscripts of 1844, which were not published in his lifetime, included Marx's detailed notes on the works of the English classical economists and his comments on their views.[146] It is easy to appreciate how warmly Engels would be welcomed by Marx when they met in the autumn of 1844. They agreed to collaborate in the future and they decided that their first task would be to write a criticism of Bruno Bauer and his fellow Young Hegelians. There was a time when both Marx and Engels had regarded Bruno Bauer as their mentor. Now, as convinced communists, they were opposed to their former friend.

NOTES

1 For Engels's early life see G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels in seiner Frühzeit* (1920); A. Conradi, "Friedrich Engels in seinen deutschen Jugendjahren" (in *Neue Zeit*, Vol. 38, 1920, p. 270 *et seq*); O. Jenssen, "Der junge Engels" (in *Sozialist*, Vol. 6, No. 17, 1920); E. Bernstein, "Vom Werden und Wirken des jungen Engels" (in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Vol. 42, 1922, p. 212 *et seq*); W. Andreas, "Der junge Engels" (in *Historische Porträts*, 1922, p. 159 *et seq*); R. Sieger, *Friedrich Engels. Die religiöse Entwicklung des Spätpietisten und Frühsozialisten* (1935).

2 Franz Mehring, "Friedrich Engels" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, 1904–5, translated in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 361–4.

3 Engels's mother had a difficult labour: see F. Engels (senior) to Karl Wilhelm Moritz Snethlage, December 1, 1820 in *Stadt-Anzeiger-Bergische Wochenpost*, Friday–Saturday, April 18–19, 1969 ("Aus der Geschichte unserer Heimat").

4 For Elberfeld and Barmen in the 1840s see Klara Wittgenstein, "Die Entwicklung der sozialen Frage und Bewegung in Wuppertal in den vierziger Jahren des 19en Jahrhunderts und ihre wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen" in *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, Vol. 54, 1923–4, pp. 118–87.

5 It was "managed by some English spinners". See T. C. Banfield, *Industry of the Rhine*, Series II, *Manufacturers* (1848), p. 123. If Banfield's information is correct this is an earlier water mill for spinning cotton yarn than Brügelmann's at Ratingen, near Düsseldorf (1794).

6 N. J. G. Pounds, *The Ruhr* (1952), p. 41.

7 See F. O. Dilthey, *Geschichte der Baumwollenindustrie im niederrheinischen Industriebezirk* (1904).

8 See Gustav Kühne, "Das deutsche Manchester" in *Europa*, October 2 and 9, 1847.

9 For the Manchester firm, see W. O. Henderson, "The Firm of Ermen and Engels" in *Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz*, Heft 11–12, April 1971, pp. 1–10.

10 For the German firm of Ermen and Engels see P. Steller, *Führende Männer des rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftslebens* (Berlin 1830) and H. Watzmer, "Die Herkunft der industriellen Bourgeoisie Preussens in den vierziger Jahren des 19en Jahrhunderts" in Hans Motteck (ed), *Studien zur Geschichte der industriellen Revolution in Deutschland* (1960), p. 147. See also *100 Jahre Zinn*, Engels & Co. (Wuppertal).

11 See W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, "Friedrich Engels in Manchester" in *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Session 1956–7, p. 2.

12 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 133.

13 Shortly after the enactment of Prussia's first Factory Law in 1839 a foreman in a Barmen spinning mill was sentenced to five years penal servitude for offences against thirteen factory girls aged between 10 and 14. See G. A. Anton, *Geschichte der preussischen Fabrikgesetzgebung bis zu ihrer Aufnahme durch die Reichsgewerbeordnung* (1891; new edition 1953), p. 78. August von der Heydt (the future Minister of Commerce who was then a magistrate in Elberfeld) sent 2,000 letters of admonition and notices of penalty to parents who had failed to send their children to school in 1846. See T. C. Banfield *Industry of the Rhine*, Series II, *Manufactures* (1848), p. 134.

14 F. Engels, "Briefe aus dem Wuppertal" in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 23–41.

15 F. Engels, "Preussischer Schnaps" in *Volksstaat*, 1876, No. 23–35.

16 F. Engels, "Briefe aus dem Wuppertal" in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 37.

17 For Engels's religious views in 1837–47 see R. Sieger, *Friedrich Engels, Die religiöse Entwicklung des Spätpietisten und Frühsozialisten* (Halle an der Saale, 1935). For Pietism see C. Marklin, *Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus* (Stuttgart, 1839) and L. Hüffel, *Der Pietismus geschichtlich und kirchlich beleuchtet* (Heidelberg, 1846).

18 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, February 19, 1839 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 500.

19 *Ibid.*, April 8, 1839, p. 504.

20 i.e. David Friedrich Strauss who in his *Leben Jesu* (1835) had tried to prove that the gospel history was a collection of myths.

21 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, April 23–May 1, 1839 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 505.

22 F. Engels to Wilhelm Graeber, October 8, 1839, in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 538.

23 F. Engels to Wilhelm Graeber, December 12, 1839; *ibid.*, p. 554.

24 "According to your sort of Christianity nine tenths of humanity are condemned to eternal damnation and one tenth is saved. Come, Fritz, is that really what you call the immeasurable love of God?" (F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, July 27, 1839 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 531).

25 *Ibid.*, April 27–30, 1839, p. 519.

26 F. Engels, "Rationalismus und Pietismus" in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, October 17, 1840 and in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 128–30.

27 But in an emotional passage in a letter to Friedrich Graeber (July 12, 1839) Engels declared that he felt that he would "find his way to God" (*ibid.*, p. 531).

28 For Engels's comments on the political views of the younger generation in Elberfeld and Barmen see his "Briefe aus dem Wuppertal" (April 1839) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 37.

29 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, October 29, 1839: *ibid.*, p. 547.

30 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, December 9, 1839–February 5, 1840: *ibid.*, p. 558. But on another occasion he referred to the king of Hanover as "a lousy old goat".

31 After leaving home Engels mentioned in his letters the names of some of his friends at school. They included Peter Jonghans, Friedrich Plümacher, Gustav Wurm, Gustav Heuser, Wilhelm Blank, Friedrich Graeber, Wilhelm Graeber, Hermann Graeber, and Strücher. Several of them were either sons of the manse or candidates for the Protestant ministry or both.

32 For Engels's stay in Bremen see his letters to his sister Marie, to Friedrich Graeber and to Wilhelm Graeber and his articles in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* (edited by Carl Gutzkow) and the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2.

33 For Treviranus see an article in *Bremer Biographien des 19en Jahrhunderts* (1912) and Tiesmeyer, *Georg Gottfried Treviranus* (1879).

34 From Engels's letter of October 29, 1840 to his sister (in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 600–2) it is clear that some of Engels's friends in Bremen – clerks and apprentices who lodged in the homes of their masters – did not have front door keys. Describing a party he wrote: ". . . and then we drank another toast. So it went on until 10 p.m. when those who had no front door keys had to go home but we lucky ones who had keys stayed on and ate oysters. . . ."

35 Since Leupold was Consul for the Kingdom of Saxony in Bremen he was addressed as 'Consul Leupold'.

36 Engels wrote that Leupold was "ein schrecklich guter Kerl, o so gut, Du kannst Dir gar nicht denken" (F. Engels to Friedrich and Wilhelm Graeber, September 1, 1838 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 486) and "ein köstlicher Kerl" (*ibid.*, p. 490).

37 F. Engels to W. Graeber, October 20–21, 1839: "I have had an excessively boring day. The work in the office nearly killed me" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 542).

38 F. Engels to his sister Marie, July 7–9, 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 590).

39 F. Engels to his sister Marie, August 20–25, 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 595).

40 In a letter of February 22, 1841 to F. Graeber there is a reference to a duel fought by Engels. He boasted that he had given his opponent "a marvellous slash on the forehead – right from top to bottom – a real beauty" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 564).

41 In a letter to his sister, Engels wrote that the Union subscribed to Dutch, English, American, French, Turkish and Japanese newspapers. "I have taken the opportunity to learn Turkish and Japanese and I can understand 25 languages" (September 28, 1839: *ibid.*, p. 588). In

another letter he offered to teach his sister Danish, Spanish or Portuguese (*ibid.*, p. 595).

42 F. Engels, "Eine Fahrt nach Bremerhaven" in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, August 17, 1841 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 147–8.

43 F. Engels to his sister Marie, August 4, 1840 (*ibid.*, p. 592): "It is a sad business. I have hardly a copper in my pocket and I have plenty of debts".

44 F. Engels to W. Graeber, November 20, 1840 (*ibid.*, p. 560) "*Tätigkeit, Leben, Jugendmut, das ist der wahre Witz.*"

45 Gustav Mayer, "Ein Pseudonym von Friedrich Engels" in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 4, 1914.

46 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, April 9, 1839 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 504. See R. Sieger, *Friedrich Engels als junger Deutscher* (University of Halle–Wittenberg dissertation, 1935).

47 Engels's last article in the *Telegraph* was in the number dated November 1841 and appeared in the middle of December 1841.

48 See *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. xxv–xxvi (Rjazanov's introduction).

49 July 1840 to August 1841.

50 From an article by Wilhelm Liebknecht on Friedrich Engels in the *Illustrierte Neue Welt: Kalender für das Jahr 1897*. See also *Reminiscences of Marx & Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 137–48.

51 F. Engels to F. Graeber, April 23, 1839 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 505–6). In this letter Engels declared that the style of the article was shocking (*hundeschlecht*), yet a few months later (July 30, 1839) he wrote to W. Graeber: "I have recently read it again and I am astonished at the style. Since then I have not by any means managed to reach that standard of writing" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 536).

52 "Einige Berichtigungen der Briefe aus dem Wuppertal" in the *Telegraph für Deutschland*, May 1839, No. 8, pp. 635–8 (summarised by D. Rjazanov in the introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. xxviii).

53 *Telegraph für Deutschland*, July 1840, reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 76–82.

54 The excursion was first described in a letter to his sister on July 7–9, 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 589–91). The article appeared a year later in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, August 1841 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 147–54).

55 F. Engels to W. Graeber, July 30, 1839 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 536).

56 F. Engels (F. Oswald), "Karl Beck" in *Telegraph für Deutschland*, November and December 1839 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 57–61).

57 F. Engels (F. Oswald), "Retrograde Zeichen der Zeit" in *Telegraph für Deutschland*, February 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 62–6). On February 21, 1840 Engels wrote to Friedrich Graeber: "Through Strauss I have taken the road that leads straight to Hegelianism. Of course I will not become so fanatical a Hegelian as Hinrichs etc. but I must make some important aspects of Hegel's colossal system of philosophy part of my own intellectual heritage" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 554–5).

58 F. Engels's essay on Platen in *Telegraph für Deutschland*, February 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 67–8).
59 F. Engels to Friedrich Graeber, January 20, 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 554).
60 F. Engels to his sister Marie, March 8, 1840 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 611).
61 Engels to his sister Marie on April 5, early May, the end of August, and September 9, 1841 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 613–16.
62 "Lombardische Streifzüge" in *Athenäum*, December 4 and 11, 1841 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 159–68.
63 Engels to his sister Marie, September 9, 1841 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 615–16.
64 The photograph of a small painting of the head and shoulders of a young man in uniform reproduced in Horst Ullrich, *Der junge Engels* (two volumes, 1961), Vol. 1, p. 248 is stated to be a picture of Friedrich Engels in 1842. In fact it is a picture of Engels's father. In his will dated July 29, 1893 Engels left this painting of his father to his brother Hermann.
65 Gehard Zirke, *Der General: Friedrich Engels, der erste Militär Theoretiker der Arbeiterklasse* (Leipzig and Jena, 1957).
66 Engels to his sister Marie, April 14–16, 1842 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 620.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 619.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 624.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 617.
70 The certificate is printed in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 365.
71 George Julian Harney in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, August 17, 1895.
72 F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 153.
73 F. Engels, "Rheinische Feste" in the *Rhenische Zeitung*, May 14, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 293–5).
74 F. Engels, "*Marx und die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* (selected articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung:* Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1955), p. 32. Engels regarded the shopkeepers and craftsmen of Berlin as "loud-mouthed cowardly toadies".
75 Adolf Glassbrenner, *Berliner Volksleben* (1847).
76 Michael Bakunin to Alexander Herzen, October 23, 1840 in T. Klein (ed.), *Der Vorkampf deutscher Einheit und Freiheit* (edition of 1925), pp. 67–68.
77 R. Sieger, Friedrich Engels. *Die religiöse Entwicklung des Spätpietisten und Frühsozialisten* (Halle a.S., 1935).
78 Bruno Bauer (1809–82): Young Hegelian and biblical critic.
79 Dr Arnold Ruge (1802–80) edited the *Hallische* (later *Deutsche*) *Jahrbücher* (1841–3) and, with Marx, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (one double issue, February 1844). See Paul Nerrlich (ed.), *Arnold Ruges Briefewechsel und Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1825–1880* (two volumes, 1886).
80 Edgar Bauer (1809–86).
81 Pen name of Kaspar Schmidt (1806–56) whose book *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* appeared in 1845.
82 Karl Friedrich Köppen (1808–63), radical historian and contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung.*

83 Karl Ludwig Theodor Nauwerck was dismissed from his lectureship at the University of Berlin. The King told his Minister Thile in November 1843 that this "well-known revolutionary" should not be allowed to teach in a Prussian university. See Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Vol. 5, (edition of 1927), p. 233.

84 F. W. von Schelling (1775–1854), P. K. Marheineke (1780–1846) and K. F. Werder (1806–93) lectured on philosophy while L. von Henning (1791–1866) lectured on public finance. On January 5, 1842 Engels wrote to his sister Marie (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 617) that he had attended a lecture given by the poet and orientalist Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866).

85 F. Engels, "Tagebuch eines Hospitanten" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, May 10, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 290).

86 Ludwig Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig, 1841).

87 See F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy* (1888: English translation – Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950). Engels's pamphlet on Feuerbach first appeared in *Neue Zeit* in 1886 as a review of K. N. Stark, *Ludwig Feuerbach* (1885).

88 F. Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent: II Germany and Switzerland" in *The New Moral World*, November 18, 1843 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 447).

89 For Engels's views on the censorship see "Zur Kritik der Preussischen Pressgesetze" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, July 14, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 310–17) and "Friedrich Wilhelm IV, König von Preussen" in *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, 1843, pp. 189–96 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 339–46).

90 Friedrich Oswald (F. Engels), "Schelling über Hegel" in the *Telegraph*, December 1841, pp. 825–7 and pp. 830–2. (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 173–80).

91 *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 181–227. The pamphlet was long attributed to Bakunin. A letter from Engels to Ruge, June 15, 1842, proves that Engels was the author (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 631).

92 P. K. Marheineke, *Kritik der Schellingschen Offenbarungs-philosophie* (1843) and H. E. G. Paulus, *Die . . . positive Philosophie der Offenbarung . . .* (Darmstadt, 1843). For Marheineke's criticism of Schelling in his course of lectures at the University of Berlin see F. Engels, "Tagebuch eines Hospitanten" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, May 10, 1842, (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 290–2).

93 *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 229–49.

94 *Rheinische Zeitung*, May 18, 1842: see D. Rjazanov's introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. l.

95 *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 19, 1842: see D. Rjazanov's introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. l.

96 Contemporary references to Friedrich Engels and Edgar Bauer as joint authors of this poem are to be found in W. Koner, *Gelehrtes Berlin im Jahre 1845 . . .* (1846), p. 15 and *Wigands Conversations-Lexikonus* (1847), p. 81. See also D. Rjazanov, *op. cit.*, p. liv. The pamphlet was written in June or July 1842 and was published in Zürich in December 1842.

97 *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 253–81.

98 F. Engels, "Nord-und süddeutscher Liberalismus" in the *Rheinische*

Zeitung, April 12, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 287–9).

99 F. Engels, "Alexander Jung, Vorlesungen über die moderne Literatur der Deutschen" in *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, July 7, 8 and 9, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 323–35).

100 F. Engels, "Friedrich Wilhelm IV, König von Preussen" in *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, Part I, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 339–46).

101 For Engels's criticism of the press censorship in Prussia at this time see his article in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, July 14, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 310–17).

102 *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst* (edited by Arnold Ruge and Theodor Echtermeyer, January 1838–June 1841) continued as *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (July 1841–January 1843).

103 F. Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent: II Germany and Switzerland" in *New Moral World*, November 18, 1843 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 447).

104 Engels's military discharge was dated October 8, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 635).

105 F. Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent: II Germany and Switzerland" in the *New Moral World*, November 18, 1843 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 448).

106 See Moses Hess, *Sozialistische Aufsätze* (1921); Auguste Cornu, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1954), Vol. 1, pp. 213–23, 286–9, and 372–8; and H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), pp. 25–6.

107 See Moses Hess, *Die europäische Triarchie* (Leipzig, 1841) reprinted in Moses Hess, *Philosophische und Sozialistische Schriften 1837–1850* (ed. by A. Cornu and W. Mönke, 1961), pp. 77–166.

108 Moses Hess to B. Auerbach, June 19, 1843 quoted by D. Rjazanov in the introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. lix. The letter appears in E. Silberner and W. Blumenberg (ed.) *Moses Hess: Briefwechsel* (The Hague, 1959), p. 103.

109 F. Engels in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, December 8, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 356).

110 For Engels's account of his first meeting with Karl Marx in 1842 see D. Rjazanov's introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. lx.

111 Engels's introduction of 1885 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1853 (edition of 1952), p. 11 and p. 17.

112 Marcel Herwegh (ed.), *1848 Briefe von und an Herwegh* (Munich, 1896), p. 88 and D. Rjazanov's introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. lxxi.

113 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1945: translated by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), p. 30 and pp. 33–4.

114 For the Plug Plot riots see A. G. Rose, "The Plug Riots of 1842 in Lancashire and Cheshire" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 68, 1957, pp. 75–112.

115 F. Engels, "Die innern Krisen" (London, November 30, 1842) in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, December 9 and 10, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 351–5). A third short article by Engels dated December

3, 1842 appeared in the *Rheinische Zeitung* on December 8, 1842 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 456–7.

116 Moses Hess, "Über eine in England bevorstehende Katastrophe" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 177, June 26, 1842 (reprinted in Moses Hess, *Philosophische und Sozialistische Schriften 1837–1850* (1961), pp. 183–5). Hess argued that the fundamental causes of distress in England were of a social – not political – nature. He wrote: "Industry has passed from the hands of the people to the machines of the capitalists. Commerce – formerly operated on a modest scale by many small merchants – is now concentrated more and more in the hands of capitalists and adventurers (i.e. swindlers). The land has fallen into the grasp of a few aristocratic families owing to the working of the laws of inheritance. In fact a few great families expand and control ever greater amounts of capital."

117 Brief accounts of the firm appear in H. E. Blyth, *Through the Eye of a Needle. The Story of the English Sewing Cotton Company* (1947), p. 11 and 100 Jahre Zinn, Engels & Co. (Wuppertal). Peter Ermen, the founder, was of Dutch origin and came to England in 1825. He was listed as a merchant in Pigot's *Manchester and Salford Directory for 1832* (p. 96). In 1834 he took his brother Anthony into partnership. By 1837 another brother named Gottfried (Godfrey) and the elder Friedrich Engels had joined the firm. The local directory for 1838 (p. 26 and p. 118) described Peter Ermen as a "sewing and knitting manufacturer". In an advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian* on August 27, 1842 Ermen and Engels thanked the police for protecting their property during the Plug Plot riots. Slater's *Directory of Manchester and Salford* for 1845 listed Ermen & Engels as "cotton spinners and manufacturers of knitting and sewing cotton" (p. 112) with an office at 2 South Gate, St Mary's (off Deansgate), Manchester. The firm operated the Victoria Mills, Eccles New Road, Pendleton.

118 Dedication (in English) "to the working class of Great Britain" which appeared in F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (1845): English translation by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (1958), p. 7.

119 See E. Aveling, "George Julian Harney . . ." in *The Social Democrat*, No. 1, January 1897 reprinted in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, pp. 192–3); G. D. H. Cole, *Chartist Portraits* (second edition, 1965); A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge: a Portrait of George Julian Harney* (1958); P. Cadogan, "Harney and Engels" in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 10, 1964). For Engels's view of Harney see F. Engels, "Das Fest der Nationen in London" in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, Vol. 2, 1846, pp. 1–19 reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 457–71.

120 Harney edited the *Northern Star* in Leeds in 1843–4. The place of publication was changed to London in November 1844. See E. L. H. Glasgow, "The Establishment of the *Northern Star* newspaper" in *History*, February–June 1954, pp. 61–2 and p. 66.

121 See *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 175 and pp. 192–3.

122 James Leach, a factory worker who became a printer, was a leading Manchester Chartist. He helped to set up the National Charter Association in Manchester (1841) and he was vice-chairman of the

Chartist National Convention in London (1842). He was an ardent protectionist and a vigorous opponent of the Anti-Corn Law League.

123 Engels refers to Leach as his "good friend" in an article in *Das Westfälische Dampfboot* in 1846 reprinted as Appendix I (p. 342) of F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958).

124. For John Watts (1818–87) see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 20, pp. 982–3. Watts played a leading part in the public life of Manchester and was associated with the establishment of the public library and Owens College. He was the author of *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (1866).

125 Engels refers to Watts as "an important person" in his "Briefe aus London", No. 3 in the *Schweizerischer Republikaner*, June 9, 1843 (*Gesamtausgabe*), Part I, Vol. 2, p. 371.

126 For Georg Weerth see an article by Friedrich Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, July 7, 1883 reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 107–14 and Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 11–15. Engels wrote: "When I stayed in Manchester in 1843 Weerth came to Bradford as a clerk in his German firm and we spent many happy Sundays together." (In fact Weerth worked in Bradford for the Manchester firm of S. Passavant & Co.) In a letter to his mother, dated July 6, 1844 Weerth mentioned that he had been in Manchester over Whitsun and had been in Engels's company for much of his visit. (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 128).

127 F. Engels, "Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, December 25, 1842 (dated December 20 "from Lancashire") and December 27, 1842 (dated December 22 "from Lancashire") (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 361–4).

128 Sir James Graham's Factory Bill of 1843 was withdrawn because of the opposition of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics to the clauses concerning religious education.

129 F. Engels, "Briefe aus London" in the *Schweizerischer Republikaner*, May 16 and 23 and June 9 and 27, 1843 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 465–76).

130 F. Engels, "The Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" in the *New Moral World*, November 4 and 18, 1843 and "Continental Movements" (*ibid.*, February 3, 1844): reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 435–55. See also *Northern Star* November 11 and 25, 1843.

131 The journal was banned in Prussia and 300 copies were seized at the frontier. See Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1967), p. 72.

132 F. Engels "Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* 1844, reprinted in *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Werke*, Vol. 1 (1964), pp. 499–524. English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 148–77. The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* also published a review by Engels of Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 1843. See *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Werke*, Vol. 1 (1964), pp. 525–49.

133 Karl Marx's introduction to his *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1859). Karl Marx also mentioned Engels's essay in the first volume of *Das Kapital*, 1867: see Karl Marx, *Capital* (Everyman edition, 1930), Vol. 1, p. 49.

134 The New York fire of December 1835 destroyed nearly 700 buildings and caused damage estimated at about twenty million dollars.

135 F. Engels, "Die Lage Englands", I "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert", II "Die englische Konstitution" in *Vorwärts* between August 31 and October 19, 1844, reprinted in *Werke*, Vol. 1, pp. 550–92.

136 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (edition of 1952), pp. 15–16.

137 J. Waldeck to Johann Jacoby, May 9, 1844 in Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (second edition, 1934), p. 171.

138 Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke* (edited by O. J. Lachmann, four volumes, Leipzig 1887), Vol. 4, p. 296.

139 Michael Bakunin (1814–76) was the Russian revolutionary who later became the leader of the anarchist movement.

140 Karl Ludwig Bernays (1815–79) was at this time a member of the editorial board of *Vorwärts* to which Engels had contributed.

141 Dr August Hermann Ewerbeck (1816–80) was the leader of the Paris branch of the League of the Just, a secret revolutionary society of German emigrants. Engels had met the leaders of the London branch of the league.

142 Auguste Cornu, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (two volumes, 1954 and 1962), Vol. 2, pp. 270–1.

143 Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (Stuttgart, 1888): English translation *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950).

144 Ludwig von Westphalen was the son of Philipp Westphalen, secretary of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick. During the Seven Years' War Philipp Westphalen acted in fact (though not in name) as chief of staff of the Duke's army and was ennobled for his services. Ludwig von Westphalen's son, Ferdinand Otto Wilhelm, (by his first wife) was Minister of the Interior in Prussia between 1850 and 1858 (Manteuffel ministry).

145 Friedrich Engels and Edgar Bauer (Bruno Bauer's brother) collaborated to write a satirical poem criticising Bruno Bauer's dismissal.

146 Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (second impression, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1961). The first German edition of these manuscripts appeared in 1932. See also H. P. Adams, *Karl Marx in his earlier Writings* (1940; new edition, 1965).

2

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND IN 1844

I. The Genesis of Engels's Book

Engels returned to Barmen in September 1844 and lived with his family until April 1845 when he joined Marx in Brussels.[1] It was during this period that he wrote his book on *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* A letter to Marx, written early in October 1844, began a correspondence which lasted for thirty-eight years. In this correspondence – as Lenin observed – the two friends applied materialist dialectics "to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up – to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class".[2] In his letter of October 8–10 Engels was unable to report any progress on his book and explained that he could not get down to work as the entire household was in a state of turmoil over the engagement of his sister Marie to Emil Blank.

Engels also told Marx that he had recently been in touch with communist groups in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Elberfeld and Barmen.[3] He declared that in his absence "the Wupper valley has made more progress than in the last 50 years. The social tone of the district has become more civilised. Everyone is interested in politics and in resisting authority. Industry has made spectacular advances. New suburbs have sprung up and entire woodlands have been cut down. It can now be said that – as a civilised district – Elberfeld and Barmen are above, rather than below, the average in Germany". Engels hoped that the workers of the Wupper valley – "our wild hot-blooded dyers and bleachers" – would be converted to communism.[4]

In November 1844 Engels visited communist sympathisers in Cologne and Bonn and called upon Otto Lüning in Rheda.[5] Dr Lüning edited first *Das Weser-Dampfboot* and then *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*[6] and Engels hoped that communist articles might be placed in the latter periodical. Despite these activities and despite the distraction of a love affair Engels was able to assure Marx on November 19 that he was buried in English newspapers

and books and that he was writing his account of the condition of the English workers. He indicated clearly the spirit in which the book was being written when he declared: "I shall present the English with a fine bill of indictment. At the bar of world opinion I charge the English middle classes with mass murder, wholesale robbery, and all the other crimes in the calendar. I am writing a preface in English which I shall have printed separately for distribution to the leaders of the English political parties, to men of letters, and to Members of Parliament." Engels assured Marx that he was attacking the German as well as the English middle classes. He would tell the German bourgeoisie plainly that "they are just as bad as the English middle classes – only more cowardly, more flabby and more stupid in their cruel oppression of the workers." Engels added that in writing his book he had escaped from the study of abstract philosophical problems and he was glad to be "actively concerned with real live issues – with historical developments and their consequences."[7]

In January 1845 Engels wrote that his parents had raised the question of his business career. Since his training in Bremen and Manchester had been completed they naturally expected him to take his place in the family firm. "In view of the glum faces of my parents I took the advice of my brother-in-law and had another shot at a business career by working for a few weeks in the office. Circumstances connected with my love affair have also influenced my decision. But I disliked the prospect from the start. Petty trade is too horrible, Barmen is too horrible, and the waste of time is too horrible. Above all it is too horrible to belong to the middle classes and actually to be associated with factory owners. It is too horrible to play the part of a member of the bourgeoisie and to be actively engaged in opposing the interests of the workers. A few days in my old man's factory were enough to remind me forcibly of the horrors that I have been in danger of forgetting." "I suppose that it is possible for a communist to behave like a bourgeois and to engage in petty trade so long as he is not actually writing. But it is quite impossible to be actively engaged in communist agitation and at the same time to be involved in the world of business."[8]

Engels also mentioned in this letter that Moses Hess, whom he had first met in 1842, was in Barmen. Engels and Hess planned to edit a new monthly socialist journal to be called the *Gesellschaftsspiegel.*[9] Engels hoped that this periodical would reveal the condition of the working class in Germany just as his own book would expose the sufferings of the working class in England. A month later Engels reported to Marx that the first number of the new journal was ready for publication.[10] When Engels joined Marx in

Brussels Hess became the sole editor of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* until his own departure from Germany.[11]

At this time Engels acknowledged the receipt of a brochure announcing the publication of Marx's *The Holy Family* which was an attack upon Bruno Bauer and other Young Hegelians. Engels's name appeared before that of Marx on the title page although he had contributed only a few pages to the book. He had written a criticism of Faucher's views on English affairs. He told Marx that "the new title *The Holy Family* will only lead to family upsets with my pious father, who is now highly annoyed with me, but of course you could not be expected to know this." When the book was published Engels complained of its inordinate length but praised the brilliance of Marx's writing.[12]

In February 1845 Engels wrote enthusiastically to Marx about the success of three communist meetings recently held in Elberfeld. "At the first we had an attendance of 40, at the second 130, and at the third at least 200. All Elberfeld and Barmen were there from the wealthy aristocrats to the grocers – but no workers turned up."[13] Engels described the meetings in an article in the *New Moral World*[14] and printed his own speeches in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*.[15]

The first meeting, held on February 15, was attended by "representatives of almost all the leading commercial and manufacturing firms" in the town as well as "the attorney-general of the district and other members of the courts of law". Moses Hess opened the proceedings by demanding the abolition of "the old system of competition which he called a system of downright robbery".[16]

Engels, who spoke next, was careful to present the middle classes of Elberfeld and Barmen with a moderate statement of his views. He summarised some of the arguments which he had put forward in the previous year in his article on "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.[17] He suggested that an economic system which allowed unfettered competition was bound to cause grave social distress. The "small middle class", once the backbone of society, was being ruined by the "great capitalists". "There are universal complaints that wealth is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands while the vast majority of the nation sinks into ever greater poverty." Engels denounced the capitalist system for its inefficiency. Manufacturers were continually misjudging the requirements of the market. Overproduction led to regular slumps during which factories were closed and workers were unemployed. In a communist society this would not happen because by state planning of the economy, industrial

output would be accurately geared to meet a demand that had been previously ascertained.

Engels denounced the wastefulness of the capitalist system. He criticised the rich for spending too much on the employment of far more servants than they really needed. He attacked the activities of middlemen and speculators whose profits raised the price of goods to the public. He asserted that capitalism fostered crime. Offences against the person were declining while offences against property were increasing. Engels believed that in a communist society poverty would be abolished and crime would disappear. In his utopia "the police, the law courts and public administration" would be largely superfluous. No standing army would be needed since no communist state would dream of attacking its neighbours. A well-trained popular militia would be adequate to defend the country against attack. Engels also described the socialist communities advocated by Robert Owen and praised them for their efficiency. He argued, for example, that the central heating of several houses had great advantages over a multiplicity of small fires. And he recommended communal feeding in a canteen in place of the cooking of individual meals by housewives in their own kitchens. Engels had himself, however, no experience of life in such a community.[18]

A week later, on February 22, 1845, Engels spoke at a second meeting in Elberfeld. He endeavoured to answer the criticism that in his first address he had illustrated his arguments from the experiences of foreign countries, particularly England, and that he had failed to show that the establishment of a communist society was an inevitable and necessary development in Germany. He drew attention to the widespread distress in various parts of Germany both in rural districts – the Eifel, the Senne, the Mosel valley, the Erzgebirge, Silesia and Bohemia – and in manufacturing regions. In his view the continued growth of the proletariat was bound to lead to the collapse of the existing social order and the establishment of a communist society. Engels then discussed the controversy concerning the fiscal policy of the German customs union and argued that neither free trade nor protection would save the capitalist system from collapse. He finally assured his audience that – if preventive action to solve the social question were taken in time – a violent revolution could be avoided.

A third meeting was held in the following week when Moses Hess gave a lecture. The authorities became alarmed at the situation in Elberfeld and they forbade the holding of further communist assemblies. When another meeting was held the police turned up in force. Engels wrote: "Of course, under such circum-

stances, no public addresses were delivered; the meeting occupied themselves with beef-steaks and wine, and gave the police no handle for interference."[19] On May 18, 1845 Count von Arnim, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, congratulated Freiherr von Spiegel, President of the Rhineland province, on the measures that he had taken to suppress communist assemblies in Elberfeld.[20]

On March 17 Engels told Marx that he had finished writing his book and that the manuscript had been sent to the publisher. Engels promised to let Marx have the 100 thalers due to him when the manuscript was delivered.[21] He had already raised a subscription of 150 francs from German sympathisers to help Marx when he had settled in Brussels in the previous month after being expelled from France. Even at this early stage of their collaboration Engels was already helping Marx financially and this was to become a permanent feature of their relationship.

In the same letter Engels complained bitterly of his situation at home. "I am indeed living a dog's life here. All the religious fanaticism of my old man has been aroused by the communist meetings and by the 'dissolute character' of several of our local communists with whom I am of course in close contact. And the old man's wrath has been increased by my firm refusal to go into petty trading. Finally my appearance in public as an avowed communist has aroused in him a truly middle-class fury. Now try to put yourself in my place. Since I want to leave in a fortnight or so, I cannot afford to have a row. So I simply ignore all the criticisms of the family. They are not used to that and so they get even angrier." "You can have no notion of the sheer malice that lies behind this wild Christian hunt after my 'soul'." "I have a great affection for my mother who has a fine and noble character. It is only in relation to my father that she has no spirit of independence at all. Were it not for my mother I would not hesitate for one moment to refuse to make even the most trifling concession to my fanatical and despotic old man."[22]

The circumstances under which Engels wrote his account of the English workers were not favourable to literary work. He had other things on his mind besides his book. And, as he explained in his preface, he had hoped to write "a more comprehensive work on English social history". Two years later Engels was reported to be still engaged upon this larger work but it was never completed.[23] While he was writing his book Engels was also contributing articles to the *New Moral World* and the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*. He was deeply involved, with Moses Hess, in political agitation in the Rhineland and Westphalia and also in founding a new socialist

journal. Engels's activities had attracted the attention of the police and he feared that at any time he might be expelled from Prussia. Moreover, despite the success of the Elberfeld meetings, Engels was disappointed at the divisions among the German communists. He could not persuade Hess to give up his support of Christian Socialism in favour of materialism and he could not convince Georg Jung that Karl Marx held very different views from those of Arnold Ruge.

Engels was also working under a considerable emotional strain. He was extricating himself from a love affair. It is safe to assume that he looked forward to resuming his association with Mary Burns and was not prepared to allow any other friendship to stand in his way. At the same time his relations with his family were rapidly deteriorating. Engels's father had every reason to be displeased. Although Engels was now twenty-four years of age and had completed his commercial training he refused to enter the family business. Instead he persisted in engaging in communist propaganda. The whole family would be disgraced if his behaviour led to his arrest or his expulsion from the country. The rift between father and son widened. Mounting tension at home made the completion of Engels's book no easy task. Despite all difficulties, however, the work was finished in March 1845 and was published in Leipzig by Otto Wigand in the following May.[24] By this time Engels had left Barmen and was living in Brussels.[25]

II. Engels on the English Workers[26]

In an address to the British workers, written in English, which appeared as a preface to *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels explained that he had studied their way of life by personal observation and by reading the relevant literature on the subject. "I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your everyday life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors." Engels had seen how the middle classes "enrich themselves by your labour while they can sell its produce" only to "abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit by this indirect trade in human flesh". Engels was surprised that there was no "readable book from which everybody might easily get some information on the condition of the great majority of 'free born Britons' ". It had been left "to a foreigner to inform the civilised world of the degrading situation you have to live in". Engels made it clear that he was no impartial observer but that he had assembled evidence with the intention of condemning the

English middle classes at the bar of world public opinion for the way in which they had treated the workers.[27]

In his first chapter Engels examined the organisation of the English textile industries in the eighteenth century. He suggested that in those days the workers had led an idyllic existence. They were fully employed since a gradual growth of population provided them with a steadily expanding market. They were generally small-holders as well as textile workers and therefore had two sources of income. They lived far from cities in healthy surroundings and could arrange their hours of work as they pleased. Engels considered that these workers had "enjoyed a comfortable and peaceful existence", their standard of living being higher than that of the urban factory proletariat of the 1840s. This situation had been dramatically changed by the inventions of the eighteenth century – the new textile machines and the steam engine – and by the development of the factory system and the growth of great manufacturing towns. Rural textile workers became factory operatives in urban areas. "The industrial workers no longer owned any of the means of production and they lost all security of employment. This led to the demoralisation of the workers and to political unrest." Engels described the course of the industrial and agrarian revolutions which had "no parallel in the annals of mankind". Echoing the views of Moses Hess he declared: "The industrial revolution has been as important for England as the political revolution for France and the philosophical revolution for Germany." Engels considered that since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 English politics had been dominated by the social problems created by the industrial revolution – problems which, unless they were solved, would threaten the very existence of society. The middle classes, now dominant in parliament, were sitting on a powder keg which might explode at any moment.

As in his "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" Engels asserted that the intensification of competition between different classes and between individuals in the same social group had been major factors determining the character of the new industrial age. He argued that "competition is the most extreme expression of that war of all against all which dominates modern middle class society". "Everybody competes in some way against everybody else and consequently each individual tries to push aside anyone whose existence is a barrier to his own advancement." The middle classes competed among themselves for the profits of industry. When trade was booming the competition for labour would benefit some workers who could demand higher wages. But wage increases would be checked by competition among the workers themselves for the

available jobs. "This explains the rise of trade unions which represent an attempt to eliminate such fratricidal conflict between the workers themselves." Engels thought that competition was the basic cause of the trade cycle – the rhythmic movement of trade from slump to boom and from boom to slump which was such a characteristic feature of the industrial age. He argued that only planned industrial output and the planned sharing out of manufactured products would eliminate the trade cycle and the need for a reserve of unemployed labour.

His description of the great manufacturing towns created by the industrial revolution was one of the finest pieces that Engels ever wrote. As an author Engels was at his best when describing his own experiences – in a merchant's office or on a military campaign – and when he was recalling his travels, whether they were in the wine growing districts of France or the urban industrial regions in England. He had not only acute powers of observation but the ability to convey his impressions in compelling prose. Engels observed that in the English industrial towns the poor were segregated from the rich and lived in "unplanned wildernesses of one or two storied houses, built of brick". "Wherever possible these have cellars which are also used as dwellings." "The streets themselves are usually unpaved and full of holes. They are filthy and strewn with animal and vegetable refuse. Since they have neither gutters nor drains the refuse accumulates in stagnant, stinking puddles."

Engels described some of the London slums – St Giles, Whitechapel and Bethnal Green – and drew attention to the tragic fate of the destitute homeless. His account of the working class districts of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and the West Riding was based upon personal observation. He had lived in Manchester which was within easy reach of numerous cotton towns; he had visited Leeds to see Julian Harney, and Bradford to see Georg Weerth. He contrasted the pleasant greystone villages of the Pennine valleys with the sordid brick cottages of the nearby factory towns which were black with soot. In Bradford he shared Weerth's disgust at what he saw. He found that "the workers' houses at the bottom of the valley are packed between high factory buildings and are among the worst-built and filthiest in the whole city". He observed that the factory towns around Manchester were virtually "huge working class communities", consisting of factories and operatives' cottages with few shops or amenities of any kind. He described Bolton as "a gloomy unattractive hole" while Stockport, on the Cheshire side of the River Mersey, presented "a truly revolting picture" when viewed from the great viaduct which carried the

Manchester and Birmingham railway across the ravine in which the town was situated. Stockport had an unusually high proportion of inhabited cellars in relation to the total number of houses.

Ashton under Lyne, on the other hand, having been built within the last fifty years, struck Engels as being "comparatively well planned". The factories had been built on the banks of the River Tame, while the workers' dwellings were situated on the slopes above. "Owing to the way in which it has been built, Ashton has a much more agreeable appearance than most of the other manufacturing towns." Yet even in Ashton there were streets in which "the cottages are becoming old and dilapidated". From Ashton Engels climbed a hill from which he could see the fine villas of the factory owners. On the other side of the hill lay Stalybridge where the streets ran "in wild confusion up, down and across the hill-sides". Here Engels saw "congested rows of old grimy and dilapidated cottages". He condemned the "wholly unplanned method of building" which had produced "a vast number of courts, back passages, and blind alleys".

Manchester, "the most important factory town in the world" and the English city that Engels knew best, was described in greater detail. Engels observed that the Manchester–Salford conurbation had three quite distinct regions – a central district of offices, warehouses and shops; an inner ring of factories, workshops and overcrowded slums; and a pleasant outer ring of middle and upper class suburban residences. "To such an extent has the convenience of the rich been considered in the planning of Manchester that these plutocrats can travel from their homes to their places of business in the centre of the town by the shortest routes, which run entirely through working class districts, without ever realising how close they are to the misery and filth which lie on both sides of the roads". Engels considered that "Manchester is unique in the systematic way in which the working classes have been barred from the main streets. Nowhere else has such care been taken to avoid offending the tender susceptibilities of the eyes and nerves of the middle classes. Yet Manchester is the very town in which building has taken place in a haphazard manner with little or no planning or interference from the authorities."

Next Engels gave an account of various working class districts which he had visited in Manchester and Salford. The first was the Old Town lying between the commercial centre and the River Irk. The district near the river was a slum of the most depressing character. "The worst courts are those leading down to the Irk, which contain unquestionably the most dreadful dwellings I have ever seen." The dilapidated cottages were packed closely together,

the alleys were full of refuse and the river was simply an open sewer. In the maze of courts off Long Millgate conditions were no better. Between St Michael's Church and Withy Grove the houses were rather newer and there was some evidence of planning in the layout of the built-up area. Engels summed up his description of the Old Town by condemning the whole district as being "quite unfit for human habitation". "The shameful lay-out of the Old Town has made it impossible for the wretched inhabitants to enjoy cleanliness, fresh air or good health. And such a district of at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants lies in the very centre of the second city in England."

The New Town – or Irish Town – lying between the River Irk and St George's Road was no better than the Old Town. The wretched inhabitants were tightly packed in a small area which lacked drainage or facilities for the disposal of refuse. To make matters worse the district was "infested with small herds of pigs". Little Ireland – in a bend of the River Medlock south west of Oxford Road – was a dreadful district inhabited by some 4,000 people, mostly Irish immigrants. "This horrid little slum affords as hateful and repulsive a spectacle as the worst courts to be found on the banks of the Irk. The inhabitants live in dilapidated cottages, the windows of which are broken and patched with oilskin. The doors and the door posts are broken and rotten. The creatures who inhabit these dwellings and even their dark wet cellars, and who live confined amidst all this filth and foul air . . . must surely have sunk to the lowest level of humanity." The slum dwellings of Little Ireland consisted of two rooms, a cellar and an attic. Each was inhabited by about 20 people and a single privy was shared by 120 people. Small wonder that cholera had raged in Little Ireland in 1831. Yet the condition of the district had changed very little since that date. Engels added that the working class districts of Hulme and Salford were little better than those which he had already described.

Engels argued that speculative builders were largely responsible for the scandalous condition of the workers' houses in Manchester and Salford. They were determined to make a quick profit in a short time and so they put up as many cottages as could possibly be squeezed onto each site. Since the land upon which they built was normally leased, there was a strong incentive to erect jerry-built houses which would be unlikely to outlive the period of the lease. Not only were workers' cottages built as cheaply as possible but very little was spent by the landlords upon the maintenance of their property.

If the condition of those who lived in the working class quarters

of Manchester and Salford was one of utter wretchedness that of the inhabitants of cellars was even worse. Engels estimated that between 40,000 and 50,000 workers lived in cellars in the built-up area of Manchester and Salford. For the homeless – those who could not afford a cottage or even a cellar – there remained the common lodging house. Engels stated that each of these houses accommodated between 20 and 30 persons. "In every room five or seven beds are made up on the floor and human beings of both sexes are packed into them indiscriminately." "Every one of these houses is a breeding ground of crime and also the scene of much conduct of an unnatural and revolting character."

Having described the housing of the workers Engels discussed their general standard of living. The Manchester operatives wore clothes of the poorest quality and subsisted upon a very inadequate diet. Although the better paid factory workers enjoyed good food when they had a job, the lower paid workers had to manage on a diet of bread and potatoes. To make matters worse the poor were cheated by unscrupulous shopkeepers who sold unwholesome and adulterated food and gave short weight. "The potatoes purchased by the workers are generally bad, the vegetables shrivelled, the cheese stale and of poor quality, the bacon rancid."

Engels concluded his chapter on the great towns by summing up his views on the condition of the workers. They had no security of employment and if they lost their jobs they suffered great hardships. They lived in jerry-built, damp, unhealthy and overcrowded cottages. They wore shabby clothes and ate poor food. "In favourable circumstances some of them enjoy, at least temporarily, a modest prosperity." "In bad times, however, the unlucky worker may sink into the deepest poverty, actually culminating in homelessness and death from starvation."

The health and morals of the workers – which Engels discussed in his chapter on the results of industrialisation – suffered as a result of the conditions under which they lived and worked. In London Engels had seen many consumptives – "pale, emaciated, narrow-chested and hollow-eyed ghosts". In the manufacturing districts fever was endemic in overcrowded insanitary slums and typhus regularly took its toll of the workers. Digestive complaints, skin infections and bone diseases were rife in the factory towns and were caused by the poor quality of the workers' diet. Other factors contributing to the poor health of the factory population were lack of suitable winter clothing, reliance upon quack medicines, and excessive consumption of beer and spirits. The factory districts had a high death rate owing largely to the heavy mortality among babies and young children. In Manchester over half of the workers'

children died before they were five years old. Engels considered that this was due not only to bad housing and poor food but also to the neglect of children by their parents. When husband and wife both worked in a factory their children were "locked in the house or handed over to someone else's care" and consequently there were numerous fatal accidents among babies and young children.

Engels stated that the level of culture and education attained by the workers was as low as their physical condition. In the elementary schools "a narrow sectarianism and a fanatical bigotry are awakened in the children . . . to the serious neglect of any reasonable instruction in religion and morals." This was because education was controlled by rival churches. Engels added that many factory children were illiterate.

The English workers had their failings – which were due to poor housing, inadequate food, bad health, and lack of education. Engels considered that their most serious failings were addiction to spirits, sexual immorality, and lawlessness. "It is particularly on Saturday evenings that intoxication can be seen in all its bestiality, for it is then that the workers have just received their wages and go out for enjoyment at rather earlier hours than on other days of the week." "On such an evening in Manchester I have seldom gone home without seeing many drunkards staggering in the road or lying helpless in the gutter." Engels considered that gross immorality – like excessive drinking – was inevitable owing to the conditions under which the workers lived. "All the failings of the workers may be traced to the same sort of origin – an unbridled thirst for pleasure, to lack of foresight, inability to adjust themselves to the disciplines of the social order, and above all, the inability to sacrifice immediate pleasure to a future advantage." Moreover the English workers had little respect for the law. Engels declared that "the incidence of crime has increased with the growth of the working class population and there is more crime in Britain than in any other country in the world". He considered the situation to be so serious that "already we see society in the process of dissolution". Social strife was developing into open class warfare between the bourgeois capitalists and the oppressed proletariat. Engels was puzzled at what appeared to him to be a great complacency on the part of the middle classes when faced with a grave threat to their security. "Meanwhile national affairs take their course, whether the middle classes realise what is happening or not, and one fine day the property-holding class will be overwhelmed by events far beyond their comprehension and quite outside their expectations."

Having given an account of the homes and living conditions of the working classes Engels proceeded to describe the factories and mines in which they worked. He argued that in the textile industries the introduction of new and more efficient machines enabled employers to reduce their labour force and to replace men by women and young people. As more men became redundant, and as more married women went to work, the wife became the breadwinner while the husband stayed at home to look after the children. The conditions under which women and children worked in the factories were an incentive to immorality. "The factory owner wields complete power over the persons and charms of the girls working for him." Operatives suffered from numerous occupational diseases and physical deformities. Whenever Engels went for a walk in Manchester he saw people who suffered from spinal injuries. He quoted a remark of a Manchester millowner that the local operatives would soon degenerate into a race of pigmies. Workers in the mills were often unfit for work at forty years of age. Certain tasks in textile mills were particularly unhealthy. Those engaged in carding and combing as well as the flax wet-spinners suffered from chest and bronchial complaints. Accidents at work were common, particularly when machinery was being cleaned. "In Manchester one sees not only numerous cripples, but also plenty of workers who have lost the whole or part of an arm, leg or foot." Moreover since mill operatives were often engaged upon purely routine repetitive tasks they tended to suffer from excessive boredom.

Engels condemned the tyranny exercised by the millowners over their workers. The operatives had to obey their masters without question and they were fined for any breach of factory regulations. They were punished for unpunctuality, for talking or whistling, for bad work, or for leaving a machine without the foreman's consent. The workers were subject to harsh discipline. "Their slavery is more abject than that of the negroes in America because they are more strictly supervised." The power of the millowners over their operatives was strengthened by the truck system and by the tied cottage system. The payment of wages in kind – in goods purchased at inflated prices at the employer's 'tommy shop' – was illegal but the practice survived in some rural and colliery districts. The system whereby certain workers rented cottages from their employer was open to serious abuses. "The injustices of the tied cottage system become infamous when the manufacturer . . . forces his operatives, on pain of dismissal, to occupy one of his houses, to pay a higher rent than is normal, or even to rent houses which they do not occupy."

The description which Engels gave of the textile mills was based

upon his own observations – he was working in the offices of a cotton firm – and upon talks with people like James Leach and his girl friend Mary Burns who had personal experience of life in the cotton mills. But when Engels discussed working conditions in other branches of industry or in farming he relied upon pamphlets, newspapers and parliamentary reports. Engels declared that the framework knitters and lace workers of the east Midlands were exceptionally badly paid and suffered from eyestrain, digestive troubles, scrofula and spinal defects. Calico printing was an industry which was changing from hand work to machine production. Engels wrote:

> "There was a calico printworks not far from my lodgings in Manchester, where work sometimes went on far into the night. When I got home the building was still lit up and I have been told that the children working in this establishment sometimes had to work such long hours that they snatched a few minutes of rest and slept on the stone steps of the factory and in corners of the outbuildings."

In the metal industries of Sheffield and the Black Country small workshops survived side by side with large factories. In both of them the condition of the workers was deplorable. The apprentice was exploited by the master craftsman in much the same way as the factory worker was exploited by the factory owner. Engels condemned the conditions that existed in the small metal workshops of the Black Country where apprentices and children were overworked, badly treated, and inadequately fed. The nail makers in the Sedgeley smithies lived and worked in wretched hovels. "In this industrial district the standard of education is incredibly low." In Sheffield, on the other hand, the cutlers enjoyed rather higher living standards, though some of them – such as the filers and grinders – suffered from asthma. In the Staffordshire potteries the factory children were "thin, pale, small and stunted". Any worker unlucky enough to have to handle chinaware which had been dipped in lead-arsenic glaze was certain to suffer from poisoning.

In London the dressmakers, milliners and needlewomen – whether they worked at home or on their employer's premises – were grossly exploited. At the height of the social season they worked long hours for low wages.

> "Poverty stricken needlewomen usually live in little attics, where as many herd together as space will permit. . . . Their health is ruined in a few years and they sink into an early grave, without having been able to earn the barest necessities of life. In the streets below, the gleaming carriages of the wealthy middle classes rattle

past, and close at hand some wretched dandy is gambling away at faro in a single evening as much money as a needlewoman could hope to earn in a year."

Engels's description of the English miners was based upon reports issued by the Children's Employment Commission in 1842–3. Miners suffered from many occupational diseases. In Cornwall the lives of tin and copper miners were shortened by galloping consumption and by physical deformities caused by climbing long ladders in mine shafts. At Alston Moor the lead miners had "a stunted physique and nearly all of them suffer from diseases of the chest." In coal mines and iron ore mines women and children were exhausted after a day's work and often stayed in bed on Sundays to recover from the exertions of the previous week's work. Since miners generally worked in a cramped position they suffered from spinal deformities, lung diseases and digestive complaints. Coal hewers and loaders were ready for retirement at the age of forty. In mines with thin seams of coal conditions were even worse as "the miner had to lie on his side, use his elbow as a lever and hack away at the coal with his pick." Fatal accidents were common. In 1844 over 90 miners were killed in an explosion at Haswell colliery in County Durham. Engels declared that in mining districts the illegal truck system was "the rule and not the exception" while the tied cottage system was universal. Moreover miners were paid by the weight of coal which they produced and Engels alleged that the owners repeatedly defrauded their workers of money that they had earned. He also criticised the annual contract which bound the miner to a particular colliery but often failed to guarantee him a year's work. Engels was able to record some improvement in the condition of the miners in 1844 as a result of a great strike in the Northumberland and Durham coalfield and of legal actions brought against colliery owners by the solicitor W. P. Roberts. But the Durham miners were eventually defeated. Roberts then agreed to represent the Lancashire miners. Engels wrote that before long "the gap between the factory workers and the miners – the former being more intelligent and energetic than the latter – will be closed. In the future they will stand shoulder to shoulder with the factory workers on a basis of complete equality. Thus one stone after another of the fortress of the middle classes is being knocked away."

Farm labourers, too, had their grievances. It is true that they worked in the open under relatively healthy conditions and did not suffer from the sort of occupational diseases that affected many industrial workers but they were exploited by the landed gentry and the farmers as much as factory operatives were exploited by the

manufacturers. Engels summarised the gloomy accounts of their condition which had recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*[28] and *The Times*.[29] "Their food is meagre and poor in quality. Their clothes are in rags and their dwellings are small and poorly furnished. They inhabit wretched little cottages which have no home comforts." "If they are out of work even for a few days in a month the farm workers are in a desperate situation. . . . If one of their number refuses to work for the very low wages that are offered them there are dozens of unemployed farm labourers – or paupers from the workhouse – who would be happy to work for any wage, however miserable it might be." Farm workers were so poor that they were strongly tempted to indulge in poaching for which harsh penalties were inflicted. "It is the severity of the punishment that accounts for the frequency of bloody encounters with gamekeepers." Still more serious were the recurrent outbreaks of incendiarism in the rural districts. There had been widespread fire-raising in the winter of 1830–1 and when Engels was in Manchester numerous cases were reported in the columns of the *Northern Star*.

In Wales the decline of the small tenant farmers – owing to competition from more efficient English farms – had led to grave rural unrest which found expression early in 1843 in the Rebecca riots. In Ireland the peasants who leased tiny plots of land had sunk into a condition of abject poverty. They lived in "miserable mud huts which are hardly fit for animals". "They are as poor as church mice; they go about in rags; their educational attainments are negligible." And over a quarter of the Irish population received some form of public or private relief. In the circumstances it was hardly surprising that crime was endemic in rural Ireland. "Not a day passes without the perpetration of some serious breach of the law." "Nor do the Irish hesitate to kill their oppressors – the agents and other faithful henchmen of the landlords, the Protestant intruders, and the substantial tenants whose farms have been established by evicting hundreds of Irish peasants from their tiny potato patches."

Engels discussed the reaction of the workers to harsh discipline, long hours and low wages. So long as the Combination Laws had been in force the workers had resorted to violence to resist oppression. Domestic craftsmen, like the Luddites, had destroyed machines which threatened to deprive them of work. But the repeal of the Combination Laws had been followed by the establishment of new trade unions. They, too, had sometimes adopted violent methods when faced with recalcitrant employers and with fellow workers who had refused to support a strike. A notorious trial in Glasgow

in 1838 had revealed the existence in that city of a union of cotton spinners which had resorted to murder and incendiarism to intimidate millowners and blacklegs. In 1843 a strike at Pauling and Henfrey's brickworks in Manchester had culminated in violence. The strikers first demolished the brickyard and then "broke into the house of the manager, beat up his wife, and destroyed the furniture". In February 1844 the Soho Grinding Works in Sheffield had been set on fire and completely gutted. But trade unions generally tried to achieve their aims by strikes rather than by violent action. Engels commented upon "the incredible frequency of strikes" in England in the early 1840s. "Not a week passes – indeed hardly a day passes – without a strike occurring somewhere." "They may be only minor engagements but they prove conclusively that the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is approaching." "These stoppages of work are a training ground for the industrial proletariat and a preparation for the next campaign which draws inevitably nearer."

Through the trade union movement the workers fought their employers for better conditions and higher pay. Through the Chartist movement they tried to gain political power by reforming parliament. A House of Commons dominated by a workers' party could secure reforms that neither Whigs nor Tories would be prepared to grant. Engels described the fortunes of the Chartists since their programme – including the demand for manhood suffrage – had been adopted in 1838. At that time Chartism had been a radical movement supported both by workers and by the lower middle classes. Engels suggested that the northern manufacturers – interested in securing the repeal of the Corn Laws – had used social discontent in the early 1840s for their own ends. The factory owners had picked a quarrel with their workers in 1842 by threatening wage reductions so that when the men resisted they could be locked out. And then the unemployed "would leave the towns and swarm into the countryside over the estates of the landed aristocracy". Social unrest would force the Tory majority in parliament to abolish the Corn Laws. But the Plug Plot riots of 1842 were put down by the police and the military. The Chartists – who had played a relatively minor role in the affair – were discredited. "Chartism became a purely working class movement and was free from the trammels of bourgeois influence." Engels concluded by observing that "it is the factory workers, particularly in the Lancashire cotton districts, who form the solid core of the working class movement. Manchester is the headquarters of the most powerful trade unions, the focal point of Chartism, and the stronghold of the Socialist movement."

Finally Engels discussed the character of the English middle classes and their behaviour towards the workers. He considered the middle classes to be utterly demoralised. "They are so degraded by selfishness and moral depravity as to be quite incapable of salvation." Engels praised the vivid picture of the "revolting greed for money" of the middle classes given by Thomas Carlyle in *Past and Present*.[30] The middle classes were not only greedy but hypocritical as well. They claimed that, far from neglecting the poor, they had "subscribed to the erection of more institutions for the relief of poverty than are to be found anywhere in the world." Engels argued that "the vampire middle classes first suck the wretched workers dry so that afterwards they can, with consummate hypocrisy, throw a few miserable crumbs at their feet". "It never occurs to these pharisees that they are only returning a hundredth part of that which they have previously taken away from the broken-down workers whom they have ruthlessly exploited."

The attitude of the middle classes towards the Corn Laws was, in Engels's view, another example of their hypocrisy. The middle classes poured their subscriptions into the coffers of the Anti-Corn Law League in the hope of securing the abolition of the import duties upon cereals. They claimed that they were acting in an altruistic manner to secure cheap bread for the workers. In fact – according to Engels – the factory owners wanted cheap bread simply to be able to reduce wages. The way in which the law was administered was – according to Engels – another example of middle class hypocrisy. In theory all citizens were equal before the law but in practice the English legal system was used by the middle classes as a means to oppress the workers. "At the root of all laws lies the idea that the proletariat is an enemy which must be defeated." The police and the justices of the peace were hostile and prejudiced in their dealings with the workers. Offences against property – such as theft or poaching – were punished with the utmost severity.

Engels attacked the Poor Law as a glaring example of the inhumanity of the middle classes. They accepted Malthus's view that if a man could not find work and provide for his family then "at nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him." If the middle classes were not prepared to let the poor starve to death they were prepared to treat the poor as if they were criminals. The workhouses – the hated bastilles – were no better than prisons and the paupers in them were treated with revolting cruelty. Engels quoted from the press numerous cases of brutality in workhouses. Moreover "in death as in life the poor in England are treated in an utterly shameless manner. Their corpses have no better fate

than the carcases of animals." In the circumstances it was not surprising that there was strong resistance to the administration of the Poor Law by the workers. "No other Act passed by the capitalists has so incensed the workers as this."

Engels concluded his book with a declaration of faith in communism as the only possible solution to the social problems of the industrial age. He believed that the existing industrial society of England would soon collapse and that it would be replaced by a communist society. Under communism competition would vanish and the rivalry between the capitalists and the proletariat would disappear.

An examination of Engels's account of the condition of the English workers shows that in 1845 Engels was in close agreement with Marx's philosophical views. Engels, like Marx, had come to the conclusion that "the course of world history was determined by definite laws and that – in any society – the social and political structure of the state was determined by economic factors – by the way in which goods were produced."[31]

III. Engels's Book in Germany[32]

The weavers' rising in Silesia in 1844[33] alarmed the authorities and the middle classes in Germany who realised that the country was on the threshold of an industrial revolution and that new social problems must now be faced. Newspapers and periodicals were suddenly full of articles on the distress of the workers and the problem of pauperism and societies were founded to ameliorate the condition of the poor. Engels's book was published at a time when the effects of industrialisation upon the workers were a live issue in the press and in public discussions. It was the most important socialist work to be published in Germany between the weavers' rising and the appearance of the Communist Manifesto. It was widely reviewed, widely read, and widely quoted. The first edition of 1845 was reprinted three years later. The book made a greater impact upon the public than any other work on social conditions in England that appeared at this time.[34]

Engels's work soon attracted the attention of German governments and their ministers and civil servants. Some official commentators argued that Engels was concerned only with English affairs and not with conditions in Germany. Circumstances in the two countries were entirely different and the problems which Engels discussed were of no practical concern to the German reader. Other official commentators took a more realistic view and admitted that one day the German workers might – unless some-

thing were done about it – find themselves in the same unhappy position as the English workers of 1844. They suggested that Engels's book was a timely warning to the German authorities to take action in time to prevent German factory workers from being exploited as the English factory workers had been oppressed by their employers. They were confident that the monarchical régimes in Germany would have the will and the strength to protect industrial workers in the future. In Prussia official commentators used Engels's book as ammunition in their resistance to the demands of the liberals for constitutional reforms and parliamentary government. In the Rhineland and Westphalia some leading manufacturers were behind the liberal movement. Supporters of the monarchy argued that Engels's book was a warning of the fate that would overtake the factory workers if the manufacturers should weaken the traditional authority of the monarchy and gain political power in Germany.

In Prussia reports on Engels's book were prepared in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior. The distinguished statistician Dr Freiherr von Reden of the Foreign Office wrote a memorandum on the book for his Minister.[35] He praised the accuracy of Engels's description of the condition of the English workers and declared that the author had presented "an obviously truthful picture of the attitude of the middle classes to the proletariat". "I am glad that a German author should have been the first to make a thorough comprehensive investigation into the condition of the English workers." Von Reden hoped that a similar book on the German workers would soon be written. A report by an official named Seebode to the Minister of the Interior also praised Engels's book.[36] Seebode argued that the work dealt only with English affairs and that Engels's criticisms could not be applied to conditions in Germany. But Alfred, Freiherr von Bibra, an official in the little Duchy of Meiningen in Thuringia took a different point of view. In a report on the book he suggested that social conditions in England should be carefully examined so that the authorities could take action in time to prevent a situation arising in Germany similar to that described by Engels.[37]

The Prussian authorities feared that some readers of Engels's book might think that Engels's criticism of the treatment meted out to the workers by the middle classes applied to Germany as well as to England. To counteract such a possibility the newspapers which were subsidised by the Prussian government argued that the condition of the English workers, as described by Engels, was due to defects in the British constitution and political system. A similar

situation could not exist under the authoritarian but benevolent rule of the Prussian kings.

This point of view was adopted by the *Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung*.[38] The reviewer of Engels's book was confident that the welfare services of the German states would shield the workers from the evils from which the English factory operatives suffered. He hoped that Prussia would develop into an industrialised country but that the monarchy would be strong enough to prevent the middle classes from dominating society as they did in England. The Prussian crown would defend the factory workers from exploitation by the capitalists. It would not allow the doctrine of *laissez faire* to triumph but would insist that industrialists should subordinate their own interests to the welfare of the whole community. By such arguments the writer hoped to show that the social evils described by Engels would not spread to Germany. A somewhat similar point of view was taken by Victor Aimé Huber in the journal *Janus* which was subsidised by the Prussian government.[39] Huber confirmed Engels's description of the condition of the industrial proletariat in England from his own observations but criticised Engels for lack of impartiality and for giving a biased view of the relations between workers and their employers.

The conservative press in Prussia generally adopted a point of view similar to that taken by official commentators. On the great estates east of the river Elbe the landowners encouraged the King to resist the demands of the manufacturers of the Rhine and Westphalia for liberal reforms. Political antagonism between the junkers and the industrialists was intensified by a clash of economic interests. The junkers favoured Free Trade while many manufacturers were protectionists. Friedrich von Farenheid, a conservative landowner in the eastern provinces, reviewed Engels's book in a Königsberg journal.[40] He did not doubt the existence of the social evils described by Engels but he did doubt whether they were caused entirely by industrialisation. He asserted that a number of these evils existed in rural societies which had few if any factories. For example, child labour was a social problem on the great estates of East Prussia just as it was a problem in the English industrial districts. Farenheid stated that he knew of three Prussian parishes in which 72 children were habitually absent from school, 33 attended irregularly, while 235 attended only during the winter. Farenheid thought that overpopulation was the root cause of social distress and pauperism.

The journals which represented the views of the business world were strongly opposed to Engels's political aims. They saw that Engels's criticisms of English capitalists could be applied with

equal force to German industrialists. If German millowners, like Engels's father, read *The Condition of the Working Class in England* they realised that they had been pilloried as severely as the Manchester manufacturers. That Engels advocated the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a communist society made it inevitable that middle class liberals in Germany would reject his views. Mönke observes that they instinctively recognised the threat to their own class if Engels's propaganda achieved any success. "The proletariat could change from an oppressed class to an aggressive revolutionary class and could become the most dangerous enemy of the middle classes."[41]

It doubtless caused Engels no surprise that a newspaper in his home town – the *Barmer Zeitung* which was subsidised by the Prussian government – should have given him an unfavourable review.[42] Again, a reviewer in the literary supplement of the influential *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*[43] criticised Engels for assuming that there was already open warfare in England between the workers and the middle classes, and rebuked him for insisting that "the present sufferings of the proletariat are caused entirely by the greed of the bourgeoisie whom he loathes with a burning hatred." The reviewer thought that "every educated impartial reader must be shocked a hundred times by the wrong-headed views expressed by the author, whose lack of all moral sense can be seen in his foolish and unjustifiable hatred of the middle classes."[44]

One of the longest and severest contemporary criticisms of Engels's book came from the pen of Professor Bruno Hildebrand of Marburg.[45] In a work on the principles of economics the professor devoted over 70 pages to Engels's book. Hildebrand conceded that Engels was "the most gifted and knowledgeable German writer on social problems" and that his book was based upon independent research and personal observation. But he argued at some length that although his facts might be right, Engels's interpretations of the facts were wrong and his comments were extremely biased. Hildebrand endeavoured to show, for example, that Engels had failed to understand English criminal statistics correctly and had been wrong in his assertion that English factory workers were worse off in the 1840s than the domestic craftsmen had been in the eighteenth century. Although Hildebrand was one of the leading German academic economists of his day his detailed criticisms of Engels's book seem to have been hardly noticed and not answered.

Writers in radical journals did not share Engels's political opinions but found in his book ample material to use in their attacks upon German manufacturers. Professor Karl Biedermann – who was later Vice President of the National Assembly at Frank-

furt – was no communist but he played an important part in bringing Engels's book to public notice. In the periodical *Unsere Gegenwart und Zukunft*[46] and in popular lectures held in Dresden and Leipzig[47] Biedermann discussed the rise of socialism in Germany and frequently referred to Engels's account of the condition of the English workers. M. Fleischer, another radical reviewer, declared that Engels's horrifying description of the miseries of the English factory workers was a warning of the gravity of the social evils that followed industrialisation if the State failed to curb the avarice of the capitalists.[48] Professor Weinlig of Erlangen, a radical publicist, reviewed Engels's book at some length in 1846. He was particularly interested in Engels's analysis of the economic and social factors which had brought about an industrial revolution in England. He praised Engels for explaining clearly how the social evils of a highly industrialised society had been brought about by "the tendency of the factory system to bring about great concentrations of capital, to promote a clash of interests between the factory owners and their workers and to reduce the industrial proletariat to a position of subjection to the employers".[49]

The socialist press and left wing journals which opened their columns to socialist writers were loud in their praises of Engels's book. They not only gave the book very favourable reviews but they often printed long extracts from it.[50] Moses Hess in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*,[51] Dr Otto Lüning in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*,[52] Rudolph Matthi in the *Bote aus dem Katzenbachthal*,[53] Josef Weydemeyer in *Dies Buch gehört dem Volk*,[54] Hermann Semming in the *Constitutionelle Staatsbürger-Zeitung*,[55] and Dr Hermann Ewerbeck in the *Blätter der Zukunft*,[56] were among the socialists, of various shades of opinion, who wrote about Engels's account of the condition of the English workers. The *Westphälisches Dampfboot*,[57] the *Breslauer Volkspiegel*, and the *Trier'sche Zeitung*[58] also reviewed the book. Although some of these newspapers and journals had small sales and a short life – and were harassed by censorship regulations – they helped to establish Engels's reputation as a leading German socialist thinker.

IV. Engels's Book in England

Although Engels's book on the condition of the English workers made a considerable stir in Germany when it first appeared it was soon forgotten except by Karl Marx and his disciples. After the failures of the revolutions in 1848–9 reactionary governments in Germany and Austria suppressed workers' associations and drove the socialist movement underground until it was revived by Fer-

dinand Lassalle in the early 1860s. Marx regarded Engels's book as a brilliant survey of the way in which modern capitalism had developed and a classic description of the social consequences of an industrial revolution. In 1862 he wrote to Engels:

> "I have read your book again and I have realised that I am not getting any younger. What power, what incisiveness and what passion drove you to work in those days. That was a time when you were never worried by academic scholarly reservations! Those were the days when you made the reader feel that your theories would become hard facts if not tomorrow then at any rate on the day after. Yet that very illusion gave the whole work a human warmth and a touch of humour that makes our later writings – where 'black and white' have become 'grey and grey' – seem positively distasteful."[59]

In 1867 in the first volume of *Das Kapital* Karl Marx observed that "the fulness of Engels's insight into the nature of the capitalist method of production has been shown by the factory reports, the reports on mines etc., that have appeared since the publication of his book."[60] A few years later Marx could give no higher praise to a book on the Russian workers by N. Flerowski[61] than to say that it was the best book on the proletariat since Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.[62] By this time Engels's work had long been out of print.

It was not until the 1880s that interest in Engels's early book revived. The rise and fall of the First International, the establishment of socialist parties on the Continent and the growth of trade unions in Britain and the United States fostered an interest in early socialist works and there were now demands for a new German edition and for an English translation. In 1885 Engels wrote: "My friends in Germany say that the book is important to them just now because it describes a state of things which is almost exactly reproduced at the present moment in Germany."[63] At this time Mrs Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky undertook the translation of the book into English for an American edition. Engels revised the text, and the book appeared in New York in 1887. Engels complained that Mrs Wischnewetzky "translates like a factory, leaving the real work to me".[64] He was exasperated by her inefficiency. Instead of approaching a publisher herself she left this to Miss Rachel Foster-Avery (the secretary of the National Women's Suffrage Association)[65] who turned the manuscript over to the executive of the Socialist Labour Party in New York. Engels objected to this arrangement and strongly criticised Mrs Wischnewetzky for having "bungled everything that she has handled; I shall never give her anything again."[66]

Mrs Wischnewetzky's translation appeared in England in 1892. In a new preface[67] Engels, now aged seventy-two, asked for the indulgence of his readers for a book that had been written when he was only twenty-four. "His production bears the stamp of his youth with its good and faulty features, of neither of which he feels ashamed." Engels observed that in certain respects the book was now out of date. In some ways England had changed for the better since 1844. "The petty devices of swindling and pilfering", characteristic of early capitalism, were no longer practised in 1892. Since Engels had written his book England's output of manufactured goods had grown by leaps and bounds and the progress that had been achieved by 1844 "now appears to us as comparatively primitive and insignificant". Consequently "the competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople no longer pays." The truck system had been abolished, the Ten Hours Act had long been the law of the land, while the existence of trade unions had been accepted by many of the great industrialists. Indeed "the largest manufacturers . . . were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony" between employers and workers. Engels argued that the reason for this was the desire of powerful industrialists to crush their smaller competitors and so "to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few". Nevertheless Engels considered that capitalism was just as evil a system in 1892 as it had been in 1844. The growth of capitalism had divided society "into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence, on the one hand, and an immense number of wage earners, the owners of nothing but their labour force, on the other".

Engels admitted that the environment of the workers had improved somewhat since 1844. The middle classes had been forced, in their own interests, to clean up the manufacturing towns. Alarmed by serious epidemics, they had improved public sanitation and had cleared away some of the worst slums such as Manchester's Little Ireland. "Accordingly, the most crying abuses described in this book have either disappeared or have been made less conspicuous." But as recently as 1885 the report of a Royal Commission had shown that the problem of providing adequate housing for the workers was still far from being solved. Another change that had occurred since Engels wrote his book was that while in 1844 Britain had been the workshop of the world her industrial monopoly was now being successfully challenged by the United States and Germany.

Engels blamed his "youthful ardour" for the erroneous pro-

phecies which he had made in 1845. "The wonder is, not that a good many of them proved wrong, but that so many of them have proved right." He had correctly foretold that Britain's competitive position, as a manufacturing country, would be undermined by the growth of great industries in America and on the Continent. To show in greater detail how this prophecy had come true Engels reprinted an article which he had written a few years previously on "England in 1845 and 1885".[68]

Engels concluded his preface of 1892 with a caustic reference to a "momentary fashion among bourgeois circles of affecting a mild dilution of socialism" and with a comment upon changes that had taken place in the East End of London since his article of 1885 had been written. "That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism', that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of unskilled workers." "And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin de siècle*, and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."

The English translation of Engels's book received a warm welcome not only from socialists – who accepted it as a classic account of the evils brought about by an industrial revolution – but from historians who regarded it as a valuable source of information concerning social conditions in the English manufacturing towns in 1844.[69] Early accounts of the industrial workers and their environment had long been out of print. Not only was Engels's book available but it was written in a vigorous style which kept the attention of the reader. Many discussions of social problems written in the 1840s had been limited to particular industries or to special regions whereas Engels had attempted to give a fairly comprehensive survey of the condition of all types of workers in 1844. Economic historians – Archdeacon Cunningham,[70] Professor Brentano[71] and others – accepted Engels's book as an accurate account of industrial England in an age which had seen the country nearing a peak of manufacturing activity. Engels was an eye-witness who had described what he had seen and heard. His references to contemporary official reports and private investigations gave readers the impression that he was not only an acute observer but also one who had mastered the literature of the subject. The English translation of 1892 was reprinted in 1920[72] and a new translation appeared in 1958.

V. The Significance of Engels's Book[73]

Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England* has had a curious fate since its purpose has to some extent been misunderstood and it has been praised for the wrong reasons. The claims of the socialists on behalf of the book merit further examination. Socialists considered that Engels's account of the condition of the English workers had two unique features. First, by using a new intellectual tool – the doctrine of dialectical materialism – Engels was able to show how the state of the English workers in the 1840s was an inevitable consequence of a struggle between social classes. Secondly, he was in a position to forecast the doom of the existing capitalist system and the forthcoming triumph of the proletariat over its bourgeois oppressors. His sociological approach to the problem revealed that industrial capitalism carried within it the seeds of its own decay.

It may be doubted whether either of these propositions can be substantiated. Engels's historical introduction, far from having any claim to originality, was little more than a summary of Peter Gaskell's book on *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833).[74] Gaskell had thought that in the eighteenth century the yeomen, the peasants and the craftsmen had led a happy idyllic existence and that the degradation of the workers in the manufacturing districts had been brought about entirely by the introduction of the factory system. No modern economic historian would repeat this myth. Many of the evils of the factory system – low earnings, long hours, unhealthy working conditions and the exploitation of the labour of women and children – were to be found in the domestic system of the eighteenth century. The small size and the scattered nature of the units of production at that time tended to hide social evils which came to light later when many workers were gathered together in large factories and mines. Even in Engels's day some of the worst conditions were to be found not in the great cotton mills, the ironworks or the mines but in such occupations as dressmaking in the East End of London and nail-making in the Black Country which were still largely organised on a domestic basis.

Engels's earliest attempt to forecast the future of a capitalist society was as unsuccessful as his first attempt to explain existing conditions by studying their history. He believed that his examination of the origins of the factory system, coupled with his analysis of the structure of English economic and social conditions in 1844 had enabled him to identify certain trends of historical develop-

ment. If these trends were projected into the future the collapse of the capitalist system, the downfall of the middle classes and the future triumph of the proletariat could be predicted with certainty. But Engels was not a very successful tipster. His assertion that the Chartists were on the verge of success in 1844 was soon proved to be wrong since the Chartist movement collapsed in 1848. His confident belief that the cotton lords whom he detested would be swept away by a great rising of the oppressed workers was equally mistaken. All his life Engels waited patiently for the English revolution that he had so confidently predicted but it never occurred.[75] He was wrong in supposing that socialism would first triumph in highly industrialised societies. In fact it was established in the twentieth century in backward underdeveloped countries. Engels was mistaken in thinking that in an industrial society the labour force would be increasingly composed of women and children.[76] His assertion that under the capitalist system the gulf between rich and poor would widen as time went on was also erroneous.[77] To those who drew attention to his blunders Engels replied either by claiming that a faulty prediction was due to the appearance of some new – and unforeseen – factor or by asserting that the prediction was correct and would still come true at some future date.

Nor can it be claimed that Engels gave a well-balanced and entirely accurate account of social conditions in England in 1844. It is true that many of the facts reported by Engels can be readily confirmed from the writings of other observers – such as Léon Faucher – who visited the northern industrial towns in the 1840s. It is in the selection and interpretation of the facts that Engels was at fault. He never made a secret of the fact that his book had been written not to give an objective account of the manufacturing districts, but to attack social evils and to pillory the class which he considered to be responsible for their existence. He saw himself as an advocate prosecuting a criminal, not a judge giving an impartial summing-up. Engels's knowledge of England in the 1840s was less extensive than is sometimes supposed. In twenty months he became well acquainted with Lancashire and the West Riding but his visits to London were brief and there were many manufacturing regions – the Black Country, South Wales, Tyneside, Clydeside – of which he had little if any first hand knowledge. His reading was highly selective since he relied to a great extent upon a small number of books, pamphlets and parliamentary papers. He made considerable use of the Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star*, which was an extremely biased left-wing journal.

Another criticism concerns the way in which Engels used the

material at his disposal. He sometimes exercised little judgement in evaluating evidence since evidence taken on oath appeared cheek by jowl with extracts from newspapers. Any statements, whatever their origin, were grist to Engels's mill so long as they could be used to attack the millowners. For example, Sir Archibald Alison estimated in 1840 that there were between 30,000 and 40,000 prostitutes in London. Engels naturally took the higher rather than the lower figure and then left his readers with the impression that the existence of 40,000 prostitutes in London was a known fact. Actually Alison had made it clear that he was only guessing and there are of course no accurate statistics of prostitution in England in the 1840s. Again, Engels claimed to describe social conditions in the 1840s, yet some of his evidence came from an earlier date. Thus he made use of an article by John Hennen on the insanitary state of Edinburgh, which had been written as early as 1818. He quoted from Kay's pamphlet of 1832 on the Manchester cotton operatives and from the official Factories Enquiry Commission of 1833–4 as if nothing had changed in the last ten years.

Engels's interpretation of evidence and his attribution of motives to the factory owners were often unsatisfactory. He confidently asserted – as if no other explanation were possible – that the Plug Plot riots in the northern industrial districts had been deliberately fomented by the factory owners who cut wages in the hope that the workers would strike and so force the government to repeal the Corn Laws. This view of the origin of the industrial unrest in 1842 was shared by such strange bedfellows as the Tory J. W. Croker and the Chartist Feargus O'Connor, but was hotly denied by the Anti-Corn Law League. Engels gave one side of the story without even suggesting that any other explanation was worthy of consideration.[78]

Engels also asserted that under the capitalist system the condition of the workers continually declined. He believed that when he was in England in the 1840s the sufferings of the proletariat were greater than they had ever been before. Socialist historians subsequently agreed with him. But other – no less competent – scholars have argued that during the so-called 'Hungry Forties' the workers as a whole were probably no worse off – and some of them may have been better off – than they had been in the 1830s or the 1820s.[79] Engels, however, put forward his point of view as an accepted fact which could not be contradicted.

Engels persisted in portraying the English capitalists as men dedicated to making money at whatever cost in suffering to their workers. So he argued that if hours of work in factories or mines were long and if heavy physical labour were involved, the entre-

preneur was ruining the health of the workers to make large profits for himself. But if improved machines were installed which enabled hours to be reduced and lighter work to be undertaken the factory owner was still at fault. This time he was forcing his employees to work faster to keep pace with new machinery or he was making men redundant and replacing them by women. The capitalist who ignored the social problems of his day was condemned as a heartless monster. Yet the enlightened employer who built model cottages for his workers and provided them with a canteen and a reading room was still criticised and was supposed to have acted from the lowest motives. The model dwellings were tied cottages which meant that the loss of a job also meant the loss of a home while the reading rooms contained only periodicals approved by the employer. Engels's attitude towards the employers made it impossible for him to write a really impartial account of social conditions in England in 1844.

The merits of Engels's book were different from those sometimes attributed to it. Engels had not written an impartial survey of the social scene in industrial England. What he had done was to write a brilliant hard-hitting political tract. The forceful language with which social evils were denounced eventually gave the book a place in German political literature comparable with Thomas Carlyle's pamphlet on Chartism in England. Engels had denounced the social evils of an industrial society in the middle of the nineteenth century more effectively than they had ever been attacked before by a German writer. His book had a powerful impact upon public opinion in Germany between 1845 and 1848 and it helped to generate a feeling of responsibility towards the victims of industrial changes.

Moreover Engels went to the heart of various economic and social problems which were still being treated somewhat superficially by many of his contemporaries. While orthodox economists were discussing problems of rent, prices and the rational use of scarce resources, Engels drew attention to the fundamental problems of economic growth. He was one of the first to discuss the trade cycle and the existence of a pool of unemployed workers and to offer explanations for these phenomena. He saw the significance of the growth of big business at the expense of small undertakings. These topics were later discussed more thoroughly by Karl Marx, but to deal with them at all in 1845 was no mean achievement. Engels's chapter on the great towns – one of the best in the book – showed an insight into problems of urban geography and urban growth which was far ahead of his time.[80] And his discussion of the significance of class antagonism – based upon a clash of economic

interests – in an industrial society anticipated much that Karl Marx and other later writers had to say on the subject. It is because Engels appreciated better than so many of his contemporaries the real significance of the factors which were changing the industrial society of his day that his book went on being read while the writings of so many authors who were at work at the same time have fallen into oblivion.

Engels's book was of vital significance in Marx's intellectual development. In the preface to his first major work on economics – the *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) – Marx explained that as a young man he had studied jurisprudence, philosophy and history but he had eventually realised that to get to the heart of legal forms and political institutions one had to examine the material conditions of life. "The method of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life." Engels's early essay on economic theory in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and his book on *The Condition of the Working Class in England* played an important part in turning Marx's attention from law and philosophy to economics. A comparison between Engels's book and certain sections of the first volume of *Das Kapital* – for example Marx's discussion of 'the working day' – shows how much Marx owed to his friend's book. It was from Engels that Marx learned how to make effective use of evidence collected by parliamentary commissions, by the Registrar General, and by factory inspectors to gain a real insight into the workings of the industrial economy. In later years Engels influenced the writing of *Das Kapital* at every stage of its production but the initial impulse which attracted Marx to a study of economics came largely from Engels and was one of his important contributions to the development of a theory of 'scientific socialism'.

NOTES

1 See Horst Ullrich, *Der junge Engels* (1966), Vol. 2, Ch. 6.

2 W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (1967), p. 387.

3 Engels wrote in the *New Moral World* (December 13, 1844): "I am just returning from a trip to some neighbouring towns, and there was not a single place where I did not find at least half a dozen or a dozen of out-and-out socialists. . . . We have partisans among all sorts of men – commercial men, manufacturers, lawyers, officers of the government and of the army, physicians, editors of newspapers, farmers etc.; a great many of our publications are in the press, though hardly three or four have as yet appeared; and if we make as much progress during the next four or five years as we have done in the past twelvemonth, we shall be able to erect forthwith a Com-

munity. You see, we German theorists are getting practical men of business. . . ." (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, p. 341).

4 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 8–10, 1844 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 1–4.

5 Rheda is in Westphalia and lies between Münster and Bielefeld.

6 The *Weser-Dampfboot* survived for only one year (1844). In 1845 Dr Lüning brought out another periodical called *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*.

7 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 19, 1844 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 4–8.

8 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 20, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 9–13.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

10 F. Engels to K. Marx, February 22–March 7, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 16. The journal was published in Elberfeld.

11 For the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* see the introduction by Auguste Cornu and Wolfgang Mönke to Moses Hess, *Philosophische und Sozialistische Schriften* (1961).

12 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 20, 1845; February 22–March 7, 1845 and March 17, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 11, 16 and 19.

13 F. Engels to K. Marx, February 22–March 7, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

14 *New Moral World*, third series, May 10, 1845, pp. 371–2 and *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 344–8.

15 *Rheinische Zeitung*, Vol. I, 1845, pp. 45–62 and pp. 71–81 and *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 369–90.

16 *New Moral World*, third series, May 10, 1845, pp. 371–2 and *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 344–8. For Hess's speeches at the communist meetings in Elberfeld see Moses Hess, *Philosophische und sozialistische Schriften 1837–1850* (1961), pp. 348–59.

17 W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels; Selected Writings* (1967), pp. 148–71.

18 Engels discussed communist settlements at greater length in an article entitled "Beschreibung der in neuerer Zeit entstanden und noch bestehenden kommunistischen Ansiedlungen" which appeared anonymously in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845* (Darmstadt, 1845), pp. 326–40. The article has been reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 351–66.

19 F. Engels in the *New Moral World*, third series, Vol. 6, May 10, 1845 and in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, p. 346.

20 H. Hirsch, *Friedrich Engels* (1968), p. 53.

21 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 7, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 17.

22 *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 19–20 and W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (1967), p. 388.

23 The *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*, No. 91, November 14, 1847 reported that "F. Engels, who is living in Paris at present, is writing a comprehensive work in several volumes on the history of the English middle class." In 1845 the radical Darmstadt publisher C. W. Leske twice asked Karl Marx to approach Engels concerning his projected history. Leske wished to publish the book. See Wolfgang Mönke, *Das literarische Echo in Deutschland auf Friedrich Engels' Werk "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England"* (1965), p. 94.

24 For the relations between the radical Leipzig publisher Otto Wigand

and Marx and Engels see K. Wiegel, "Otto Wigand. Ein fortschrittlicher Drucker und Verleger des 19en Jahrhunderts" in *Marginalien Blätter der Pirckheimer-Gesellschaft*, March 1963, Heft 13, pp. 33–44.

25 In July 1845 Georg Weerth wrote to his mother: "My very dear friend Friedrich Engels of Barmen . . . has written a book in defence of the English workers and has fearfully but justly scourged the manufacturers. His own father has factories in England and Germany. He is now at terrible variance with his family; he is considered godless and impious, and the rich father will not give his son another penny for his keep". (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 172).

26 F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England. Nach eigener Anschauung und authentischen Quellen* (first German edition, Otto Wigand, Leipzig, 1845; second German edition, J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart with new introduction by the author, 1892; new German edition with introduction by W. O. Henderson, J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1965). The first German edition was reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, 1932. The first English translation by Mrs Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky appeared in the United States in 1887 and in England in 1892. Engels wrote new introductions for these editions. A second English translation by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner was published by Basil Blackwell in 1958 and by the Stanford University Press in 1968. This edition includes a translation of Engels's article on "The Postscript of 1846. An English Strike" which appeared in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, January and February 1846 and was reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 393–405.

27 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), pp. 7–8. All references are to this edition.

28 *Morning Chronicle*, July 6, 1843, p. 3, col. 2–4 (article by Alexander Somerville).

29 *The Times*, June 7, 1844, p. 6, col. 1–2; June 10, 1844, p. 7, col. 1–2; and June 21, 1844, p. 5, col. 1 and p. 6, col. 1.

30 See also Engels's review of Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844 (in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 379–404. English translation in appendix to Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961).

31 Auguste Cornu, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1962), p. 269.

32 Wolfgang Mönke, *Das literarische Echo in Deutschland auf Friedrich Engels's Werk "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England"* (1965), pp. 23–60: an excellent monograph on the reception of Engels's book in Germany.

33 For socialist views on the rising of the Silesian weavers in 1844 see F. W. Wolff, "Das Elend und der Aufruhr in Schlesien" in *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* (edited by H. Püttmann, 1845 and reprinted in C. Jantke and D. Hilger, *Die Eigentumlosen*, 1965, pp. 157–78) and Karl Marx, "Kritische Randglossen zu dem Artikel 'Der König von Preussen und die Sozialreform, von einem Preussen' " in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 3 (1932).

34 See Eugène Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (two volumes, 1844); Gustav Mevissen, "Englische Zustände" (*Rheinische Zeitung*, September 13, 18, and 20, 1842); Léon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844; its Present Condition and Future Pros-*

pects (translated anonymously with additional notes by J. P. Culverwell: new edition 1969) and *Etudes sur l'Angleterre* (two volumes, 1845; new edition 1969; German translation, 1846); C. G. Carus, *England und Schottland im Jahre 1844* (1845); C. T. Kleinschrod, *Der Pauperismus in England* (1845); J. Venedy, *England* (three volumes, 1845); G. Höfken, *Englands Zustände, Politik und Machtentwicklung mit Beziehung auf Deutschland* (two volumes, 1846).

35 H. Welsch, "Ein Urteil des preussischen Statistikers Friedrich Wilhelm Otto Ludwig von Reden über das Werk von Friedrich Engels, 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' aus dem Jahre 1845" (*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1958, Vol. 6, Heft 4, pp. 821–4). The report has been reprinted in J. Kuczynski, *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, Vol. 8 (1960), p. 168 *et seq*. Dr Freiherr von Reden (1804–57) subsequently edited the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für deutsche Statistik*, the first volume of which appeared in 1847.

36 K. Obermann, "Urteile über das Werk von Friedrich Engels 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' aus den Jahren 1845–1846" (*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1959, Vol. 7, Heft 5, p. 1065 *et seq*).

37 Freiherr Bibra's report is printed in J. Kuczynski, *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 165–7.

38 *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, October 31, November 1 and 7, 1845; reprinted in J. Kuczyniski, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, pp. 170–85 and in Carl Jantke and Dietrich Hilger, *Die Eigentumlosen* (1965), pp. 406–25.

39 V. A. Huber, "Zur neuesten Literatur" in *Janus*, 1845, pp. 387–9. For Huber see the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 8, pp. 249–58.

40 Friedrich H. J. von Farenheid in the *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter*, Vol. 3, Königsber 1847. The review is not mentioned in W. Mönke's monograph on the reception of Engels's book in Germany. See Kurt Forstreuter, "Eine Stimme zu der Schrift von Friedrich Engels über 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' " (*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Vol. 53, 1966, pp. 366–9.

41 W. Mönke, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

42 *Barmer Zeitung*, 1845, No. 291. A long criticism of this review appeared in the socialist journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, 1845, Heft 6, pp. 86–9.

43 Article on "Einige neueste Schriften auf dem Gebiete des Pauperismus, Socialismus und Communismus" in the *Monatsblätter zur Ergänzung der Allgemeinen Zeitung*, February 1846. Engels's book was also discussed in a later article entitled "Acht Monate der deutschen Litteratur" (*Monatsblätter* . . . , March 1846, p. 142).

44 Quoted by W. Mönke, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

45 Bruno Hildebrand, *Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft* (1848), Vol. I, pp. 155–241; a new edition edited by Hans Gehrig was published in 1922; extracts in J. Kuczynski, *op cit.*, Vol. 8, pp. 186–9.

46 K. Biedermann, "Sozialistische Brestrebungen in Deutschland" in *Unsre Gegenwart und Zukunft*, 1846, Vol. 1 and 4: see also W. Mönke, *op cit.*, pp. 33–5.

47 K. Biedermann, *Vorlesungen über Sozialismus und soziale Fragen* (1847).

48 M. Fleischer in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, December 1846.

A similar point of view was expressed by an anonymous reviewer in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1846, Vol. 1.

49 Weinlig in *Archiv der politischen Ökonomie und Polizeiwissenschaft* new series, Vol. 4, 1846, pp. 74–98: extracts in W. Mönke, *op cit.*, pp. 116–18.

50 See W. Mönke, *op cit.*, pp. 43–58.

51 *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Elberfeld and Iserlohn), Vol. 1 (1846) and Vol. 2 (1847). This journal was founded by Friedrich Engels and Moses Hess. It was edited by Moses Hess.

52 *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* (Mannheim), Vol. 2, 1846, pp. 222–45. Dr Otto Lüning was the editor of this publication.

55 *Constitutionelle Staatsbürger-Zeitung* (Grimma), October 1845, pp. 513–15 and November 1845, pp. 521–4.

56 W. Mönke, *op cit.*, p. 57, states that Dr Hermann Ewerbeck was probably the author of the review of Engels's book that appeared in *Blätter der Zukunft* (Paris), 1845–6, pp. 97–128.

57 Dr Otto Lüning did not himself review Engels's book in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, which he edited – probably because of difficulties with the censor. But he did reprint a review by R. Rempel which had appeared in the *Öffentliche Anzeigen der Grafschaft Ravensberg*. See *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, 1845, Heft 11, 12, pp. 552–67.

58 For discussions of reviews of Engels's book in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* see articles by K. Obermann and B. Andreas in *Annali* (Milan), Vol. 6, 1963.

59 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 9, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 138.

60 Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (Everyman edition, 1930), pp. 240–1(n).

61 Pen name of Vasily Vasiljevitsch Bervy, 1829–1918.

62 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 275.

63 F. Engels to Mrs Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky, February 10, 1885 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–1895* (1963), p. 145.

64 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, April 9, 1887, *ibid.*, p. 182.

65 The inscription in Engels's own copy of the English translation of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* published in New York in 1887 was "Frederick Engels with the compliments of the publisher, R. G. Foster, Phila. June 7th, 1887" (*Ex Libris Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, 1967, p. 63).

66 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 4, 1887 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–1895* (1963), p. 185. Laura Lafargue wrote to Engels on July 22, 1887: "I have read the preface and appendix of your book with the greatest interest and the sight of the book itself has been an infinite delight . . . I was about 15, I think, when, a self-imposed task, I did the whole or part of your book . . . into English. . . ." (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 53).

67 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), pp. 360–71. The preface was dated January 11, 1892. A few days previously Engels had written to Laura Lafargue that he was working on the "proof sheets and new preface of (the) new English edition of *(Die) Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*". (F. Engels to Laura

Lafargue, January 6, 1892 in *F. Engels–Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 156).

68 F. Engels, "England in 1845 and 1885" in *Commonwealth* (London), March 1, 1885.

69 In 1895 the writer of an obituary notice of Friedrich Engels in the *Economic Journal* referred to *The Condition of the Working Class in England* as "this remarkable book" (*Economic Journal*, Vol. 5, 1895, pp. 490–2).

70 Dr Cunningham wrote: "Friedrich Engels's painstaking description of the housing of the Manchester poor is well worth perusal" (W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, edition of 1925, p. 807).

71 See L. Brentano, *Eine Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands*, Vol. 3, Part I, 1928, p. 140.

72 Mrs Wischnewetzky's translation was also reprinted in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Britain* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953).

73 This section is based upon my introduction to F. Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (new edition 1965: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, Hanover). See also the introduction by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner to F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (new translation 1958: Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

74 An enlarged and revised edition appeared in 1836 under the title *Artisans and Machinery*.

75 J. M. Baernreither wrote that "the violent revolution which in 1844 Engels deemed inevitable never came to pass, and anyone who today, after a lapse of forty years, examines carefully the condition of the working class in England, will be convinced that it never will" (*English Associations of Working Men*, 1889, p. 5).

76 G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Social Peace* (1895), p. 84.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

78 See anonymous article by J. W. Croker on "Anti-Corn Law Agitation" in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, No. 141, December 1842 and G. Kitson Clark, "Hunger and Politics in 1842" in the *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, December 1953, pp. 355–74. For the point of view of the Anti-Corn Law League see Archibald Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (1853; new edition with introduction by W. H. Chaloner, 1969). For the Plug Plot riots of 1842 see A. G. Rose, "The Plug Plot Riots of 1842 in Lancashire and Cheshire" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 68, 1957, pp. 75–112.

79 See, for example, W. H. Chaloner, *The Hungry Forties: a Re-examination* (Historical Association pamphlet, 1957).

80 See *Current Sociology:* "Urban Sociology (Research in Great Britain . . .) trend reports and bibliography", UNESCO, Paris, Vol. 4, 1955, No. 4, p. 30 where it is stated that Engels's description of the English factory towns in 1844 "should be studied as a model by those social scientists who talk so much nowadays about the need to introduce a 'conceptual framework' and 'hypotheses' into empirical research. . . . His description of Manchester is a masterpiece of ecological analysis. And he was the only one of the Victorians who understood the significance of urbanism – for better and for worse – also the reasons for anti-urbanism."

3

THE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARY 1845–1850

I. The German Ideology, 1845–7

Engels's happiest years were probably those which he spent as a revolutionary agitator between 1845 and 1850.[1] In those days – according to the German worker Friedrich Lessner – Engels was "tall and slim, his movements were quick and vigorous, his manner of speaking brief and decisive, his carriage erect, giving a soldierly touch. He was of a very lively nature; his wit was to the point. Everybody who associated with him inevitably got the impression that he was dealing with a man of great intelligence." Marx's Russian friend Annenkov later wrote that he remembered Engels in 1846 as being "tall and erect, and as dignified and serious as an Englishman".[2] He was a striking figure in any company – slim, tall, blond, short-sighted. He spoke very quickly and he stuttered from time to time, especially when he was excited.[3] He had a surprisingly youthful appearance for a man of over twenty-five. In 1847 he hesitated to accept office as Vice-President of the Democratic Association of Brussels because – as he wrote to Marx – "I look so dreadfully young."[4]

Between 1845 and 1850 Engels escaped from the drudgery of working in an office and spent his days in writing and in revolutionary agitation. Intriguing against his enemies and dodging the police gave an added spice to life. The close association with Karl Marx which began when they lived next door to each other in Brussels gave Engels the feeling of security that he needed. In the past he had been disillusioned by successive idols – Hegel, Strauss, Feuerbach – but now he had found a dynamic leader to whom he was faithful for the rest of his life.

Long afterwards – when Marx had died – he told his friend J. P. Becker that he believed his mission in life had been to play second fiddle to Marx. "I think that I played reasonably well and I was delighted to have such a wonderful first violin as Marx."[5]

In 1845–6 Marx and Engels collaborated in working out the doctrines of a new materialist philosophy. In 1847–8 Engels helped Marx to draw up the Communist Manifesto and – when the revolu-

tion broke out in Germany – to edit the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. When a warrant for his arrest was issued he fled to France and Switzerland. Back in Germany in 1849 he appeared briefly in Elberfeld as military adviser to the insurgents in the Wupper valley and then – when the revolutionary movement was collapsing – he acted as Willich's adjutant in a rising in Baden. In 1850 he shared Marx's exile in London for a few months before settling down to a business career in Manchester. Now thirty years of age he had found a philosophy of life, a leader to follow, and he had gained a unique experience as a revolutionary agitator.

How did Engels finance his five years of revolutionary activity? Georg Weerth stated in July 1845 that Engels's father had cut off his son's allowance.[6] Yet in the previous month he would have been welcomed home to his sister Marie's marriage to Emil Blank. Engels wrote to his sister that he could not come to Barmen for her wedding as his emigration passport was valid to leave Prussia but not to return.[7] Instead of going to Barmen Engels went to England with Marx and it appears likely that Engels's father paid his expenses. Possibly Engels was charged with some duties in connection with his father's business interests in Manchester.

Since Engels joined members of his family for a holiday in Ostend in the summer of 1846 it appears that there had then been a reconciliation between father and son. Engels was planning a visit to Paris and he hoped that his father would pay his fare.[8] He did go to Paris and there in 1847 – according to Stephan Born – Engels was receiving a monthly allowance.[9] It is possible that Engels's father sent his son a regular remittance to ensure his absence from Barmen. Had Engels returned to Prussia he might have been imprisoned or deported and this would have tarnished the reputation of the Engels family which prided itself upon its loyalty to church and state. Engels's allowance presumably ceased when he was able to support himself as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Engels's only other sources of income in this period were his salary as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (June 1848–May 1849) and occasional earnings as a free-lance journalist. When he was in Paris in 1846 he complained that the publishers of the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* and the *Rheinisches Jahrbuch* still owed him money.[10] He was often short of money. In August 1846 he was not even able to prepay his letters to Marx and in October he wrote: "For God's sake don't send me unfranked letters that I will have to pay for!"[11] He was again in financial straits in Brussels in March 1848. Karl Marx – then in Paris – told him to collect for his own use 250 francs due to him from various

people in Brussels.[12] Engels was still without funds later in that year when he fled to Belgium, France, and Switzerland to avoid arrest in Cologne. In his description of his travels he wrote: "I was short of money and so I travelled on foot."[13] On one occasion a farmer gave him a meal in return for some sketches which he made of leading French politicians.[14] In a letter of November 10, 1848 Marx wrote to the fugitive that he had already sent him 130 thalers to Lausanne.[15] Shortly afterwards Marx devised a shabby scheme – which he regarded as a brilliant idea – to raise money from Engels's family. "Since we are both broke", he wrote, "I have thought of a fool-proof plan to screw something out of your old man. Write to me saying that you are desperately hard up and I will arrange for your mother to see the letter. Your old man is beginning to get the wind up."[16] In January 1849 Engels told Marx that he was still short of money. "For several days I have not had a sou in my pocket and in this lousy hole there is no one from whom I can borrow money."[17]

When Engels went to Brussels in the spring of 1845[18] he became a leading member of a small group of young German radicals and revolutionaries who acknowledged Marx as the messiah of a new political philosophy. Some – like Wilhelm Wolff and Georg Weerth – were associated with Marx and Engels for the rest of their lives. Others – Hess, Weitling, Kriege, Born – sooner or later failed to give unquestioning support to Marx's doctrines and ceased to accept his leadership. The senior member of the group was the tailor Wilhelm Weitling. He was twelve years older than Engels and was an experienced revolutionary. He was an exponent of utopian socialism and believed that the principles of communism could be derived from a study of the New Testament. In 1843 Engels had regarded Weitling as the founder of communism in Germany[19] and in the following year Marx had declared that Weitling had a sounder grasp of socialist theory than Proudhon.[20] Weitling's *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (1842) was praised both by Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine. The former hailed it as "the brilliant début of the German workers" while the latter declared that it was "the catechism of the communists".[21] Weitling had been a prominent member of the League of the Just in Paris in the 1830s and he had established communist groups among German workers in Switzerland. He had suffered imprisonment for his activities.[22]

Moses Hess soon followed Engels to Brussels. He was a "true socialist" who claimed to have converted Engels to communism. He had recently been associated with Engels in spreading communist ideas in Westphalia and the Rhineland and in establishing

a socialist periodical in Elberfeld. Wilhelm Wolff[23] was a revolutionary agitator from Breslau who had been in prison for his radical views. He was well known as a journalist for his exposure of the grievances of the Silesian handloom weavers. Ferdinand Freiligrath and Georg Weerth[24] were the poets of the new movement. Freiligrath had given up a royal pension to secure the freedom he needed to express his revolutionary views. Weerth had worked as a clerk in Bradford and was familiar with the condition of the factory operatives in the north of England. Joseph Weydemeyer, formerly a lieutenant in the Prussian army and now an active socialist journalist in Westphalia, was Marx's guest in Brussels for the first four months of 1846.[25] Other members of the group were Sebastian Seiler (who ran a press agency), Edgar von Westphalen (Jenny Marx's brother), Ernst Dronke (a writer from Berlin), Ferdinand Wolff (known as Red Wolff) and the typesetters Stephan Born and Karl Wallau. The Belgian librarian Philippe Gigot was one of the few foreigners to be admitted to the inner circle of Marx's friends at this time. In addition to those who stayed in Brussels for some time in Marx's company there were others who came for short visits. These included Karl Heinzen and Hermann Kriege – Marx failed to convert either to his way of thinking – and friends from Cologne (Heinrich Bürgers, Dr Roland Daniels, and Georg Jung) with whom Marx had been associated when he edited the *Rheinische Zeitung*.[26]

When Engels joined Marx in Brussels in 1845 the young revolutionaries set themselves three tasks. The first was "self-clarification" – the definition of their attitude to Hegel's philosophy as developed by his successors, and the working out of their own materialist doctrines. The second task was to show the superiority of Marxian communism (based upon these doctrines) over other forms of socialism. This involved criticising in some detail the views of various thinkers and revolutionary agitators such as Proudhon, Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, Wilhelm Weitling, Moses Hess, Karl Grün and Hermann Kriege. These objectives were attained by writing *The German Ideology*, *Misère de la Philosophie* and articles in various journals such as the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*. Marx did not allow his literary activities to be restricted by his promise to the Belgian authorities to refrain from publishing anything concerning "the politics of the day".[27]

The third task was stated in Marx's theses on Feuerbach in 1845: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the time has come to *change* it." To attain this object the Communist Correspondence Committee was established as a link between revolutionary groups in various countries. And the League of the

Just in London was persuaded to turn itself into the Communist League and to accept the principles laid down by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. Forty years later Engels wrote that in 1845 he and Marx had "felt that it was our duty to justify our convictions in a scholarly scientific fashion but it was equally important for us to win over first the German – and eventually the European – proletariat to our point of view".[28] And when the revolution broke out in Europe in 1848 Marx and Engels could feel that they had succeeded in laying the foundations of a new political movement.

Marx and Engels did not decide to write *The German Ideology* immediately after they settled down together in Brussels. Both had other plans. Marx was working on his critique of political economy – having already received an advance of royalties of 1,500 francs from the Darmstadt publisher C. W. Leske – while Engels had declared his intention of writing a book on "English history and English socialism".[29] The two friends went to England in the summer of 1845 and visited Manchester where Engels saw Mary Burns again. He took Marx to Chetham's Library to study the works of some of the older English economists. Many years later Engels wrote to Marx: "During the last few days I have again spent a good deal of time sitting at the four sided desk in the alcove where we sat together 24 years ago. I am very fond of the place. The stained glass window ensures that the weather is always fine there."[30] Engels also got in touch with Julian Harney again and on his return to the Continent he became a regular contributor to the *Northern Star* for five years.[31] Among the earliest articles from 'Your German correspondent' were three letters on the state of Germany. Engels gave his English readers a somewhat unconventional sketch of the history of Germany from the decline of the Holy Roman Empire to 1830. These articles showed "Engels's conviction that political and religious developments were brought about by economic changes."[32]

Soon after they were back in Brussels the appearance of a new number of *Wigands Vierteljahrschrift* caused Marx and Engels to drop their existing projects in order to mount a full scale attack upon the opinions expressed in this periodical by Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner. Bruno Bauer had defended himself against Karl Marx's attack in *The Holy Family* and had equated the communist views of Marx and Engels with those of Ludwig Feuerbach. Max Stirner had replied to criticisms by Ludwig Feuerbach and Moses Hess of his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*. Marx and Engels considered that Feuerbach and Hess were not capable of demolishing the doctrines advanced by Bruno Bauer and his associates. So

they undertook the task themselves. And then Marx and Engels decided to expand *The German Ideology* to include an attack upon the 'true socialists', whose doctrines – like those of French socialists such as Fourier and Cabet from which they were derived – appeared to be directed to the petty bourgeoisie rather than to the workers. Between 1845 and 1848 these views gained currency in Germany and were put forward in several periodicals such as the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher, Das Westphälische Dampfboot* and the *Trier'sche Zeitung*. Karl Grün in Paris and Hermann Kriege in London had been spreading the doctrines of 'true socialism' among German workers living abroad.[33]

In August 1846 Karl Marx wrote to C. W. Leske to explain why he had stopped working on his critique of political economy for a time. "It seemed to me a matter of great importance that I should write a polemical work directed against both present day German philosophy and present day German socialism and to make a *positive* statement of my own philosophical position." Such a book, he declared, would prepare the public for his forthcoming volume on economic theory.[34]

The German Ideology[35] was written in the spring of 1846. The correspondence between Karl Marx and Joseph Weydemeyer shows that the first part of the manuscript was finished at the end of April and the second part was ready by the end of May. The authors then decided that the first chapter of Part I on Feuerbach required revision and some progress in rewriting this chapter was made in 1846. But the task was never completed and the first chapter remained unfinished. Many years later – in the 1880s – when Engels was writing a book on Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophy he unearthed the old manuscript of *The German Ideology*. "The section on Feuerbach," he wrote, "is not complete." "What we had written was an explanation of our materialist view of history – an explanation which only shows how deficient was our knowledge of economic history in those days."[36] Early in 1847 Engels began to write a postscript to *The German Ideology* called "The True Socialists" but this too was never finished.[37] All efforts to find a publisher for *The German Ideology* failed. In view of the length of the book and its highly controversial nature this is hardly surprising. And the censorship laws of the German states in the 1840s gave little encouragement to publishers to accept manuscripts from socialist authors.[38] Marx complained to a Russian friend, Pavel Annenkov: "You would never believe the difficulties which a publication of this kind comes up against in Germany, from the police on the one hand and from the booksellers (who are themselves the interested representatives of all the tendencies that I

am attacking) on the other."[39] In the end, as Marx later explained, the authors "abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice".

The German Ideology is no easy book to read. Even in its incomplete form – for neither the first chapter nor the postscript were ever finished – it ran to over 500 pages. The first chapter was planned as a critical assessment of the doctrines of Ludwig Feuerbach but the part that was actually written was a statement of the materialist view of history. Marx and Engels acknowledged Feuerbach's distinction as a philosopher and treated him with respect even though they did not agree with him. But their criticisms of Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner were not at all respectful. Anyone who imagined that Marx had exhausted the language of vituperation when he castigated Bruno Bauer in *The Holy Family* was very much mistaken. Page after page of even more vigorous criticisms of Marx's former friend appeared in *The German Ideology.* Marx and Engels heaped sarcasm, invective, and sheer vulgar abuse upon Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner and their followers. Some 350 pages were devoted to a devastating onslaught upon Max Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum.* Marx and Engels had an unerring eye for any weakness in their opponents' writings. Any error of fact or any defect in the logic of an argument was pounced upon and derided with savage enthusiasm. Marx and Engels were obviously deriving the greatest pleasure in denouncing what they regarded as the errors of their opponents. No wonder that the publishers to whom the manuscript was submitted rejected it. They recognised that very few readers could be expected to have the stamina required to read the whole of this lengthy philosophical diatribe from beginning to end.

Yet embedded in all the abuse of Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner there were passages in which Marx and Engels laid down doctrines which later appeared in the Communist Manifesto and became integral parts of the communist ideology. They stated the principles upon which their own materialist philosophy was based.

> In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. That is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process.[40]

Marx and Engels proceeded to discuss their materialist conception of history. They believed that the way in which men

produced what they needed in order to live – food, houses, goods – determined the social, legal, political and religious aspects of their society. Marx and Engels saw human development as a record of conflict between different social classes each fighting for its own economic interests. The climax would be a struggle between the proletariat and the middle classes – and the final triumph of the workers would not be achieved without violence. In a passage crossed out in the manuscript – perhaps deleted because it gave too much away – Marx and Engels wrote that Bruno Bauer would be "greatly surprised when judgment day overtakes him – a day when the reflection in the sky of burning cities will mark the dawn, when together with the 'celestial harmonies' the tunes of the *Marsellaise* and *Carmagnole* will echo in his ears, accompanied by the requisite roar of cannon, with the guillotine beating time; when the infamous 'masses' will shout *ça ira, ça ira* and suspend 'self-consciousness' by means of the lamp-post".[41] The fate that Marx and Engels had in store for any capitalists who survived the guillotine or the lamp-post was indicated by the threat that "just as after the Revolution the French aristocrats became the dancing instructors of the whole of Europe, so the English lords will soon find their true place in the civilised world as stable hands and kennel-men".[42] Marx and Engels proclaimed that a successful communist revolution would not merely sweep away "the muck of ages" and establish an entirely new society but that it would bring about a radical change in human nature itself. They argued that while previous revolutions had merely replaced one ruling class by another a communist revolution would produce both a classless society and a universal "communist consciousness" – which implied the radical "alteration of men on a mass scale".[43] Towards the end of his life Engels recognised a weakness in *The German Ideology* and other early writings by Marx and himself. In 1893 he admitted in a letter to Franz Mehring: "We all laid and were bound to lay the main emphasis at first on the derivation of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of the actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in doing so we neglected the formal side – the way in which these notions came about – for the sake of the content."[44]

Bruno Bauer and Max Stirner were saved from a public castigation of their doctrines by the failure of Marx and Engels to find a publisher for *The German Ideology*. Proudhon was not so fortunate. He was one of the leading socialist writers in France and had made his name by his book *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* (1840) in which he had denounced landlords who exploited peasants, bankers who exploited borrowers and manufacturers who exploited artisans.

Marx had hailed Proudhon's essay on property in the *Rheinische Zeitung* as a "supremely penetrating book". And in *The Holy Family* Marx had praised Proudhon for making "the first resolute, pitiless, and at the same time scientific investigation of the foundation of political economy, *private property*. This is the great scientific progress he made, a progress which revolutionises political economy and first makes a real science of political economy possible. Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* is as important for modern political economy as Sièyes's work *Qu'est-ce que la tiers état?* for modern politics."[45] Marx met Proudhon in Paris in 1844 but was unable to teach him much about Hegel's philosophy since Proudhon could not read German. And Marx was unable to convert Proudhon to his own doctrines.[46]

About a year after moving to Brussels Marx wrote to Proudhon on May 5, 1846 inviting him to co-operate with the correspondence committee that he had recently formed. Engels added a postscript assuring Proudhon "of the profound respect which your writings have inspired in me". But Proudhon's suspicions were aroused by Marx's suggestion that "at the moment of action it is certainly of great interest to everyone to be informed about the state of affairs abroad as well as in his own country".[47] Proudhon realised that "the moment of action" would be the moment of revolution. So he declined to be associated with the Brussels Correspondence Committee and explained that he would "prefer to burn Property by a slow fire rather than to give it new strength by making a St Bartholomew's night of the proprietors".[48] Marx was determined to be avenged for this rebuff for he regarded those who would not collaborate with him as enemies to be destroyed. The opportunity came when Proudhon's new book – *Philosophie de la Misère*[49] – appeared at the end of 1846. It was translated into German by Karl Grün with an introduction which gave the work the highest praise.[50] The theme of Proudhon's book was the paradoxes of capitalism. "Society has provoked the consumption of goods by the abundance of products, while encouraging a shortage by the low level of wages."[51]

On September 16, 1846 Engels wrote from Paris to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels that a new book by Proudhon would soon be published. Engels had attended a lecture by a German carpenter named Eisermann – one of Karl Grün's disciples – who had revealed some of the proposals contained in the book. Proudhon was advocating the establishment of "labour bazaars" or "labour markets" on the English model. Engels ridiculed the project – which in his view had already failed in England – and added contemptuously that "although Proudhon

criticises the economists he is making every effort to secure recognition as an economist himself".[52] Two days later Engels wrote to Marx that he had now secured further details concerning Proudhon's proposals. He thought that "Proudhon's latest stupidity is indeed a piece of quite limitless folly."[53]

No sooner had Marx read Proudhon's book than he again stopped working on his critique of political economy so as to refute Proudhon's doctrines. In a letter to Annenkov he went much further than Engels in attacking Proudhon. He declared that although Proudhon professed to be a socialist he had in fact been guilty of making a damaging attack upon the whole conception of revolutionary communism. "M. Proudhon," he wrote, "mainly because he lacks the historical knowledge has not perceived that as men develop their productive faculties – that is, as they live – they develop certain relations with one another, and that the nature of these relations must necessarily change with the change and growth of the productive faculties."[54]

Karl Marx's reply to Proudhon – a pamphlet written in French entitled *Misère de la Philosophie* – was published in July 1847 at the author's expense. He "set upon Proudhon's new book with a ferocity entirely inconsonant with the opinion of the value of Proudhon's earlier work which he had expressed and which he was to reiterate later."[55] Marx vigorously criticised Proudhon's arguments and also indulged in a savage attack upon Proudhon's character and abilities. He could not forgive Proudhon for taking Karl Grün (a leading 'true socialist') under his wing. Marx denounced Proudhon as an ignoramus and a charlatan – one who had made himself a laughing stock by posing as a philosopher and an economist who was entitled to be taken seriously. The significance of Marx's pamphlet lay not in the coarse abuse of Proudhon but in the light which it shed upon the doctrines of Marx and Engels on philosophy, history and politics. Franz Mehring considered that here Marx "clearly enunciated the doctrine of historical materialism and, for the first time, decisively argued the merits of his theory in a scholarly fashion."[56] Marx's pamphlet, however, had little practical effect and Proudhon's ideas continued to represent a challenge to Marx's doctrines. Twenty years later, at the time of the First International, Proudhon's followers were still stoutly resisting the spread of Marxism in France.[57]

While Marx was attacking Proudhon, Engels was trying to ruin the reputation of Moses Hess. In 1845 Engels and Hess had worked together to spread communism in the Wupper district but Engels had been unable to convert his former mentor to the Marxist doctrine. By 1846 Marx and Engels were determined to destroy

Hess's influence in the socialist movement. The method which Engels employed was that which has since become known as 'character assassination'. Engels used Hess's relationship with Sybille Pesch to brand him as an individual unworthy of the support of the workers. Moses Hess and Sybille Pesch had been living together as man and wife, though they were not married until 1851. Presumably because her passport was not in order Hess asked Engels in 1846 to smuggle Sybille Pesch across the frontier from Belgium to France and this Engels was able to do. Once in Paris her conduct was such as to bring Hess into discredit. Engels wrote to Marx that "Madame Hess longs for a husband and pokes fun at Hess". Later he declared that the lady had made amorous overtures to him and had offered to reveal to him "the secrets of her bedchamber at dead of night". Hess was furious with Engels and wrote to Marx: "I do not want to have anything more to do with your party."[58] In September Hess tried to become reconciled with Engels but was rebuffed and Engels declared that he would "ignore the creature completely".[59] They met again in Paris in January 1847 but cordial relations were never re-established between them.[60] In March Engels was still ignoring Hess who, he declared, was "now utterly forgotten".[61] Engels's intrigues in Paris contributed to the decline of Hess as an influential figure in the socialist movement. There is, however, little substance in Franz Mehring's suggestion that Moses Hess ceased to accept the doctrines of the 'true socialists' and was converted to Marx's views. What happened was that Hess tried to resume his activities in the communist movement by paying lip service to Marx's doctrines without really giving up his own beliefs.

At this time Marx and Engels also sought to discredit Weitling as a socialist leader. The confrontation between Marx and Weitling – like the confrontation between Marx and Proudhon – was an early example of a clash in the socialist movement between intellectuals and workers. Marx and Engels were middle class intellectuals while Weitling was a tailor and Proudhon had been a compositor. Marx never forgot that he held a doctorate from a German university. Marx and Weitling had become socialists in different ways and for different reasons. Weitling passionately denounced the upper and middle classes for exploiting the workers and he advocated revolution as the only way by which the proletariat could free itself from the power of those who exploited its labour. Weitling did not need to study philosophy to know that only a revolution could change society so that tolerable conditions might be secured for the workers. He had been organising underground groups of workers in Switzerland and elsewhere for many years. He had

advocated violent resistance to the capitalists and he was not interested in high-flown theories concerning the future of society. Marx and Engels, on the other hand, were intellectuals who had become communists by a process of reasoning from first principles. A study of philosophy, history and economics combined with an examination of contemporary society had convinced them that the next stage in the evolution of man would be the establishment of a communist society. Logical deductions from proven facts had revealed the truth to them.

Before his confrontation with Marx in Brussels in 1846 Weitling had been involved in a dispute with leading members of the League of the Just in London. He had arrived in England from Switzerland in September 1844 and had been welcomed by the League of the Just as an eminent exponent of utopian socialism and an experienced organiser of revolutionary groups among the workers. Between May and September 1845 Weitling took part in debates organised by the League.[62] He advocated an immediate rising of the workers – and he had the workers in Germany in mind – as the only method of sweeping the existing social order away and replacing it with a new communist society. But he soon found that his views were unacceptable to the members of the League. Indeed Hermann Kriege, one of the leaders of the 'true socialists' and a follower of Proudhon, was almost his only supporter in the debates. Weitling's strongest opponent was Karl Schapper who – in view of his own experience in Blanqui's abortive rising in Paris in 1839 – argued that it was premature to advocate an immediate rising of the workers. He favoured a policy of peaceful propaganda to educate the masses and to prepare them for a social revolution at some future date. This point of view had already been expressed by Karl Schapper, Josef Moll and Heinrich Bauer in a letter to Etienne Cabet on August 23, 1843 which stated that "the German communists . . . desire only to engage in peaceful propaganda and have never considered the use of physical force to secure the triumph of their principles".[63] And in September 1844 in a letter to the Hamburg *Telegraph für Deutschland* on the rising of the weavers in Silesia, Schapper and his colleagues had declared: "We are determined once and for all to raise ourselves out of the morass . . . not by violence but by educating ourselves and our children."[64]

Since his influence "continued to decline in London"[65] Weitling left England towards the end of 1845 or early in the following year. He settled in Brussels and attached himself to Marx and his disciples. Weitling, according to Engels, "could not get on with anybody" at that time. He saw himself as a misunderstood prophet

who was surrounded by jealous rivals. Engels claimed that Karl and Jenny Marx put up with Weitling's eccentricities "with almost superhuman forebearance".[66] But there were limits to Marx's patience. On March 30, 1846 a meeting of the Brussels Correspondence Committee was held at which Marx, Engels, Weitling and others were present. Marx's Russian friend P. V. Annenkov was invited as a guest and he later described the meeting in his memoirs. It appears that Marx suddenly threw out a challenge to Weitling: "Tell us, Weitling, you who have made such a noise in Germany with your preaching: on what grounds do you justify your activity and what do you intend to base it on in the future?" Weitling replied that "his aim was not to create new economic theories but to adopt those that were most appropriate, as experience in France had shown, to open the eyes of the workers to the horrors of their condition." Marx interrupted him and in a "sarcastic speech" declared that "to rouse the population without giving them any firm, well thought out reasons for their activity would be simply deceiving them". He added that there was no hope of a successful communist revolution in the immediate future. "The middle class must first achieve power" – and only then would it be possible for the workers to think of achieving their aims.[67] Weitling replied that he could console himself "for the attacks of today by remembering the hundreds of letters and declarations of gratitude that he had received from all parts of his native land and by the thought that his modest spadework was perhaps of greater weight for the common cause than criticism and armchair analysis of doctrines far from the world of suffering and afflicted people". Annenkov described how the meeting ended. "Marx finally lost control of himself and thumped so hard with his fist on the table that the lamp on it rang and shook. He jumped up saying: 'Ignorance never yet helped anybody!' We followed his example and left the table."[68] The extent of the breach between Marx and Weitling was seen shortly afterwards when – at a meeting of leading communists in Brussels on May 16, 1846 – Weitling found himself in a position of complete isolation. He alone refused to denounce the policy of land reform that Hermann Kriege was advocating in the United States. Not long afterwards Weitling left Belgium to join Kriege in New York.

Karl Grün, a 'true socialist' and a follower of Proudhon was engaged in propaganda among German workers in Paris. One of them – the carpenter Eisermann – was his principal disciple. In August 1845 and again in April 1846 Karl Marx warned Dr A. H. Ewerbeck, the head of the Paris branch of the League of the Just, against Karl Grün. In the first postscript to Karl Marx's letter to

Proudhon of May 5, 1846 Karl Grün's activities were sharply criticised. The postscript was signed by Philippe Gigot but was obviously inspired by Karl Marx. The postscript asserted that Grün was "nothing more than a cavalier of the literary industry, a charlatan who wants to practise a trade in modern ideas. He attempts to conceal his ignorance in pompous phrases and arrogant sentences, and has so far only succeeded in making himself ridiculous with all this gibberish. . . . So beware of this parasite. . . ."[69] In August 1846 Engels went to Paris in order to destroy Grün's influence in the socialist movement.

Hermann Kriege, another 'true socialist' had enjoyed a certain influence among the workers in Bielefeld when he was stationed there during his period of service as a volunteer in the Prussian army. The military authorities arrested him when he made an inflammatory speech at an open air meeting. Armed with a letter of introduction from J. Meyer,[70] he went to Barmen to see Engels who passed him on to Marx in Brussels. Kriege soon went to London where he joined the League of the Just and supported Weitling in his controversy with Schapper. Next he emigrated to the United States where he edited a weekly journal called the *Volks-Tribun*. He now preached a form of utopian socialism very different from the communist doctrines of Marx and Engels. Kriege joined forces with a group of radical land reformers. He suggested that the land should first be nationalised and then leased – rent free – in plots of 150 acres to smallholders. On May 16, 1846 Marx, Engels and their closest associates (only Weitling dissenting) drew up a "Circular against Kriege" which was lithographed and sent to leading communists in Germany, England, France and the United States. Marx and his friends declared that Kriege's highly unorthodox views "gravely compromised the communist party in Europe and in the United States inasmuch as Kriege is regarded in New York as the literary representative of German communism".[71]

Another revolutionary agitator who not merely declined to accept Marx's doctrines but had the temerity to campaign against them was Karl Heinzen. Here was another opponent to be attacked and discredited. Heinzen had contributed articles to the *Rheinische Zeitung* and had visited Brussels in 1845 where he had long political discussions with Marx. But Marx failed to convert Heinzen to his own point of view. Heinzen then went to Switzerland where he collaborated with Arnold Ruge to bring together a collection of essays called *Die Opposition*. While Ruge criticised Moses Hess and the 'true socialists', Heinzen (without mentioning Marx by name) criticised the materialist doctrines of Marx and his followers.

When Heinzen carried his attack into the enemy camp by pub-

lishing his views in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler-Zeitung*[72] Engels promptly replied to Heinzen's criticisms in the same journal in an article entitled "The Communists and Karl Heinzen". Engels refuted Heinzen's argument that the German princes were responsible for social distress in Germany. He declared that views of this kind were typical of middle class radicals such as Karl Heinzen and Johann Jacoby. The sins of the princes were irrelevant to any discussion of Germany's political and social problems. The only solution to Germany's problems was to overthrow the entire existing social and political system and replace it by a classless communist society.[73]

By 1847 Marx and Engels had achieved some success in discrediting their opponents and in purging their movement of what they considered to be undesirable elements. The influence of Bruno Bauer, Weitling, Kriege, Grün, Hess and Heinzen was declining while the position of Marx and Engels was improving. Only the attack on Proudhon had misfired. Marx and Engels had failed to secure his allegiance and had failed to undermine his position as an acknowledged socialist leader in France.

II. The Communist Correspondence Committee 1846–8[74]

When they worked together in Brussels Marx and Engels were no mere armchair philosophers. They not only produced a new philosophy and a new political programme – abusing vehemently all who rejected their doctrines – but they believed (as Marx had declared in his *Theses on Feuerbach*) that philosophers should not only interpret society but should also change it.

Between 1846 and 1848 Marx and Engels spread their new gospel by establishing the Communist Correspondence Committee and the German Workers Association in Brussels and by infiltrating into various socialist and revolutionary groups such as the Paris and London branches of the League of the Just. They were engaged in propaganda through left-wing political organisations – such as the Brussels Democratic Association – and through journals in four different countries. The *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* (Brussels), the *Northern Star* (Leeds), *La Réforme* (Paris), and *Das Westphalische Dampfboot* (Bielefeld) all published articles by either Marx or Engels or both. Marx and Engels also maintained contact with leaders of workers abroad such as Julian Harney in England and Ferdinand Flocon in France. And they attempted, though without success, to set up a Communist Publishing Company.[75]

Several of the correspondents of the Brussels Committee were men whom Marx had known in Cologne and Paris or whom Engels

had known in Elberfeld. Marx had not been forgotten in Cologne by those with whom he had been associated when he edited the *Rheinische Zeitung* while Engels had only recently been actively engaged in recruiting supporters for the communist cause in Elberfeld and Barmen. Socialists and radicals like Joseph Weydemeyer, Otto Lüning, G. A. Köttgen, Roland Daniels, Heinrich Bürgers and Karl d'Ester kept in touch with Marx and Engels in Brussels. In France and England there were branches of the secret revolutionary society called the League of the Just, the majority of whose members were German artisans. Marx and Engels had met some of the leaders of the League – Ewerbeck and Bernays in Paris; Schapper, Moll and Heinrich Bauer in London – and they hoped to turn the branches of the League into communist cells. Marx and Engels also corresponded with other foreign radical and revolutionary associations such as the Chartists – Engels had met Julian Harney in Leeds in 1843 – and international bodies such as the Fraternal Democrats of London.

Although most of the correspondence of the Brussels Committee no longer survives its policy may be gathered from the advice which it gave to the communists in Elberfeld and the Chartists in England as well as from Engels's reports on his efforts to gain control over the Paris branches of the League of the Just. A letter to G. A. Köttgen of Elberfeld dated June 15, 1846[76] – signed by Marx, Engels, Gigot and Ferdinand Wolff – welcomed the view "that the German communists should emerge from isolation and should be united by a regular mutual exchange of ideas". "We too appreciate the value of reading circles and discussion groups." Köttgen was warned against any premature political action on the part of the communists in Germany. Marx and Engels considered that it would be unwise at the moment to attempt to organise petitions or to hold a congress. "A petition would be effective only if it were a threat supported by a mass of compact organised public opinion." And "only when Germany is covered with a network of communist groups with adequate financial reserves would it be possible for representatives from these groups to hold a congress with any chance of success. This will not be possible before next year."

The postscript is more significant than the letter itself for the light it throws upon the way in which Marx and Engels expected to seize political power. Köttgen was told that since the German communists were powerless to take the political initiative they should support demonstrations organised by the liberals. "Behave like jesuits! Forget your German honour, candour and respectability! Support middle class petitions for freedom of the press, a

constitution and so on. When these middle class demands have been achieved the ground will be prepared for communist propaganda. Then we shall have a better chance of getting our way since the rivalry between the middle classes and the proletariat have been accentuated. To aid the communist party you should support any policy which will be to our advantage in the long run. And do not be deterred by any stuffy moral scruples." Marx and Engels argued that the communists should first pose as allies of the middle class liberals in their struggle against the feudal aristocrats but as soon as the landed gentry had been crushed and the middle classes were in control of the government the communists should turn upon their former associates and seize power themselves.

In England, on the other hand, Marx and Engels held that the downfall of the landed interest as a political force was already assured by the triumph of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1846. There was no need, as in Germany, for the workers to support the middle classes against the aristocracy. Already the way was clear for the workers – organised in the Chartist movement – to overthrow the middle classes and gain power for themselves. A month after giving their machiavellian advice to the Elberfeld communists Marx, Engels, and Gigot wrote an open letter to Feargus O'Connor in which they declared that "the ground is cleared by the retreat of the landed aristocracy from the contest; middle class and working class are the only classes betwixt whom there can be a possible struggle. The contending parties have their respective battle cries forced upon them by their interests and mutual position – the middle classes: 'Extension of commerce by any means whatsoever, and a ministry of Lancashire cotton lords to carry this out;' the working class: 'A democratic reconstruction of the constitution upon the basis of the People's Charter,' by which the working class will become the ruling class of England."[77]

It was, however, to France rather than to England or Germany that Marx and Engels looked as the country which would first see the overthrow of the established order. Twice before – in 1789 and in 1830 – a French revolution had been a turning point in European history. By 1846 revolutionary groups throughout the Continent were looking to Paris for the sign that would herald the fall of reactionary governments in Germany, Austria and Italy. Marx and Engels considered that it was essential for his Correspondence Committee to be kept fully informed of the revolutionary movement in France. They hoped to "ally themselves with the Social-Democrats against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great

Revolution."[78] Marx's attempt in May 1846 to enrol Proudhon as a correspondent of his committee had failed. In August, following a holiday in Ostend with members of his family,[79] Engels went to Paris as an emissary of the Brussels Committee. He had two main tasks to perform. The first was to establish contact with French socialists such as Etienne Cabet, Louis Blanc and Ferdinand Flocon, the editor of *La Réforme*. The second was to eradicate the influence of the 'true socialists' in the Paris branches of the League of the Just. Engels's reports to the Brussels Committee and his letters to Marx tell the story of his mission to Paris.

When he arrived in Paris in August 1846 Engels called upon Etienne Cabet whom he regarded as "the acknowledged spokesman of the vast mass of the French workers".[80] He wrote to Marx that he had been cordially received by the veteran socialist but advised Marx not to press Cabet to correspond with the Brussels Committee since "in the first place he is very busy and secondly he is too mistrustful".[81] Engels also met Dr A. H. Ewerbeck, one of the leaders of the revolutionary German artisans working in Paris and organised as a branch of the League of the Just. Marx had already warned Ewerbeck against the activities of the utopian and 'true socialists' – Proudhon, Weitling, Hess, Grün and their disciples. Now Engels made it clear that the object of his mission was to stamp out these heretical views. He found that a number of the workers were influenced more by the carpenters Adolph Junge and Eisermann than by Dr Ewerbeck. Engels contemptuously dismissed Eisermann as "a sheepshead",[82] "a windy old master carpenter and nothing more than one of Grün's lackeys" but he formed a higher opinion of Junge who had "ten times more sense than the rest of the gang put together – though he is very unstable and is always hatching out new schemes".[83] Engels regarded with the utmost contempt the bulk of the German artisans whom he met in Paris and he dismissed them as "blockheads" and "donkeys". He gained the confidence of Ewerbeck and Junge and felt sure that he could soon dispose of Eisermann. But the task proved to be more difficult than he had anticipated. The carpenters and tailors showed a greater interest in Proudhon's scheme for labour bazaars than in Engels's lectures on history and economics.

In October 1846 Engels reported his first success to his friends in Brussels. He wrote to Marx that his opponents among the German workers in Paris had been "barking loudly" at him. But he had got his way "with some patience and a certain amount of terrorism".[84] In a report to the Communist Correspondence Committee Engels stated that he had attended several meetings of the workers at which Proudhon's proposed labour bazaars had been

discussed. Engels wrote that he had been "furious at the endless repetition of the same arguments of my opponents" and that he had goaded Eisermann into openly challenging the validity of communist doctrines.

Engels then submitted the following definition of communism to the German workers:

(1) To achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie.
(2) To do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods.
(3) To recognise no means of carrying out these objectives other than a democratic revolutionary force.

By thirteen votes to two the meeting approved this definition of communist principles.[85] Engels's thirteen supporters would have been surprised if they could have known that Lenin would one day regard this meeting as the genesis of the German Socialist Party.

To recruit thirteen workers was a small reward for several weeks of propaganda and intrigue among the German workers in Paris. The Correspondence Committee in Brussels had hoped for something better than this from their emissary. Engels had shown in Elberfeld that he had no difficulty in holding the attention of a middle class audience but he was no demagogue who could arouse the enthusiasm of a working class audience. Stephan Born's comments upon Engels's activities in the early months of 1847 are relevant in this connection. Born was a twenty-three-year-old compositor who came to Paris in January of that year and soon made friends with Engels. In his memoirs Born wrote: "We spent most of our evenings together and frequently made excursions on Sundays in the districts around Paris." Born observed that Engels "must himself have realised that he had failed to exercise any influence over the real working classes." "After all he came from a rich middle class family and was quite well off. He received a monthly remittance from his father who owned a large mill in Barmen."[86]

There was another reason for Engels's lack of success in Paris. Towards the end of December 1846 he informed Marx that he had been denounced to the police by his enemies. Fearing expulsion from France he dropped his agitation among the German workers for some months, excusing himself with the reflection that he had achieved the main object of his mission – "the triumph over Grün". He indulged in the pleasures available to a young man in Paris with a private income. He frequented the cafés[87] and the Palais

Royal music hall[88] and he enjoyed "some very agreeable friendships with *grisettes*".[89] In one letter to Marx he declared that "but for the French girls, life would be insupportable here"[90] and in another he referred to his "mistresses, past, present and future".[91]

Events in Germany and England, however, soon led to a resumption of Engels's political activities. Early in 1847 Joseph Moll, having visited Marx in Brussels, came to Paris to invite Engels to join the London League of the Just and to co-operate in its reorganisation. And on February 3 the King of Prussia announced that he proposed to summon a United Diet of representatives from all the provincial assemblies. Engels hoped that the calling of the United Diet would herald the rise to power of the middle class liberals in Prussia and other German states and so pave the way for the eventual triumph of the workers under communist leadership. In March and April he wrote a pamphlet on the political situation in Germany which he called "a brochure on the constitution".[92] He sent the manuscript to Marx who wrote in May 1847 that he was very pleased with the first part but felt that the second and third parts needed revision. The pamphlet was not printed owing to the arrest in Aachen of C. G. Vogler, the Brussels bookseller who intended to publish it.[93] Part of the manuscript was lost and it was many years after Engels's death before what survived was published under the title *The Status Quo in Germany*.[94] Iring Fetscher regards it as "one of the most brilliant criticisms of the (German) bureaucracy and political backwardness to be written by a revolutionary intellectual in the nineteenth century.[95]

The purpose of Engels's pamphlet was to discuss the possible courses of action open to the communists in Prussia and other German states in the light of the forthcoming meeting of the United Diet.[96] The communist party, he wrote, "must make up its mind and adopt a definite policy and a definite plan of campaign." It "must assess the actual means at its disposal to achieve its aims." Engels recommended that the communist party should "wash its hands of any connection with the reactionary 'true socialists' ". He argued that in Germany in 1847 effective political power lay in the hands of the old landed aristocracy and a social group which he called the 'petty bourgeoisie'. By 'petty bourgeoisie' Engels seems to have meant the small manufacturers, traders, shopkeepers and independent craftsmen. The landed gentry were the dominant partner, the 'petty bourgeoisie' the junior partner. These two social classes had "handed over administration to a third social group – the bureaucracy".

Engels considered that "the main cause of Germany's wretched condition today is that so far no social class has been strong

enough to raise its economic activity to one of such overwhelming national importance that it can come forward as the undisputed leader of the whole country." The great landowners were declining – many were head over heels in debt – while the 'petty bourgeoisie' operated on too small a scale to become powerful either from an economic or a political point of view. The only class which was capable of wresting political power from the landed aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie was the middle class. This class, wrote Engels, "is the only one in Germany which knows exactly what it wants to put in the place of the *Status Quo*. It is the only party which does not have a policy based upon abstract principle and historical deductions. Its platform has definite and clearly formulated aims capable of immediate realisation. It is the only party which – at any rate on a local or provincial basis – has some sort of organisation and some sort of plan of action. In short it is the party which has taken the lead in fighting the *Status Quo* and is directly concerned with bringing it to a speedy end. The middle class party is therefore the only party which has any serious chance of success in the struggle against the *Status Quo*." "At this very moment it is essential that the middle class should gain political supremacy in Germany and it is not to be destroyed." Unfortunately Engels's manuscript is incomplete and it breaks off before he discusses the future political *rôle* of the communists in Germany. His views on this question were soon to be given in his "Principles of Communism" and in the Communist Manifesto itself.

Having expressed his views on the political situation in Germany Engels turned his attention to the affairs of the League of the Just in England. As a result of Moll's mission to Brussels and Paris early in 1847 Marx and Engels had agreed to co-operate in the proposed re-organisation of the League. Arrangements were made to call a conference of League delegates in the summer. Engels was anxious to gain some influence over the largest and most important of the groups of revolutionary German workers living abroad. He wished to attend the conference as the accredited representative of the Paris branch of the League. But there was some opposition to Engels's candidature. The way in which Engels was selected was recounted by Stephan Born in his memoirs. Born wrote: "A meeting of the League of the Just was held to elect a representative to the Central Committee in London and I was asked to take the chair. Engels wished to be elected but I realised that it would not be easy to accomplish this as he had to face a great deal of opposition. I secured his election by breaking the usual rules of procedure. Instead of asking those who favoured Engels's election to raise their hands I called upon those who opposed his election

to put up their hands. Today I look back with horror upon this masterpiece of chairmanship. On our way home Engels said to me: 'You made a good job of that!' "[97]

The conference of the League of the Just was held in London in June 1847. In Marx's absence Engels was the leading representative of the Marxist point of view – with Wilhelm Wolff as an able colleague. He achieved a considerable measure of success in persuading the delegates to accept the new Marxian philosophy and to re-organise the League – now renamed the Communist League – on lines acceptable to Marx and himself. New statutes were adopted and it was decided to circularise them to branches of the League and to hold a second conference later in the year to ratify the decisions of the first conference.

When Engels left London in the middle of August he did not return to Paris but went to Brussels. At that time Marx was in Holland visiting his relations – the Philips family – from whom he hoped to raise some money. So, as at the recent conference of the League of the Just, Engels again had to act as Marx's representative and assume responsibility for the policy of the communist group in Brussels. He had to deal with the affairs of the Brussels German Workers Association and the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*.

The German Workers Association had been established in Brussels (as a branch of the new Communist League) on August 5, 1847 and it provided both educational and recreational facilities for its members most of whom were craftsmen, factory workers or clerks. It soon enrolled over 100 members. The association was virtually controlled by Marx and his friends. Moses Hess and Karl Wallau[98] were the presidents of the Association while Wilhelm Wolff was the secretary. Wilhelm Wolff's talks on current affairs on Sunday evenings and Wallau's renderings of German ballads in a fine baritone voice were popular features of the Association's weekly programme. Marx, too, lectured to members of the Association on his theory of surplus value.[99]

The hold of the communists over the German Workers Association was challenged by Adalbert Bornstedt. In public he was a radical journalist; in private he was almost certainly a Prussian spy. A former Prussian army officer, he had edited the journal *Vorwärts* in Paris in 1844 and Marx had been one of his contributors. Between January 1847 and February 1848 he edited the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* which, in Engels's words, "mercilessly exposed the blessing of the police régime in the Fatherland".[100] Marx and Engels tried to capture this paper as an organ for the propagation of their views. Bornstedt was a member of the Communist League until his expulsion in March 1848. He had been in

the pay of the Austrian[101] and Prussian governments in the past and it is reasonable to assume that he was still plying his unsavoury trade and was reporting to the Prussian authorities on the activities of the German political exiles in Brussels.[102] Freiligrath had written in 1845: "Adalbert von Bornstedt, who has been ostensibly expelled from France at the request of the Prussian authorities, is really here to spy on us emigrées and only incidentally to edit a newspaper which furthers the cause of the German customs union. He is indeed a queer character."[103] The occasion chosen by Bornstedt to launch his campaign against Marx and Engels was the holding of a banquet in Brussels attended by democrats from a number of countries. The purpose of the banquet was to found a new international Democratic Association. Marx and Engels hoped to dominate this organisation as they already dominated the local German Workers Association. Bornstedt, on the other hand, wished to exclude Marx and his friends from holding office in the Democratic Association.

Engels wrote to Marx towards the end of September 1847 that advantage was being taken of his absence from Brussels to plan a coup which would lead to the establishment of "a much larger and more universal society than our poor little Workers Association".[104] Although Engels heard of Bornstedt's intrigue only at the last moment he was able to scotch it. The banquet was held on September 27 and was attended by 120 guests. Engels himself – though he had protested that he looked too young for the part – was elected one of the vice-presidents of the new Democratic Association.[105] This society was modelled on the Fraternal Democrats which had been established in London in 1845. Engels told Marx that "this affair has greatly raised – and will continue to raise – the morale of the [German Workers] Association both in its internal affairs and in its relations with outside bodies. Chaps who formerly kept their traps shut have now come forward and attacked Bornstedt . . . Bartels said to me this morning: 'German democracy is getting very strong in Brussels'."[106]

The growing strength of Marx and his followers had just been illustrated by another incident in September 1847. An international Free Trade congress had been held in Brussels at which Georg Weerth – a close associate of Marx and Engels – had made a striking speech denouncing Free Traders who argued that their policy would benefit the workers. Weerth claimed that Free Trade would do nothing to alleviate the distress of the proletariat and he warned the employers: "If you do not take care you will have to fear an erruption of your own workmen, and they will be more terrible to you than all the Cossacks in the world." Weerth's attack on the

Free Traders was widely reported in the press in many countries – Engels wrote about it in the *Northern Star*[107] – and the communists in Brussels could feel that they were emerging from obscurity and were making their influence felt.

At the same time that Engels was involved in a dispute with Bornstedt over the founding of the Brussels Democratic Association, he also crossed swords with Bornstedt in connection with his controversy with Heinzen. As editor of the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* Bornstedt had given certain undertakings to Marx concerning the opening of his paper to articles written by Marx and his friends. But when Heinzen attacked the communists in the columns of the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* on September 26, 1847 Bornstedt made various excuses to avoid printing a reply by Engels. Only a strong protest by Engels secured the publication of his reply to Heinzen on October 3 and October 7.[108]

In October 1847 Engels was back in Paris. This time he was determined to get into touch with the leaders of the working class movement in France in the hope of securing their co-operation with the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee. It was also his intention to represent the German workers in Paris at the forthcoming second conference of the Communist League in London. And he wished to ensure that any proposals from the Paris branch of the Communist League to this conference should be in accordance with Marx's doctrines and not those of the 'true socialists'. The first objective of Engels's mission to Paris was accomplished when he had an interview with Louis Blanc. He introduced himself as Marx's personal representative and as one authorised to speak on behalf of the democrats of London, Brussels and the Rhineland. He also claimed to be an agent of the Chartists. Louis Blanc assured Engels that a very active underground movement among the workers existed in France. He declared: "The workers are more revolutionary than ever before but they have learned by experience to bide their time. They are not going to waste their energies in minor risings but they will wait until a major revolt promises certain success."[109]

At this time Engels also visited Ferdinand Flocon, the editor of *La Réforme*. He did not disclose his true identity but pretended to be an Englishman representing the Chartist leader Julian Harney. Engels complained to Flocon that *La Réforme* had ignored the *Northern Star*. When Flocon explained that no member of his staff could read English, Engels declared that he was "a correspondent of the *Northern Star*" and would be prepared to contribute regularly to *La Réforme*. Engels reported to Marx that he hoped "to imprison Flocon still more tightly in our net". He proposed to tell

Flocon that he was in touch with the workers' newspaper *l'Atelier* but would reject any offer from *l'Atelier* if Flocon would agree to print his articles in *La Réforme*. The stratagem appears to have worked since Engels contributed nine articles on English affairs to *La Réforme* between October 1847 and March 1848.[110]

Towards the end of October 1847 Engels gave Marx particulars not only of his conversations with Louis Blanc and Flocon but also of his activities among the German workers in Paris. He declared that everything was in "hellish confusion". "A few days before I arrived the last of the followers of Grün were expelled. This represented an entire cell (*Gemeinde*) but half of them have returned. The cell has now only 30 members." Engels wrote that he hoped to increase the membership in the near future. Writing "in the strictest confidence" he told Marx that he had "played a devilish trick on Hess". At this time Hess was attempting to advance the cause of 'true socialism' within the framework of Marx's doctrines – by no means an easy task. He was putting forward his ideas in a series of articles in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* and he hoped to exercise some influence upon the forthcoming deliberations of the Communist League in London. He drew up a declaration of communist principles in the form of a catechism and on October 22 he submitted it to one of the cells of the League in Paris. The meeting began to go through Hess's catechism question by question but before this detailed examination was completed the members declared that they were satisfied. Engels wrote: "At this point *without encountering any opposition* I persuaded the meeting to authorise me to draw up a new catechism and this will be discussed at group (*Kreis*) level and will be sent to London *behind the backs of the cells*." "Obviously no one must know about this or there will be a frightful scandal and we shall all be turned out."[111] Engels thereupon produced his own catechism which in due course became the basis upon which Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto.

In the middle of November 1847 Engels was elected to represent the Paris branch of the Communist League at the forthcoming conference of the League in London. On November 27 Engels met Marx in Ostend. They crossed to England to attend a banquet of the Fraternal Democrats on November 29 – the anniversary of the Polish rising of 1830[112] – and to address the German Workers Education Society on the following day. Above all they took a leading part at the conference of the Communist League which was held between November 29 and December 10. Marx was asked to prepare for publication the final version of a statement of communist principles.

Engels was in Brussels over Christmas. Stephan Born has described in his memoirs an incident which occurred at this time at a party organised by the Brussels Workers Association. "Among those present were Marx who came with his wife and Engels who brought his – lady. The two couples were at either end of a large room. When I greeted Marx he indicated by a significant glance and a smile that his wife would in no circumstances meet Engels's companion. In matters of honour and morals the noble lady was quite intransigent." "Obviously Engels should not have brought his mistress to a gathering attended mainly by members of the working class. It was tactless of him to remind the workers that the sons of rich millowners had often been accused of using the daughters of their operatives to gratify their own pleasure.[113] Although Born mentioned no names it is generally assumed that Engels's companion was Mary Burns. Certainly in the previous summer Engels – according to Georg Weerth – had been living in Brussels with an English girl.[114] The incident reported by Born shows that even at an early stage in their friendship Engels's private life raised certain obstacles between them. Engels was always a welcome guest in Marx's home but – since Jenny Marx strongly disapproved of people living together as man and wife without being married – he was never able to bring Mary Burns with him.

In January 1848 Engels was back in Paris. He complained to Marx that he had been unable to see Louis Blanc, who appeared to be avoiding him. On the other hand he had no difficulty in meeting Flocon who was pleased that the *Northern Star* and the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* had supported his journal *La Réforme* against its rival, the *National*. Flocon reminded Engels that since France has eleven million peasants French socialism was bound to be different from German socialism. Nevertheless Flocon declared that "our principles are too close to yours for us to be unable to march together shoulder to shoulder."[115]

At the same time Engels complained to Marx that he had made little progress in organising the German workers in Paris under the communist banner. He declared that the Paris branch of the Communist League was in a wretched state. "I have never met fellows who are so stupid and so prone to petty jealousies. The doctrines of Weitling and Proudhon are just right for these idiots and no one can make anything of them." "Workers of this sort – men who, like the Irish, live by depressing the level of wages in France – are quite useless for our purpose."[116] And the workers for their part had no very high opinion of Engels. When Marx came into contact with them in March 1848 he told Engels that the artisans – the *Straubinger* – "are all more or less furious with you".[117] But Engels

hoped that once the London communists produced their manifesto – which Marx was then writing – it might be possible to revive the Paris branch of the League.

On this occasion Engels's stay in Paris was a short one for on January 29 the government ordered him to leave the country. It was officially stated that Engels's expulsion had nothing to do with his politics.[118] Stephan Born, writing many years later, gave the following account of Engels's enforced departure from Paris: "Engels had learned from his friend the painter Ritter that a certain French nobleman had cast off his mistress without making any provision for her. Engels threatened to make the whole affair public unless the Count decided to act fairly towards the lady. The Count complained to the Minister who issued an expulsion order against Engels and his friend Ritter."[119]

Engels just missed the fall of Louis Philippe and the outbreak of revolution in France. He returned to Brussels in time to join Marx in attending a meeting of the Democratic Association on February 22, 1848 to mark the second anniversary of the Austrian annexation of Cracow. In his speech on this occasion Engels declared that before 1846 it had been doubtful if a democratic revolution in Germany could count upon the support of the Poles. But after the revolution in Cracow and the loss of its independence the Germans and the Poles were destined to be allies because they were both being oppressed by the same three reactionary powers – Russia, Austria and Prussia. The future alliance of the German and Polish peoples was no longer merely a dream but it had become a practical necessity.[120]

A few days before his arrival in Belgium an article from Engels's pen appeared in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* which warned the middle class liberals in Germany of their fate in the revolution which could not be long delayed. Their *rôle* was merely to prepare the way for the triumph of the proletariat.

> "You may as well know beforehand", he wrote, "that you are working only in our interests. But you cannot on that account give up your struggle against the absolute monarchs, the nobles and the priests. This is a fight that you cannot lose if you are not to go under immediately. Before very long in Germany you will actually have to call upon us to help you. So fight on my worthy valorous capitalists! We need you. Indeed here and there it is, from our point of view, actually necessary that you should gain political power. You have a job to do for us. You must sweep away what is left of the middle ages. You must exterminate the absolute rulers. You must destroy all patriarchal forms of government. You must centralise authority. You must turn into a true proletariat all classes in society which own no property or very little property. You must

turn them into recruits for our movement. Through your factories and commercial interests you must provide us with the weapons which the workers need to gain their freedom. And your reward for doing all this for us will be that you will rule the country for a little while. Your laws will be in force. You can bathe in the sunshine of royal glory. You can dine like kings and you can court the daughters of kings. But remember – the executioner is waiting at the door!"[121]

III. The "Principles of Communism" and the Communist Manifesto, 1847–8

The climax of Engels's collaboration with Marx between 1845 and 1847 was the production of the "Principles of Communism" and the Communist Manifesto. In those years they hammered out their materialist philosophy in *The German Ideology* and drew up a political programme to translate their ideas into reality. Together they attacked capitalists, reactionaries and liberals as well as socialists and radicals who would not subscribe to their doctrines. On the eve of the revolution of 1848 they issued their declaration of faith in the Communist Manifesto enunciating the principles of a creed which eventually came to be accepted by millions of their disciples. To appreciate how Engels's first draft of the Communist Manifesto – the "Principles of Communism" – and the Manifesto itself came to be written it is necessary to examine the origin and to trace the development of the Communist League. Engels's account of the League, written in 1885, gives an excellent survey of its early history.[122]

In their account of the German revolutionary societies in the 1830s and 1840s two senior police officials – Dr Wermuth of Hanover and Dr W. Stieber of Berlin – traced their origin to associations set up by liberal reformers after the Napoleonic wars. Many who had fought in the War of Liberation were bitterly disappointed at their failure to achieve either the unification of their country or its political freedom. This led to the rise of revolutionary associations of students and artisans which were soon driven underground by the repressive measures of reactionary German governments.

Writing in 1860 Marx gave a description of the dual character of these societies. Each secret society had a public educational association as a front to disguise its real activities. "The programmes of these public workers' societies", wrote Marx, "were always the same. One day of the week was set aside for discussions and another for recreation, such as singing and reciting. Whenever possible the society maintained a library. Educational classes were

organised for the artisans at an elementary level. Each workers' association acted as a cover for a secret 'league' (*Bund*). The open propaganda of the league was conducted through the public association. And the most promising workers of the public society were recruited as new members of the underground league. It was rarely necessary for the central committee of a league to send emissaries to local branches since German artisans were constantly on the move (and would carry messages from one place to another)."[123]

A group of German artisans working in Paris – some of whom had fled to France to avoid arrest at home – set up a Press Association in 1832 to agitate for the abolition of press censorship in Germany. This association developed into the German Popular Society (*Volksverein*) which sent J. H. Garnier to Germany to establish new branches there. When the Popular Society was banned by the French authorities in 1833 it became an underground organisation called the League of Exiles (*Bund der Geächteten*).[124] Its statutes were typical of the secret political societies of its day. An oath was taken on admission; the members were known by secret names; and those who divulged the affairs of the society were threatened with dire penalties. One of its most active emissaries – first in Germany and then in Switzerland – was J. C. B. von Bruhn.[125]

A schism occurred in the ranks of the League of Exiles in 1836. The more radical members broke away and founded a new secret society in Paris called the League of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*) and efforts to reconcile the two factions failed. The League of Exiles led first by Jacob Venedey and then by Théodore Schuster survived for a time and some of its members returned to Germany to establish new branches of their society there. In 1840, however, the activities of the League of Exiles came to an end when several of its members were arrested in Germany.[126]

A different fate was in store for the League of the Just. From the beginning Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer gave the League an inspiring leadership which Venedey and Schuster had never been able to give in the past. As a student of forestry at Giessen, Schapper had supported Georg Büchner in spreading revolutionary doctrines among the peasants in Hesse. He had taken part in the attack upon the Frankfurt guardhouse in 1833 and had joined Mazzini in his abortive expedition to Savoy in 1834. In Paris he earned his living as a compositor. Engels declared that this "resolute and energetic giant" had developed into "an ideal professional revolutionary". Heinrich Bauer, a shoemaker, was described by Engels as "a lively, wide-awake, gay little fellow – small in stature but mighty in determination and cunning".[127]

While Schapper and Bauer were the leaders and organisers of the League of the Just, Wilhelm Weitling was the thinker who tried to convert its members to his doctrines of Christian Socialism. Hitherto the aim of the League had been to free Germany from its reactionary rulers and to secure the establishment of a united and democratic republic but some of its members now supported Weitling's plans which involved the overthrow of existing capitalist society and its replacement by a socialist utopia where private property would be abolished and goods would be communally owned. Weitling's propaganda was the first step on the road that led to the League of the Just becoming first a socialist and eventually a Marxist organisation.

Soon after its establishment the League of the Just became closely associated with the *Société des saisons*, a French revolutionary organisation led by Blanqui and Barbès. The *Société des saisons* engineered a rising against the government on May 12, 1839 and occupied the Town Hall in Paris. The insurgents were quickly suppressed and leading members of the League of the Just were involved in the debacle. Weitling went to Switzerland in 1841 where he established several new branches of the League. Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer – after being in custody for some time – were expelled from France and sought refuge in London. There was a colony of German artisans in London at this time so that Schapper and Bauer were soon able to form a new branch of the League of the Just.

The Paris section of the League of the Just survived the failure of the coup d'état of 1839[128] and the new Swiss and English branches recognised it as the leading branch of the association and the main centre for its propaganda activities. But it had lost its leaders and declined in importance. When Engels arrived in Paris in 1846 he found that the League, then led by Dr Hermann Ewerbeck, consisted of three small and rather quarrelsome groups of German workers, two of which consisted largely of tailors and one of carpenters. Many of them subscribed to the doctrines of Weitling or of Proudhon and Grün.

Meanwhile in London the League went from strength to strength. Engels wrote in December 1846 that the London branches had "a few hundred" members and that their activities had caused alarm in the German press.[129] In 1847 the League in London claimed a membership of about 500, divided between two branches.[130] Long before it took over the leadership of the whole League from the Paris branch, the London branch became a large and active group of revolutionary workers. In London its members were able to associate and to express their views with a freedom denied to them

on the Continent except, to a limited extent, in Switzerland and Belgium. In London its membership could make common cause with other groups of exiles – such as Poles and Italians – who were agitating against the oppression of their native lands by foreign tyrants. In London members of the League of the Just could hope for support from left-wing Chartists who belonged to the most powerful working class movement in Europe. And probably only London could have seen in March 1846 the founding of the Fraternal Democrats, a society in which some of the Chartists co-operated with various groups of foreign refugees and with organisations of workers abroad to set up one of the earliest international labour associations ever to be founded.

The London branch of the League of the Just was served by able leaders. Karl Schapper and Heinrich Bauer were seasoned revolutionaries and skilful organisers. They had learned a lesson from the failure of the Blanqui coup d'état and now advised their followers to devote themselves to educational and propaganda activities rather than to preparations for an armed rising. They had the support of several competent lieutenants – Moll, Pfänder, Eccarius, and Schabelitz. Engels considered Josef Moll (a watch-maker from Cologne) to have greater intellectual gifts than Schapper and Bauer. "He was a born diplomat – witness the success of all his missions abroad on behalf of the league – and he was quite receptive to new political ideas."[131] Karl Pfänder was "a splendid thinker – witty, dialectical, ironical."[132] Johann Georg Eccarius was a tailor who played a leading *rôle* in the affairs of the League[133] and eventually became secretary of the First International. Jakob Lukas Schabelitz, a young radical from Switzerland, (though never a convinced Marxist) supported the cause of the revolutionary exiles by publishing articles expressing their point of view in the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung* which he edited. In 1851 Marx praised Schabelitz as one who "had been active here as our agent and had been most useful in that capacity since he enjoyed the confidence of all the respectable people in London".[134]

The progress of the League between 1840 and 1847 was also stimulated by the founding, in February 1840, of a German Workers Education Society (*Bildungsverein*) in Great Windmill Street in London. This association gave German-speaking artisans opportunities for cultural and social activities similar to those available to English workers in their clubs and mechanics institutes. Discussion groups on current affairs and on philosophical and political questions were formed to debate the meaning of their motto: "All men are brothers", the advantages and drawbacks to the workers of the introduction of machinery into factories, the

security of employment in a capitalist society, Weitling's doctrine of Christian Socialism, and Feuerbach's materialist philosophy.[135] Engels considered that these educational activities met a very real need. He doubted whether in those days a single member of the League had ever read a book on economics. As far as they were concerned lofty catchphrases – 'equality', 'justice', 'brotherly love' – helped them over every hurdle in economics.[136]

The German Workers Education Society – and its offshoot the Sunday Club – were largely run by the leaders of the League of the Just who used an apparently innocuous organisation as a convenient cover for their activities. The society proved to be an excellent recruiting ground for new members of the League of the Just. And when Karl Schapper and his friends wished to express their views in public they generally did so as members of the German Workers Education Society rather than as members of the League of the Just.

Two significant developments occurred between 1840 and 1847. The first was that the League of the Just changed from a German to an international association. The second was that the League became increasingly a socialist – and eventually a Marxist – body. Initially the League of the Just and the German Workers Education Society had attracted only German-speaking members but in time they were joined by workers of other nationalities. The motto "All men are brothers" was printed in at least twenty different languages on the membership cards of the German Workers Education Society. As its membership became more cosmopolitan so its interests became more international. In June 1846 Karl Schapper accepted an invitation from Karl Marx to exchange information with the Brussels Correspondence Committee. The London branch of the League of the Just set up a special committee for this purpose and exchanged letters with Marx with greater regularity than any other group. The international outlook of Karl Schapper and his friends was shown by the interest which they took in other left-wing political movements. They supported the demands of the Polish and Italian exiles in London. They forged links with the Chartists and the Fraternal Democrats. The influential Chartist leader Julian Harney joined the League of the Just while Ernest Jones, who spoke German fluently, was a welcome visitor at meetings of the German Workers Education Society.

Moreover the leaders of the League of the Just in London openly expressed their views on the political issues of the day. In 1844 they wrote to the Hamburg *Telegraph für Deutschland*[137] expressing sympathy for the Silesian weavers who had risen in revolt. In 1846 they were largely responsible for producing a leaflet on the

Schleswig-Holstein question issued by the German Workers Education Society. And in 1846 Schapper and Moll supported a pacifist address of the Fraternal Democrats – drawn up by Julian Harney – on the Oregon dispute.[138]

But the most important aspect of the League's activities was its search for a philosophy and a programme of action. Karl Schapper and his friends realised that the violent overthrow of dynasties and reactionary governments was a programme of somewhat limited appeal. They also appreciated the need to devise a policy for the situation that would arise if existing governments disappeared. And their followers would have to be given some indication of what kind of new society would replace the old. In the early days of the League in Paris the only plans for the future that had been seriously discussed were those of Weitling. And in September 1844 Weitling himself appeared in London. At meetings organised by the Workers Education Society he preached his doctrine of brotherly love yet at the same time he advocated the violent overthrow of existing society. Karl Schapper, Heinrich Bauer, and Josef Moll rejected the idea that their aims could be quickly achieved by revolution in the near future. In a letter to Etienne Cabet in 1843 and in an address to the Hamburg *Telegraph* on the weavers' revolt in Silesia they had already declared that they were engaged in peaceful propaganda and were opposed to a policy of violence. Weitling was disappointed with his reception in London and early in 1846 he left to join Marx and his friends in Brussels.

Karl Schapper's rejection of Weitling's brand of utopian socialism mixed with violence encouraged Marx and Engels to try to win over the London branch of the League of the Just to their own doctrines. In June 1846 Schapper agreed to a regular exchange of information with the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels. But then Marx and Engels suffered a setback. When they appealed to their new colleagues for support against the 'true socialists' they were rebuffed. Far from welcoming Marx's "Circular against Kriege" of May 1846 Karl Schapper and his friends replied on July 17, 1846 that they were opposed to this attack upon a leading exponent of 'true socialism'. And in September 1846 a leaflet on the Schleswig-Holstein question – representing the views of the leaders of the League of the Just in London – echoed the doctrines of the 'true socialists' and was contemptuously dismissed by Engels as "utter rubbish".[139] In October 1846 Marx wrote a second circular against Kriege in the hope of convincing Karl Schapper and his friends of the error of their ways.

By the autumn of 1846 Marx and Engels had every reason to be disappointed at their failure to convert Schapper and his colleagues

to their point of view. In November a new central executive committee of the League was elected and this body was in future to meet in London and not, as formerly, in Paris. The leaders of the London branch sat on the central executive committee and were in effective control of the affairs of the whole League.[140] Marx and Engels were now fighting for control not merely of the most active branch of the League but of the entire organisation. Engels complained to Marx that they were distrusted as 'intellectuals' by Schapper and his working class colleagues in London. He wrote, "The affair of the people in London is exasperating – first because of Harney, and secondly because they are the only group of artisans (*Straubinger*) to whom we can speak frankly without *arrière-pensée* and with whom co-operation is possible. But if the fellows do not want us, very well, let them go their own way!" "The whole affair has taught us that, so long as we have no properly organised movement in Germany, we cannot do anything with artisans – not even with the best of them."[141]

In November 1846, soon after assuming office, the new central executive committee of the League issued an address to all its branches.[142] The executive committee argued that throughout Europe all progressive groups were demanding the transformation of society. League members should infiltrate these groups and take the initiative as leaders in the struggle against reactionary governments. And, as a first step, the members of the League should cooperate with the radical petty bourgeoisie in their fight against the aristocracy and the middle classes.

But before any action of this kind could be taken the League would have to put its own house in order by agreeing to "a straightforward declaration of communist beliefs". A conference of delegates from all the branches should be held in May 1847 to draw up a declaration of faith and "to resolve differences of opinion", and a second conference should meet in 1848 "to which the supporters of the new doctrine should be openly invited from all parts of the world". Since Marx and Engels were the most prominent advocates of the 'new doctrine' it appears that the executive committee of the League was proposing to keep them at arm's length until agreement had been reached on the declaration of faith.

The League's address of November 1846 proceeded to attack the followers of Fourier. The severest criticism, however, was reserved for what the address called the "Christian-German-Prussian party". Schapper and his colleagues alleged that some German governments – through their officials, the police and the churches – were subsidising associations of German workers at home and abroad.

Through these clubs it was hoped to keep German artisans away from organisations controlled by the socialists. Freiherr von Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador in England, was attacked for giving his support to a German library (*Leseverein*) and for helping to set up two "Christian artisan clubs" in London. They received financial support from the ambassador, from members of the Prussian royal family, and from German pastors and bankers living in London. It was alleged that German workers on the Continent, proposing to come to London, were being advised to join the Christian clubs rather than the German Workers Education Society. The League appealed to its members to warn all newly arrived German workers of the machinations of the "Protestant Jesuits".

At the end of the address the leaders of the League of the Just suggested that all branches should discuss the following questions:

"1. What policy should the workers adopt in relation to the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie? Would it be advisable for us to approach the petty – or radical – bourgeoisie (with a view to the conclusion of an alliance)?
2. What policy should the workers adopt in relation to the various religious parties? Is an approach to one or other of these groups possible and desirable and if so what is the simplest and surest way of making such an approach?
3. What should our attitude be towards the various socialist and communist parties? Would it be desirable – or possible – to bring about the union of all socialists? If so, what is the quickest and surest way of bringing this unification about?"

It is clear from the League's address that at the end of 1846 its leaders were still not prepared to accept Karl Marx's doctrines. They hoped that the forthcoming conference would produce an agreed statement of policy without the assistance of Marx and Engels. But soon afterwards there was a sudden and surprising change of heart. In February 1847 Josef Moll was sent to the Continent to interview Marx and Engels. He took with him the following letter in Schapper's handwriting, dated January 20 and addressed to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels:

"The members of the Communist Correspondence Committee in London who have signed this letter hereby authorise and instruct Citizen Josef Moll to enter into negotiations with the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels and to make a verbal report concerning the state of affairs here (in London). At the same time we ask the Brussels Committee to give Citizen Moll – who is a member of the London Committee – full information about all

important matters and to entrust to him any messages that are to be sent to the London Committee." (Karl Schapper, Henry Bauer, Karl Pfänder, Friedrich Doepel, Albert Lehmann, Charles Molly, Jos. Goebel).[143]

It is not clear why Schapper and his friends changed their minds. In November 1846 they still distrusted Marx. In the following month Engels saw little hope of reaching an agreement with Schapper. Yet in January 1847 Schapper was ready to open discussions with Marx and Engels. Perhaps there were differences of opinion on the League's central executive committee concerning co-operation with Marx and Engels, and Moll's mission may have represented a victory for those in favour of such co-operation.

Moll's talks with Marx in Brussels and Engels in Paris came to a satisfactory conclusion. Engels subsequently stated that Moll assured him that the leaders of the League of the Just "were just as convinced of the correctness of our doctrine as they were of the necessity of removing from the League its old conspiratorial forms and traditions". "If we joined the League we would have an opportunity to develop our ideas on critical communism in the form of a manifesto which would be published by the League as a statement of policy." "We could also express our views concerning the transformation of the antiquated organisation of the League into one which would be more efficient and more appropriate to modern conditions."[144] Marx observed that before agreeing to become a member he had insisted that the constitution of the League should be revised so that its leaders and officials would be elected in a democratic fashion. When they had been given the assurances that they required Marx and Engels joined the League. Marx founded a new branch of the League of the Just in Brussels which included the members of the existing Communist Correspondence Committee while Engels went ahead with his efforts to persuade the three branches of the League in Paris to accept Marx's doctrines.

On receiving a satisfactory report from Moll concerning his discussions with Marx and Engels the central executive committee of the League of the Just issued a second address to its branches in February 1847.[145] It opened with a complaint that many branches had failed to reply to the first address of November 1846. The central executive warned the branches of the League that Europe was on the verge of revolution and war. A Russian invasion of Germany was imminent. "Hundreds of thousands of Russian barbarians are camped on Germany's frontiers, ready at any moment to overrun central and western Europe. Our fathers and brothers will be sent to the slavery of the icefields of Siberia while our wives

and sisters will be raped. Brothers! Shall we stand by unmoved when this takes place? Shall we reply with mere words and not with deeds? Shall we act like cowards and bow our necks beneath the Russian yoke?"

The address warned members of the League that a revolution might break out in the spring of 1847. "By standing in the front rank of the defenders of freedom you can show that we can fight with muskets as well as with words." "Wherever you may be you should preach the gospel of communism. Your listeners will welcome this wonderful doctrine which will, at long last, fulfil their hopes of freedom from oppression." "Should existing governments collapse it would be the duty of members of the League to work by word and by deed for the establishment of administrations run by men who believe in the principles of communism." It was, of course, an unrealistic assessment of the situation in Europe in 1847 to suppose that there was the remotest possibility of any new administration being dominated by men inspired by communist views. The only socialists who could hope for office were men like Louis Blanc or Flocon who were far from being communists. The address warned members of the League not to co-operate with middle class liberals who only want to replace the tyranny of princes with the "despotism of money bags".

The central executive committee of the League invited delegates from all branches to attend a conference to be held on June 1, 1847 in order to revise the constitution of the League; to formulate a declaration of policy; to establish a party journal; and to send emissaries to organise new branches, particularly in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries. The address admitted that, despite its large membership, the League lacked a strong organisation and – until this weakness was rectified – it could "never hope to exercise any decisive influence upon public affairs". Members of the League were urged to cease to support other political parties. The fact that a party might claim to be in favour of 'progress' did not excuse such co-operation. "It is we who are now standing in the forefront of the progressive movement and we should all rally under our own banner and not allow ourselves to be swallowed up in a vast army of philistines." The address suggested that the League should follow the example of the Chartists who had refused to compromise on the six points of their programme by co-operating with any other party.

Next the address surveyed the existing state of the League. The branches in Paris and Brussels were being re-organised. In Switzerland the rivalry between Weitling and his opponents had weakened the League, though hopeful reports had been received from

branches in Bern and Lausanne. In Sweden new associations of workers were being established. In London a membership of 500 had been attained. The League could afford to ignore the opposition of the German pastors in London who had denounced the German Workers Education Society from their pulpits. A report on the Chartist movement was promised in a future address but in the meantime the League denounced Feargus O'Connor's land scheme as "disgusting nonsense".

The central committee of the League asked its branches to discuss certain questions and gave some guidance as to how they might be answered. The first two questions were: "What is communism? What are the aims of the communists?" The answers were: "Communism is a system by which all property is communally owned. Everybody is expected to produce according to his abilities and everybody is entitled to consume according to his needs. Communists will sweep away existing social institutions and replace them by an entirely new system."

The second two questions were: "What is socialism? What are the aims of the socialists?" The address asserted that socialism was not a new social system. Socialists closed their eyes to fundamental problems and tried to tinker with the existing capitalist system. The idea that communism and socialism were really the same must be decisively rejected.

The last question was: "What is the easiest and quickest way of introducing a system of communal property?" No answer was given but it was suggested that branches might discuss the desirability of having a period of transition before private property was nationalised. And they might also consider whether this change should be introduced by force or by peaceful means.

Finally the address again warned members of the League against the propaganda of the followers of Fourier and the supporters of "brotherly love socialism". Above all members were warned to "beware of revolts, conspiracies, the purchase of firearms, and similar follies". "Our enemies are plotting devilish schemes. After actually inciting the workers to support street demonstrations they will put the workers down by force and claim that they are restoring law and order."

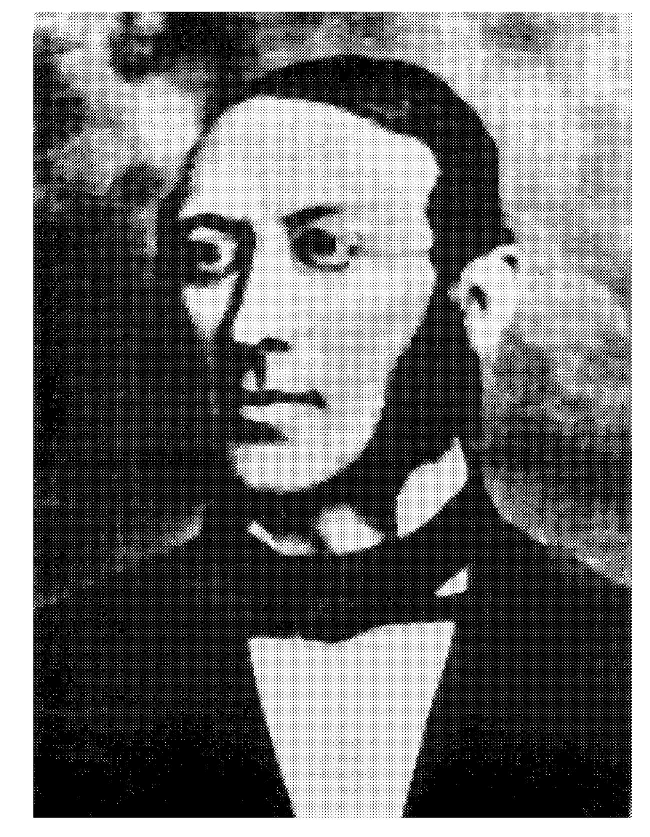
The branches of the League proceeded to elect delegates to attend the first conference to be held in London in June 1847. The Brussels branch elected Karl Marx and Wilhelm Wolff while the Paris branches – stimulated by a little sharp practice on the part of Stephan Born – appointed Engels as their representative. Since Marx could not raise the fare to London, Engels and Wolff presented the Marxist point of view to the conference. No records of



Friedrich Engels at the age of 19, 1839



Karl Marx as a student, 1836



Georg Weerth, 1822–1856



Moses Hess, 1812–1875

the proceedings have survived but some of the results of the conference can be seen from the pages of the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* and from the new constitution of the League. The conference approved the establishment of a communist journal in London and the first – and only – number appeared in September 1847. One of its main articles, entitled "The United Diet and the Proletariat in Prussia", was probably written by Wilhelm Wolff and reflected the views of the Brussels Correspondence Committee.[146] This was one indication of the influence which Marx and his followers were now able to exert over the League. An examination of the new constitution, drawn up by the conference in June 1847 also showed that the League was moving away from utopian and 'true' socialism and was drawing closer to Marx's doctrines. The name of the League was changed to the League of Communists while its motto was changed from "All men are brothers" to "Workers of the world, unite!"

The new constitution of the Communist League provided for the re-organisation of the former underground movement so that it became a society openly engaged in political propaganda. The League was now an international association divided into cells (three to twenty members), groups (two to ten cells), and senior groups (linking all groups in a region or country). Its affairs were to be controlled by a democratically elected central executive committee and by periodic delegate conferences. A few vestiges of the former secret society survived since members still had special 'League names' and promised not to divulge to outsiders anything concerning the affairs of the organisation. This provisional constitution was subsequently submitted to the branches of the Communist League and to a second delegate conference in December 1847 for final ratification.[147]

There was a spate of activity on the part of the leaders of the Communist League in the six months between the two conferences of June and December 1847. They founded a new journal in London – the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* – and launched a recruiting drive to enrol new members. In October Stephan Born was sent to Lyons, Geneva, Chaux-de-Fonds and Bern to spread communism among the French and Swiss workers.[148] The leaders of the Communist League, no longer impressed by the utopian doctrines of Weitling or the 'true socialists', were more ready to accept advice from Marx and Engels. Cabet found that he had embarked upon a fruitless errand when he visited London in the autumn of 1847 in the hope of persuading the Workers Education Society to support his utopian emigration plan.[149] By this time the League's central committee had already prepared a draft statement of policy

to serve as a basis for discussion at the second conference to be held in December.[150] It was probably written by Schapper and Moll and it was sent to branches of the League. It was discussed by the Workers Education Society in London, by the Brussels and Paris branches of the League, and presumably by branches in Germany as well. No copy of this draft now exists but it is possible to ascertain the policy that it advocated by examining the leading article in the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* of September 1847.[151]

This article was probably written by Karl Schapper and was a commentary upon the recently issued draft manifesto. The writer discussed the future of the proletariat, a class which in his view included not only the workers but also intellectuals, artists, and the petty bourgeoisie. Formerly the workers had "sought freedom in death" by violent attacks upon their reactionary oppressors. Now they should aim at "establishing a society in which everyone could lead a free and happy life". The writer asked himself whether force would be needed to establish the ideal society of the future. While the address of the executive committee of February 1847 had rejected the use of violence the leading article in the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* held that the workers would have to meet force with force if their enemies resorted to violence. "We communists are no advocates of eternal peace while our enemies are everywhere mobilising for war." In England and the United States a peaceful transition to socialism might be possible but elsewhere the workers would have to fight for their rights. The article warned the workers, however, that if they faced overwhelming odds it would be foolish to indulge in armed risings that had no possible chance of success.

The article rebuked Heinzen for attacking communism in *Der Deutsche Tribun* and discussed the extent to which communists should co-operate with other left-wing parties. Heinzen was criticised for supposing that a new society would be established if his proposed democratic reforms were adopted. These reforms were merely a programme suited to a period of transition which would pave the way for the establishment of a socialist society. But all democrats should unite to support Heinzen's programme as a first step towards achieving the ideal of a socialist society. That the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift's* leading article covered the main topics of the statement of policy of the League's executive committee is confirmed if one compares it with Moses Hess's articles – written at about the same time – in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*, which reflected the discussion of this draft manifesto by the Brussels branch of the Communist League.

Moses Hess had himself drawn up a draft communist programme

which he submitted to the German communist workers in Paris as an alternative to the proposals circulated by the League's executive committee in London. No copy of Hess's programme has survived but it is evident from his articles in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* in October and November 1847 that his programme was a forlorn attempt to reconcile Marx's doctrines with those of the 'true socialists'.

Since Engels had dismissed these articles as "rubbish" it is not surprising that when he arrived in Paris in October 1847 he should have persuaded one of the local cells of the League to reject Hess's proposals. Engels was asked to replace Hess's programme by a programme of his own as soon as possible. It has been seen that Engels failed to submit his draft to all the Paris cells and urged Marx to keep what he had done secret.[152] No more was now heard either of the draft probably prepared by Schapper or of the draft drawn up by Hess. Engels's draft – also in the form of a catechism – held the field. The copy of Engels's proposed manifesto – the "Principles of Communism" – which has survived is a revised version which includes amendments made to an earlier draft. Engels's "Principles of Communism" is incomplete since the answers to three questions are missing. Two of these questions are followed by the words "No change" thus indicating that the answers already given in an earlier draft were to be inserted in the revised version. Engels's "Principles of Communism" was the genesis of the Communist Manifesto of 1848.[153]

On Tuesday, November 23, 1847 Engels informed Marx that it had at last been decided that he should represent the Paris branch of the Communist League at the delegate conference to be held in London in the following week. He suggested that they should meet in Ostend on the next Saturday and travel to England on the Sunday. He declared that "this conference must be decisive, as this time we shall have it all our own way." In the second part of the letter, written on Wednesday, November 24, Engels asked Marx to read his draft catechism on communist policy which he enclosed. He continued: "It would be better to drop the idea of a catechism and call it the Communist Manifesto. Its present form is really unsuitable since some history, more or less, must be included. I will bring my copy with me – a straightforward narrative badly written in great haste." "My catechism is not yet quite finished but – except for a few unimportant changes – we shall be able to get it passed without having to agree to the inclusion of anything contrary to our doctrines."[154]

Engels's catechism – the "Principles of Communism" – soon fell into undeserved oblivion, being completely overshadowed by

Marx's more brilliant manifesto. Nearly seventy years elapsed before it was published by Eduard Bernstein and even then he – and later Gustav Mayer[155] – did not rate it very highly. Both dismissed it as a somewhat elementary exposition of communism written in simple language so that its meaning could easily be grasped by artisans who had little knowledge of history or economics. Only in 1954 did Hermann Bollnow take the "Principles of Communism" sufficiently seriously to subject the catechism to a careful analysis and to discuss Engels's conception of revolution and peaceful transition as means of establishing a socialist society.[156]

In his "Principles of Communism"[157] Engels defined communism not as a new social order – a classless society operating a planned nationalised economy – but simply as "the doctrine which explains how the proletariat can throw off its chains and gain its freedom". He explained that the proletariat was a class created first in England and later in other manufacturing countries by the industrial revolution and that it was "the social group which exists simply by selling its labour and which draws no profit from any kind of capital". A characteristic feature of the industrial revolution had been the invention of new machines and the introduction of the factory system which had led to the decline of domestic craftsmen and their transformation into a factory proletariat. Now only two social classes existed – the middle classes and the workers. The middle classes – the capitalists – monopolised "all the necessities of life and all the raw materials, factories and machinery required to produce them" while the proletariat was "forced to sell its labour to the bourgeoisie in order to secure the necessities of life". Moreover the middle classes enjoyed not only economic power but political power as well and they had been able to ride roughshod over the privileges once enjoyed by the nobles in the rural districts and by the gilds in the towns. Engels considered that since "the average price of an article always equals the cost of production" in a capitalist society in which there is unfettered competition, it was inevitable that the wages of the industrial workers should be "no more than the minimum required for the purchase of the necessities of life". In his view a factory worker was "worse off than a slave or a serf".

Engels observed that industrial societies suffered from the evil effects of periodic booms and slumps. "There has been a crisis every five or seven years and this state of affairs has been marked by great distress among the workers, by a general revolutionary fever, and by the most serious threat to the existing social order." Since the trade cycle was caused by unbridled competition among

manufacturers the only way to get rid of it would be to abolish free competition. In the early days of the industrial revolution unrestricted competition might have acted as a spur to economic development but now competition had become a serious threat to the stability of the capitalist system. Engels proposed to solve the problem by the introduction of economic planning. He argued that competition between rival manufacturers would have to be stopped, leaving society to assume full responsibility for all industrial production "in accordance with a predetermined plan".

In a communist society with a planned economy the very aspect of capitalism which lay at the root of commercial crises – the production of more goods than the market could absorb – would be turned to advantage. With continued advances in scientific and technical knowledge there were no limits to man's ability to expand industrial output and – in a communist society – it would be possible to produce enough food and manufactured goods to abolish poverty. In Engels's utopia, where everybody would be able to "develop his potentialities to the full", private property would become communal property and all factories, mines and farms would be nationalised. Co-operation between nationalised factories would replace cut-throat competition between rival private firms. Society would control both the production and the distribution of food and manufactured goods. And distribution would be based upon social needs and not upon ability to pay.

Engels argued that it would seldom be possible to nationalise private property peaceably since although communists were opposed to violence their enemies would undoubtedly use force to protect their property. "If the oppressed proletariat is driven to revolt we communists will support the workers with deeds as vigorously as we now support them with words."[158] Moreover the state could not take over all property at once. This could be done "only when the economy is capable of producing the volume of goods needed to satisfy everybody's requirements."

A revolution, in Engels's view, should pave the way for the political supremacy of the proletariat under a democratic constitution. "In England the power of the proletariat will be established directly because the majority of the population already consists of the working classes," but in France and Germany the rule of the workers would be established indirectly since in those countries the population consisted mainly of peasants in the rural districts and middle classes in the towns.

Various measures – some already advocated by other reformers – would facilitate the transition from a capitalist to a communist economy. Engels proposed that the rights of owners of property

should be limited in various ways – by progressive taxes, by high death duties, and by restrictions on the right of inheritance. Property should eventually be taken over by the state. By "property" Engels did not mean all kinds of property. He meant landed estates, farms, mines, factories, shipyards, transport facilities, public utilities, banks and other financial institutions. He favoured the "organisation of labour" on co-operative lines – advocated by Louis Blanc – and suggested that "competition as between workers" should be abolished at least as far as workers employed in nationalised industries were concerned. "In so far as private factory owners were allowed to survive they would have to pay the higher wages earned by workers in nationalised enterprises." Engels took over from Fourier the idea that large buildings should be constructed "on state farms as common dwelling houses for groups of citizens who would be engaged both in agriculture and in industry". "In this way the advantages of town life and country life could be united without having to put up with the drawbacks of either." Other reforms would be the demolition of slums, the introduction of free education, and granting of "full rights of inheritance to illegitimate children".

The revolution leading to the establishment of a communist society would, in Engels's view, not be confined to a single country. "Modern society had already created a world market. All countries in the world – certainly the civilised ones – are so closely linked together that every country is influenced by what happens elsewhere." The more industrialised a country had become the more quickly would it be able to adopt the communist system. "In Germany the revolution will take place more slowly and will be achieved with the greatest difficulty, while in England it will take place most rapidly and with the greatest ease."

Engels proceeded to describe the main features of a communist society. There would be no rivalry between classes since classes would disappear and there would be no rivalry between town and country since "farming and industrial work should be carried out by the same people and not by two different classes". Women would no longer be dependent upon their husbands while children would no longer be dependent upon their parents. In a communist state the responsibility for bringing up children would rest with society as a whole. The means of production and distribution would be owned, controlled and planned by the state. The expansion of the output of goods and services would no longer lead to slumps but would raise living standards for everybody. Engels admitted that the advantages of communism would be fully realised only if the behaviour and habits of human beings could be changed. "Just

as the peasants and craftsmen of the eighteenth century had to alter their way of life and actually became quite different people when they were swallowed up by modern industry so the new method of production and the new society will require the services of a new type of human being and will, in fact, be responsible for creating such a type." In a communist society excessive specialisation on the part of the worker would give way to a new organisation of industrial production. "Education in the future will enable young people to appreciate the whole process of production and will give them the training necessary to exercise one skill after another according to the varying needs of society and their own inclinations."

Finally Engels discussed the differences between communism and socialism. He considered that there were three main groups of socialists. The first he described as members of the old feudal and patriarchal classes who wished to restore an obsolete way of life that was being destroyed by modern society. Their efforts to restore the powers of the nobles and the gilds were doomed to failure. The second group consisted of socialists who recognised the evils of modern industrial societies and supported various reforms designed to remove those evils. Engels dismissed these reformers as "middle class socialists" because they accepted the basic principles upon which capitalist society was organised. The third group of socialists were democrats – craftsmen, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and some factory workers – who supported some of the radical changes advocated by the communists. "But they advocate these changes not as a means of establishing a communist society but simply as measures which they regard as adequate to cope with the evils that exist in modern society." "It is clear that communists must be prepared to enter into discussions with these socialists so as to try to remove differences that may divide them." In England, France and Belgium where the middle classes were already in power the communists should co-operate with left-wing democratic parties such as the Chartists. But in Germany where "the decisive struggle between the bourgeoisie and the absolute monarchy has only just begun" the communists would have to adopt a different policy. Here they should help the liberal middle classes to overthrow the reactionary German governments as soon as possible.[159] And once the bourgeoisie have seized power "the communists can then turn them out again". In other words the decisive struggle between the communists and the bourgeoisie in Germany would have to be postponed until after the bourgeoisie had overthrown the feudal reactionaries.

The "Principles of Communism" was one of the most important

documents ever penned by Engels since it was the draft declaration of policy upon which both the deliberations of the second conference of the Communist League and the Communist Manifesto were based. A striking feature of Engels's catechism of November 1847 was that virtually everything in it had previously appeared in Engels's earlier writings. Indeed the discussion of such matters as the origins of the industrial revolution, the causes and consequences of the trade cycle, the clash of interests between the factory workers and their employers echoed views that Engels had already expressed in his "Critique of Political Economy" and in *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. And these ideas had been formulated before Engels had begun to collaborate with Karl Marx. Only the last section of the catechism on the differences between communism and various types of socialism had been influenced by his work with Karl Marx on *The German Ideology*. The "Principles of Communism" is also significant because it contained a clear statement concerning Engels's view on the vexed question as to whether a revolution would be necessary to secure the transfer of political and economic power from the middle classes to the workers. For this Engels attempted to lay the blame upon the bourgeoisie. He claimed that the communists did not want a revolution provided that they could get what they wanted without one. But he was confident that the capitalists would not surrender their property without a fight so that force would inevitably be needed to establish the communist system. Engels also believed that communism could not be established in one country only. He saw no possibility of peaceful co-existence between communist and capitalist societies. He considered that communism must eventually be established in all countries in the world. Marx and Engels wrote a great deal about the evils of the capitalist system and the way in which its destruction could be achieved. They were not so ready to discuss the new society that would arise from the ashes of capitalism. In the "Principles of Communism", however, Engels did attempt to indicate at any rate some aspects of the classless communist utopia which he hoped to see established in his own lifetime. And he admitted that in a communist society human nature would have to be changed. The ultimate success of a communist economy and a communist society lay in the hands of the communist schoolmaster of the future.

Engels met Karl Marx – and Victor Tedesco – in Ostend on November 27, 1847. They travelled to London on November 28 and on the following day they attended a meeting organised by the Fraternal Democrats to celebrate the seventeenth anniversary of the Polish insurrection of 1830.[160] Here Marx and Engels met

leading left-wing Chartists such as Julian Harney and Ernest Jones as well as the young Swiss radical J. L. Schabelitz, the editor of the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*. Marx and Engels both addressed the meeting. Marx, who represented the Brussels Democratic Association, asserted that Poland's only hope of freedom lay in the collapse of the reactionary autocratic governments of Europe. "Poland will not be liberated in Poland, but in England. You Chartists, therefore, do not have to offer pious wishes about the liberation of nations. Strike out at your enemies at home, and you will then have the proud knowledge that you have fought against all the old societies."[161] It was at this meeting that Schapper referred to Karl Marx as "the nightmare of the middle class in Germany".[162]

The fact that Marx suggested to the Fraternal Democrats that an international conference of democrats should be held in September 1848 – a proposal which the delegates accepted – shows that he was not relying entirely upon the Communist League as a vehicle for his political ambitions. If Marx and Engels failed to convert the League to their programme they could still hope to capture the Fraternal Democrats.

On the day after the meeting of the Fraternal Democrats on the premises of the German Workers Education Society the second conference of the Communist League opened in the same hall. In his old age the German tailor Friedrich Lessner recalled the impression that Marx and Engels had made upon him when he saw them for the first time at the conference in December 1847. "Marx was then still a young man, about 28 years old, but he greatly impressed us all. He was of medium height, broad-shouldered, powerful in build, and energetic in his deportment. His brow was high and finely shaped, his hair thick and pitch-black, his gaze piercing. His mouth already had the sarcastic line that his opponents feared so much. Marx was a born leader of the people. His speech was brief, convincing, and compelling in its logic. He never said a superfluous word; every sentence was a thought and every thought a necessary link in his chain of demonstration."[163] "Engels was different from Marx in outward appearance. He was tall and slim, his movements were quick and vigorous, his manner of speaking brief and decisive, his carriage erect, giving a soldierly touch. He was of a very lively nature; his wit was to the point. Everybody associated with him inevitably got the impression that he was dealing with a man of great intelligence."[164]

Few details of the proceedings of the second conference of the Communist League have survived. Schapper presided over the deliberations while Engels acted as secretary. On December 8,

1847 both signed the new statutes of the League which had been drawn up at the first conference in the previous June and were now ratified. Many years later Engels wrote that the second conference lasted for at least ten days[165] and that Marx expounded his doctrines at some length. "At last all doubts were removed and all opposition was overcome. The new principles were unanimously accepted and Marx and I were entrusted with the task of drawing up the manifesto."[166] When Engels referred to the "new principles" he meant the doctrines enunciated in his own draft manifesto. One topic discussed by Engels in his "Principles of Communism" – the causes and results of the trade cycle – was elaborated by him in a lecture to the German Workers Education Association.[167] Lessner later remarked that the German workers in London were well satisfied with the conference. "Much was expected from this meeting and hopes were not frustrated but on the contrary, greatly exceeded."[168]

The second conference of the Communist League ended on about December 10, 1847. Marx and Engels returned to Brussels taking with them certain documents for use in the preparation of the manifesto which they had promised to write. The actual composition of this statement of communist doctrine was left to Marx. But instead of writing the manifesto he spent a good deal of his time in spreading his revolutionary doctrines among the workers in Brussels. He lectured to them on wages and capital[169] and also upon Free Trade. Marx had not completed the manifesto when Engels left for Paris early in 1848. Probably a date had been set by the Communist League for the delivery of the manuscript and Marx failed to meet the deadline. On January 26 the central executive committee of the League sent the following peremptory message to the Brussels branch: "The Central Committee hereby orders the local committee in Brussels to inform C. Marx that if the manifesto of the Communist Party, which he agreed to draw up at the last Congress, does not arrive in London before Tuesday, February 1 further measures will be taken against him. In the event that C. Marx does not write the manifesto, the Central Committee requests the immediate return of the documents turned over to him by the Congress. In the name of the Central Committee and by its orders – Schapper, Bauer, Moll."[170] The communist workers in London were clearly becoming impatient and they indicated their displeasure in no uncertain fashion.

Marx completed the manifesto early in 1848. In London Lessner delivered the manuscript to the printer[171] and later collected the proofs for Schapper to correct. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in February 1848 as a pamphlet and it also

appeared in the columns of the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*.[172] It was a brilliantly written tract – a clarion call to workers everywhere to overthrow their oppressors and to found a classless society in which private property would be transferred to the ownership of the state.[173] The first edition had only a limited circulation and does not appear to have been on sale in bookshops. Marx stated that six translations into foreign languages would be issued. In a letter of April 25, 1848 Engels told Marx that he was translating the manifesto into English – half of it was already finished – and that Dr Ewerbeck had arranged for translations to be made into Italian and Spanish.[174] In fact only a Swedish translation appeared in 1848. Consequently the manifesto was then known only to members of the Communist League who could read German and it had little influence upon events on the Continent in 1848. Marx's assertion that Europe was haunted by the spectre of communism – "let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution" – was mere wishful thinking. But in later years Marx's dreams became a reality and his manifesto, translated into many languages,[175] came to be accepted by tens of thousands of Marx's followers as the only authentic declaration of the communist faith.

It has been observed that the manifesto contained "nearly all the elements which were to make Marxism the last and most contemporary of the great religions. It provided both a system of historical development and a programme for political action. It demonstrated that capitalism would inevitably be overthrown by socialism and laid down, rather less clearly, how the proletariat could bring this overthrow about."[176] A few years after it first appeared Marx claimed that in three important respects the manifesto had contained original ideas. He declared: "Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of the class struggle in modern society, and bourgeois economists the anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with *particular, historic phases in the development of production*; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads *to the dictatorship of the proletariat*; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to *classless* society."[177]

Although Marx and Engels were jointly responsible for the manifesto, Engels insisted that Marx alone was the original thinker who should have the sole credit for working out the fundamental doctrine which lay at the heart of the new communist creed. In his preface to the English edition of 1888 Engels wrote: "The Manifesto being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition, which forms its nucleus, belongs

to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has reached where the exploited and oppressed class – the proletariat – cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class – the bourgeoisie – without, at the same time and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles." Engels added that, in his view, Marx's doctrine "is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology".[178]

Engels was too modest. Marx was indeed the philosopher whose doctrines permeated the manifesto but it is also true that the development of Marx's ideology owed much to the collaboration of Marx and Engels between 1845 and 1847. It was Engels who encouraged Marx to turn his attention to the significance of economic changes as factors in the development of society. It was Engels who described the condition of the workers in England and emphasised the role of the class struggle in the most highly industrialised country in the world. It was Engels's economics and Marx's philosophy which together laid the foundations of the new Marxian form of socialism. And it was Engels's "Principles of Communism" which provided Marx with a framework around which he was able to construct his manifesto. The differences between Engels's draft of the manifesto and Marx's final version were differences of emphasis, style and presentation rather than differences of ideas or aims.

While Engels's catechism had begun with a description of the rise of the industrial working class Marx opened his manifesto with a wider discussion of the origin and development of capitalists and the proletariat and the conflict between them. Engels had emphasised the economic factors which fostered the industrial revolution and the creation of the working class but for Marx these changes were significant because they lay at the root of the clash between two new classes in society – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx argued that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In the ancient world the freemen had oppressed the slaves; in the middle ages the feudal lords had oppressed the

serfs and the master craftsmen had exploited their journeymen and apprentices; and in the nineteenth century the middle class capitalists – the bourgeoisie – were oppressing the new industrial proletariat. The clash between oppressors and oppressed had in the past always led to the overthrow of one ruling class and the ascendancy of another. In the age of the industrial revolution the middle classes had overthrown the feudal lords and now dominated the economy and wielded effective political power. Marx acknowledged that the middle classes had been responsible for great economic advances. "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground. What earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?"

Marx argued that the prosperity and power of the middle classes rested upon foundations of quicksands and were ready to collapse at any time. It was clear that either the workers would soon revolt and overthrow their oppressors or that a great slump would cause the capitalist system to collapse like a pack of cards. The wealth of the bourgeoisie had been amassed at the expense of the workers. "In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e. capital, is developed in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed – a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market."

When he discussed the depressed condition of the workers Marx virtually repeated what Engels had already written in his catechism. He considered that "the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance and for the propagation of his race." And as the machinery in the factories became more efficient so the position of the workers became more precarious. They might be replaced by cheap female labour and if they kept their jobs they might have to accept wage reductions. The proletariat was rapidly increasing in numbers and had become "concentrated in great masses". Consequently "its strength grows and it feels that strength more". The proletariat had become "a really revolutionary class"

and was only waiting for the opportunity to overthrow the capitalists. In the past class rivalries had been "movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities" but now the workers were the immense majority of society and their triumph over their oppressors was assured.

Marx, like Engels, believed that capitalism carried within it the seeds of its own decay. He argued that modern bourgeois society "is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether regions whom he has called up by his spells". Recurrent slumps threatened its very existence. "In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity – the epidemic of overproduction." "The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois prosperity; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, [and they] endanger the existence of bourgeois property." Indeed the bourgeoisie had "forged the weapons that bring death to itself." The proletariat alone – the only really revolutionary class in society – would bring about the fall of the middle classes. "The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Having examined the rise of the modern industrial proletariat and its *rôle* in the forthcoming revolution Marx discussed the relations between the communists and the workers. He claimed that whereas other working class parties represented the interests of the proletariat in particular countries, the communists – "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country" – were the representatives of a truly international movement. Moreover, the communists had a great advantage over the vast mass of the proletariat because they clearly understood "the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement". Engels, in his catechism, had observed that "the abolition of private property is now not only possible but absolutely necessary". Marx, for his part, declared that the main object of the communists was to secure the "abolition of private property". He qualified this statement by explaining that what he meant by private property was "not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property". Only about a tenth of the population – the middle classes – owned

property and it was their property that Marx proposed to expropriate.

Marx observed that various objections had been raised by middle class critics to the establishment of a communist society. It was said that communism would lead to universal idleness, to the end of family life, to the disappearance of individual liberty, and to the loss of national identity. Marx brushed these criticisms aside; they were misinformed or irrelevant. They could be dismissed as the hostile reaction of capitalists faced with the prospect of losing their ill-gotten gains. But the vast majority of the people – the workers – had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the establishment of a communist society.

Looking to the future Marx declared that when the communists secured power "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e. of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

As an interim measure – in the period of transition between capitalism and communism – Marx demanded the introduction of the following reforms "in the most advanced countries":

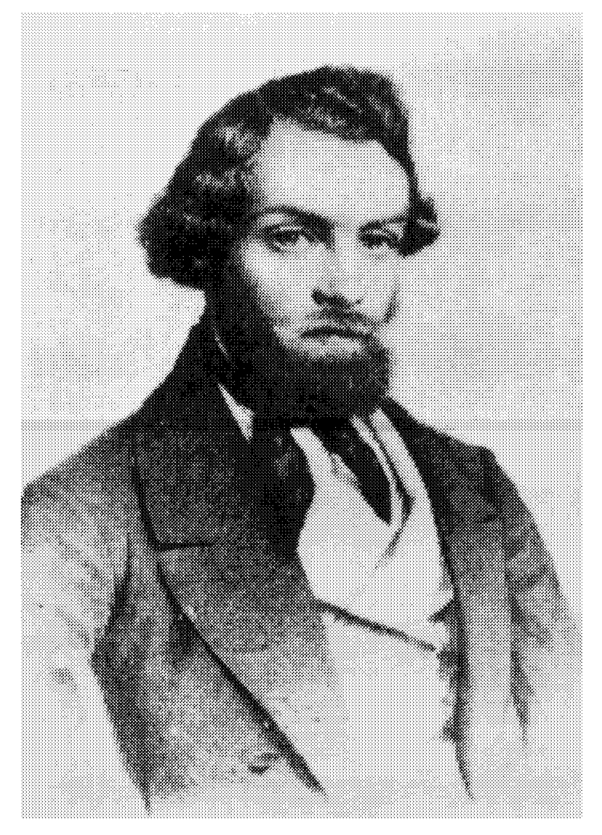
"1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive and graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education of all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production etc."

This programme of immediate reforms was similar to the one proposed by Engels in his "Principles of Communism" except

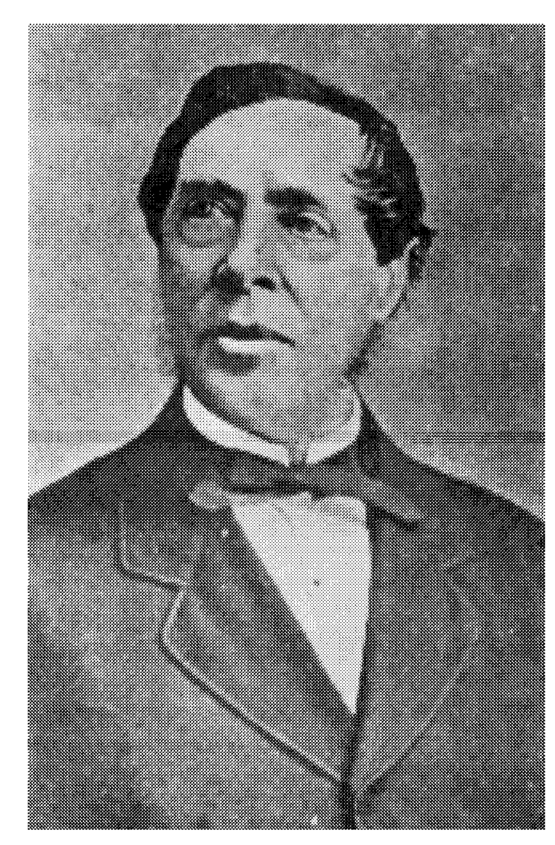
that Marx declined to make any concessions to the followers of Louis Blanc or Fourier. Marx summed up his view of the communist society of the future by declaring that "in place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".

Marx's manifesto, like Engels's catechism, ended with a section criticising the various socialist groups which existed in 1848. Here Marx was on familiar ground and he summarised the attacks which he had already made upon Max Stirner, Bruno Bauer, Weitling, Kriege, Proudhon and others. He dealt in turn with three forms of socialism which he called, "reactionary", "conservative" and "utopian". Reactionary socialism, in his view, included "feudal socialism", "petty bourgeois socialism" and "true socialism". Feudal socialism represented an attempt of the landed aristocracy in England (Young England) and in France to secure support from the workers in their rear-guard action against the middle classes. Petty bourgeois socialism (as preached by Sismondi in France) supported the interests of the rural and urban craftsmen who were being driven out of business by the new factories with their power-driven machines. "True socialism" was the product of German writers who tried to combine French socialist ideas with German idealist philosophy. All these forms of feudal socialism were dismissed by Marx as "reactionary" because they aimed at restoring a way of life that had long been undermined by the growth of modern industry and was doomed to extinction. And they were reactionary because they were supported by reactionary groups and absolute governments who were not really interested in promoting socialism but merely borrowed the arguments of socialists in order to attack their middle class enemies.

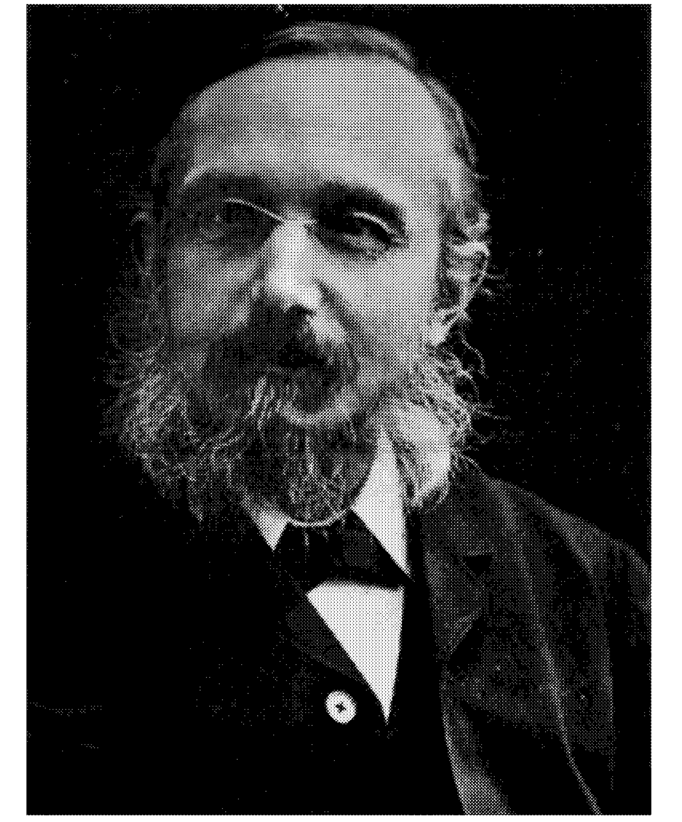
"Conservative socialism", according to Marx, was a form of socialism advocated by middle class philanthropists and humanitarians who recognised the urgent need to remedy the social evils brought about by industrialisation. Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère* was a typical example of "conservative socialism". Marx criticised the type of socialism advocated by Proudhon because it expected the workers to "remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie". Finally Marx discussed the views of utopian socialists such as Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. He praised their ruthless criticism of "every principle of existing society" and he agreed with many reforms that they had suggested – "such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals,



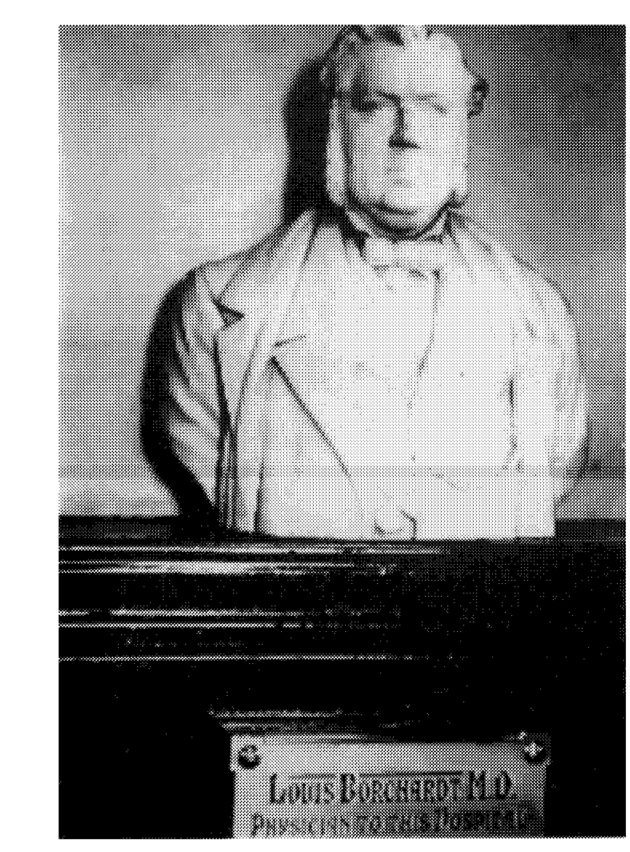
Stephan Born, 1824–1898



Godfrey Ermen, partner of Friedrich Engels, 1864–1869



Carl Schorlemmer, 1834–1892



Louis Borchardt, 1813–1883

and of the wage system . . .". But Marx had no sympathy with the attempts of these socialists to break away from the world – to contract out of existing society – and to found new isolated utopian societies of their own, such as Robert Owen's communist colonies (New Harmony), Fourier's *phalanstères* or Cabet's *Icaria.*

The Communist Manifesto concluded with a declaration that the "communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things". "They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Communists everywhere pledged themselves to demand the expropriation of private property and to seek co-operation with other left-wing political parties. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of the world, unite!"

The assessment of Marx and Engels of the political situation in 1848 and their forecasts of future developments were soon proved by events to be erroneous. They were unduly optimistic when they imagined that successful revolutions would quickly overthrow the reactionary régimes in Europe and replace them by democratic – or even by socialist – administrations. They failed to appreciate the strength of their opponents or the possibility of alliances between the aristocracy and the middle classes to crush the revolutionaries. If Marx and Engels had been right the revolution would have broken out first in England and Belgium because they were the most industrialised countries in Europe. But it was just in those countries that the social structure was the most stable while the rulers of the industrially underdeveloped Habsburg dominions were eventually saved only by Russian intervention. The Chartist demonstration in London was a fiasco and not a prelude to the fall of capitalism in England. The workers in Brussels – to whom Marx made a contribution towards their purchase of arms – proved to be singularly ineffective revolutionaries. In France the republicans and the socialists co-operated to topple the July Monarchy in February 1848 but their shortlived triumph ended in the following June when a rising of the Paris workers was put down with heavy loss of life by General Cavaignac. And Engels was soon to learn, by personal experience in Elberfeld and Baden, that Germany was not yet ready for a successful revolution of the proletariat.

IV. Revolution and Reaction, 1848–9

The climax of Engels's career as an active revolutionary came in 1848 and 1849 when, as a colleague of Marx on the editorial

staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, he was a leading radical journalist in a significant period of German history. In later years he looked back with satisfaction on the part that he had played in helping Marx to run an influential newspaper which expounded communist doctrines to a wide circle of readers. But these were also years of frustration. Nowhere – not in England, France, Belgium or Germany – did the workers behave as they should have behaved if Marx's theories on the fall of capitalism were correct. In England the Chartist movement collapsed after the abortive demonstration on Kennington Common; in Belgium the workers failed to rise in revolt; in France the rising of the Paris workers in June 1848 was ruthlessly suppressed by Cavaignac; while in Germany the workers failed to follow the advice so liberally offered by Marx and Engels in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Moreover, Engels's conduct in 1848 was not always that of a leader who inspires his followers. His flight from Germany to France in the autumn of 1848, when he was threatened with arrest, suggests that his nerve failed him at a critical moment. And in May 1849 when he appeared in Elberfeld to take part in a rising against the government he allowed himself to be somewhat unceremoniously ejected from the town within a few days. But he redeemed his reputation in the Baden rising in 1849 when – as Willich's adjutant – he bore himself well in several engagements. But the insurgents were soon put down by Prussian troops and Engels was fortunate to find refuge in Switzerland. The triumph of their enemies dashed the hopes of Marx and Engels that a successful revolution would sweep the reactionary rulers of Europe into well deserved oblivion. When new authoritarian régimes were established in France, Prussia and Austria, Marx and Engels had to admit that their plans had failed. Had Engels tried to return home he would have had to face a court martial since he had fought against the Prussians in Baden although he had once served in the Prussian army. So he fled to England which now became his permanent home. The days of cloak and dagger intrigues and open rebellion against bourgeois authority were over. Engels, back at his office stool in Manchester, sheathed his sword and turned to his pen to further the cause of communism.

The long-awaited revolution in France, which Marx and Engels hoped would herald the downfall of reactionary rulers all over Europe, broke out on February 23, 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated on the following day, fleeing to England disguised as 'Mr Smith' and a republic was proclaimed. Engels had been expelled from France three weeks previously and had gone to Brussels where Marx was putting the finishing touches to the Communist Manifesto.

He resumed his political activities through the local branch of the Communist League, the Democratic Association, and the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*. On February 22 the Democratic Association celebrated the second anniversary of the Cracow rising of 1846 and Engels made a speech strongly supporting the cause of Polish independence. He declared that Germans and Poles were both equally interested in overthrowing the autocratic rulers of Prussia, Austria and Russia. Only their defeat would secure independence for Poland and freedom for Germany.[179]

Two days later – on February 24 – the trains from France failed to arrive in Brussels. Stephan Born and some of his friends waited hopefully at the main railway station for the latest news from Paris. At last a train from France arrived and the guard jumped out and exclaimed: "La république est proclamée!"[180] If Engels hoped that the establishment of a republic in France would soon be followed by a revolution in Belgium he was doomed to disappointment. Leopold I was a more adroit politician than his father-in-law and he had little difficulty in keeping his throne. Many years later – in a sketch of the life of his friend Wilhelm Wolff – Engels recalled what had happened in Brussels in February and March 1848. He wrote:

"When the revolution broke out in February there was an immediate echo in Brussels. Crowds of people gathered every evening in the large market square in front of the Town Hall which was occupied by the police and the civil guard. The numerous bars and cafés were always packed. As the crowds grew larger there was much pushing and jostling to the strains of the Marseillaise and the chanting of 'Long live the republic'. In the capital the government was as quiet as a tiny mouse but in the provinces troops were recalled from leave and the reservists were summoned to the colours. The government privately informed M. Jottrand, the most respected of the Belgian republicans, that the king was prepared to abdicate if his people so desired. And Jottrand was assured that he could at any time secure confirmation of this offer from Leopold himself. The king told Jottrand that he was republican at heart and would never stand in the way of his people if they wished to set up a republic. All he asked was that his abdication should take place in an orderly fashion without bloodshed and that he should receive an adequate pension. The king's views were quickly made known to the Belgian people with the result that no armed rising was attempted. But the reserves were soon available and most of the troops were concentrated around Brussels. This could be done in three or four days in so small a country as Belgium. Now there was no more talk of abdication. Suddenly one evening the police attacked the crowd in the market place of Brussels with the flats of their

sword blades. People were flung into prison right and left. Wilhelm Wolff, while quietly making his way to his lodgings, was one of the first to be mishandled and cast into prison. Later he was again assaulted by angry drunken militiamen and after being locked up for several days he was packed off to France."[181]

Marx complained that Wilhelm Wolff had been treated in a disgraceful fashion by the police who "tore off his spectacles, spat in his face, kicked him, and cursed him".[182]

Wilhelm Wolff's arrest was the first indication that the Belgian government had decided to rid the country of the foreign – particularly the German – exiles who had turned Brussels into a notorious centre of revolutionary activity. On the outbreak of the revolution in France the central executive committee of the Communist League transferred its authority to its Brussels branch so that Marx and Engels were at last able to take over control of the League from Schapper and his colleagues. The Belgian authorities may not have known that on March 3 the new central executive committee had decided on a second move – this time to the safe haven of republican Paris. And while this was being done Karl Marx was authorised to exercise the powers invested in the committee.[183] But the Belgian authorities did know that Marx had broken his undertaking to refrain from political activities and that he had – as Jenny Marx later admitted – "willingly provided money" to the workers to pay for daggers and revolvers to be used in a rising in Brussels.[184]

On March 4 – on the day after the crucial meeting of the central executive committee of the Communist League in Brussels – Marx and his wife were arrested and, after being held briefly in custody, were given twenty-four hours to leave the country. Their departure was so sudden that Jenny Marx had to leave her silver plate and best linen behind. They went to Paris where Flocon, now a member of the republican government, had cancelled the expulsion order made against Marx in 1845. Marx's disciples in Brussels were soon dispersed. Weerth went to Paris from Rotterdam as soon as he heard that Louis Philippe had fallen, though he returned to Brussels for a time in March. It has been seen that Wilhelm Wolff was quickly expelled from Belgium. Tedesco – who had accompanied Marx to London in the previous November – was arrested.[185] Bornstedt fled to Paris and his *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* came to an end with a number which hailed the establishment of the second French Republic as the dawn of a new era.

Only Engels was left undisturbed. Shortage of funds kept him in Brussels for a few weeks. He believed that the authorities did not molest him because they had previously issued him with a passport.[186] In a letter of March 8–9, 1848 Engels told Marx that the

Democratic Association had protested against both his expulsion from Belgium and the rough handling that he and his wife had received at the hands of the police. Engels declared that "the petty bourgeoisie here are furious at what has happened". "The affair has really caused a stir and has contributed in no small measure to reducing anti-German feelings in Brussels." He had heard that the police commissioner responsible for Marx's arrest had been dismissed.

Engels wrote that all was quiet in Brussels. "The carnival was celebrated as usual yesterday evening and now hardly anyone even mentions the existence of the republic in France." This was a disappointment to Engels since – if Marx's theories were correct – so highly industrialised a country as Belgium should have been in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. The contempt felt by Marx's friends for the Belgians who not only failed to set up a republic but actually locked Louis Blanc up when he fled from France was expressed by Georg Weerth in an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[187]

Engels was also disappointed by the turn of events in Cologne where popular disturbances had been quickly suppressed. But news from other parts of Germany was more hopeful, Engels was confident that a successful rising was certain in Prussia "if only the king holds firmly to his traditional feudal ideas". "But the devil only knows what mischief that insane and cunning rascal will be up to next."[188] A few days later Marx advised Engels to come to Paris.[189] Engels replied that he was still short of money.[190] On March 25 Engels informed the police that he was leaving Brussels and by the end of the month he had joined Marx in Paris. Two days later Georg Weerth wrote to his mother that all his friends had left Brussels.[191]

Most of the communist leaders had now assembled in Paris and the central executive committee of the Communist League had been reconstituted with Marx as president and Schapper as secretary. (At the recent conference in London Schapper had been president and Engels had been secretary.) The other members of the committee were Wallau, Wilhelm Wolff, Heinrich Bauer, Joseph Moll and Engels. They were in touch with Julian Harney and Ernest Jones who were in Paris in March 1848. Confident that the revolution would soon spread across the Rhine the committee – calling itself the "committee of the Communist Party of Germany"[192] – issued a political programme of seventeen points.

The main communist demands were that Germany should be united; that the monarchs should be dethroned; that a republic should be established; that manhood suffrage should be introduced

and that feudal dues and services should be swept away. The state should nationalise royal and noble estates and mines as well as farm mortgages, ground rents, banks and transport. Rights of inheritance should be restricted; indirect taxes should be replaced by progressive direct taxes; and national workshops should be established. "The State guarantees full employment and takes responsibility for the welfare of workers who are unable to earn a living." Education should be universal and free, while Church and State should be separated. A number of these demands had already been made in the "Principles of Communism" and in the Communist Manifesto.[193] This programme showed that the communists were not prepared to co-operate with the middle class parties in the forthcoming revolution. The liberals would obviously be unwilling to have anything to do with a party which proposed to embark upon far-reaching schemes for nationalising private property on a large scale.

The seventeen-point programme, like the Communist Manifesto, had appealed to the workers of the world to unite but there were no signs that the German workers in Paris were prepared to unite. Even before Engels arrived in Paris, Marx had denounced Bornstedt and Herwegh as a couple of rogues who had had the effrontery to set up a rival party *"contre nous"*. Bornstedt – suspected of spying for the Prussian authorities – was expelled from the Communist League.[194] Herwegh and his friends tried to persuade the German artisans in Paris – many of whom were now unemployed – to join a legion to fight for a republic in Germany. Lamartine, the French Foreign Minister, welcomed the scheme since – as Herwegh himself appreciated – "it promised to rid France of many thousand foreign artisans who were competing with French workmen for jobs".[195] Marx and Engels realised that the plan was doomed to failure and that Lamartine would betray the legion to the Prussian government. They appealed to the workers to return to Germany peaceably as individuals and not as members of an armed legion. They succeeded in persuading Flocon to give German workers who followed their advice the same assistance – free accommodation on their journey and a subsistence allowance of 50 centimes a day – as they would have received as members of the legion. "In this way", wrote Engels, "we organised the return to Germany of three or four hundred workers, including most of the members of the Communist League."[196]

In March 1848 the long awaited revolutions broke out in Germany and Austria. In the southern states – Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden – democratic reforms, such as the establishment of a representative parliament, a free press and a jury system were intro-

duced but Hecker's attempt to set up a republic in Baden collapsed after the battle of Kandern. In Hesse-Darmstadt the Grand Duke abdicated and Heinrich von Gagern became head of a liberal ministry. In Hesse-Cassel the Elector was faced with a revolutionary movement and made many concessions – such as religious equality for Catholics and Protestants – to save his throne. In Saxony, too, the liberals – led by Ludwig Freiherr von der Pfordten – gained control of the administration and introduced various reforms. On March 18 there was a popular rising in Berlin. After indecisive street fighting Frederick William IV withdrew his troops and agreed that a citizens' militia should be set up to maintain order. By the end of March a liberal ministry under Ludolf Camphausen and David Hansemann was in office and shortly afterwards a Prussian national assembly was convened. Meanwhile in Austria a rising in Vienna had forced Metternich to resign. Thus within a few weeks progressive ministries had been installed in many German states and numerous democratic reforms had been introduced. At the same time the movement in favour of German unification was rapidly gaining momentum.

Marx and Engels believed that the revolution in Germany was following the course that they had predicted. Although the autocratic rulers had not been dethroned the middle classes seemed to have political power within their grasp. The next phase of the revolution – according to Marx – would be a rising of the masses. On March 16, two days before the rising in Berlin, General Joseph von Radowitz warned Frederick William IV that the socialist movement in Germany might develop into "a rising of the proletariat to secure the organisation of labour and the guarantee of full employment."[197] But at the very moment when the danger to the established order seemed greatest the Communist League disintegrated. Marx and Engels had worked hard to gain control over the League and just when they had succeeded it ceased to be of any value in their hands.

Engels later explained why this had happened. "Three quarters of the supporters of the League, who had been living in exile abroad, returned home so that most of the branches to which they had belonged lost most of their members and lost contact with the central executive committee. On reaching Germany some of the most ambitious members failed to resume contact with the League's central committee and to establish – each in his own locality – a little separatist movement of his own. Since conditions varied enormously in every petty German state, in every province, and in every town it would have been impossible for the central committee to have given members advice which would have been

universally applicable. Advice to members could best be given through the press."[198] Marx could have had no illusions concerning the collapse of the League in the spring of 1848 in view of the information that he received from Wilhelm Wolff, Ernst Dronke and Stephan Born.[199]

Wilhelm Wolff, writing on April 18, drew a gloomy picture of the state of the League's branches in Cologne and Berlin.[200] He reported that the Cologne branch was "vegetating". In Berlin he saw Hätzel[201] – a notorious conspirator well known to the police – who admitted that the local branch of the League now consisted of only twenty members. Wolff asked Hätzel to call his supporters together so that he could address them "but this proved to be impracticable since at that time the Berlin workers were attending many public meetings and were debating the appointment of delegates to form deputations". Hätzel promised Wilhelm Wolff that he would revive the Berlin branch of the League but this proved to be an impossible task. Subsequently in a statement to the police Hätzel declared that "circumstances were not favourable in 1848 for the establishment of an association – or even for organising a meeting – of the workers who supported the communist cause". He added that "the will to act was lacking".[202] From Berlin Wilhelm Wolff went to his native province of Silesia. In Breslau – where he had once been the leader of a group of radical university students – he found that there was bitter enmity between the middle classes and the workers. He could find no trace of any communist movement. He tried to remedy the situation by intensive propaganda among the workers and was rewarded by being elected a "reserve deputy" to the Frankfurt National Assembly.[203]

Stephan Born, writing on May 11, 1848 told Marx that the Berlin branch of the League no longer existed. "No one has had time to revive the defunct organisation." But he thought that the workers in Berlin were thoroughly imbued with revolutionary ideas. Born claimed that he was "more or less the acknowledged leader of the working class movement" in Berlin. "I am the chairman of a sort of workers' parliament which consists of delegates from many factories and workshops."[204] What Born did not tell Marx was that since arriving in Berlin he had begun to doubt the value of communism as a doctrine which would inspire the workers. Many years later Born declared in his memoirs that communism offered no solution to the situation as he found it in Berlin in 1848.[205] But Born kept in touch with Marx and Engels – he was cordially received by them in Cologne early in 1849 – and there was no open breach between them at this time.

Ernst Dronke, a recent young recruit to the Communist League,[206] sent a report to the central committee on May 5, 1848. He explained that, as he was short of money, he had been able to visit only Frankfurt am Main, Coblenz and Mainz. In Frankfurt only two recruits had been secured for the League and this was hardly surprising since in that city "one almost runs the risk of being stoned if one admits to being a communist". In Coblenz Dronke had recruited only four new members while in Mainz he found that the local branch of the League was "in a state of utter anarchy". He hoped that Wallau might be persuaded to leave Wiesbaden for Mainz and revive the flagging fortunes of the branch. And a few days earlier Georg Weerth, writing to Marx from Cologne, used almost the same words as Dronke when describing the fear inspired by communist doctrines. In Cologne, he wrote, "the very word 'communism' inspires terror and anyone who openly declares that he is a communist would be stoned."[207]

Although the Communist League had virtually ceased to exist as a political force and its manifesto and seventeen demands made little impact upon events in 1848 Marx and his disciples were in the forefront of the revolutionary movement in Germany. Marx himself was editor in chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; Engels and Wilhelm Wolff were his closest collaborators on this paper; Wilhelm Wolff actively supported the revolutionary cause in Breslau and Cologne; Schapper and Moll were engaged in propaganda among the workers in Cologne; Stephan Born organised the workers in Berlin, edited a newspaper there, and fought on the barricades in Dresden; Engels, Willich and Moll took part in the Baden insurrection in which Moll fell at the engagement on the River Murg.

It was not until the middle of April 1848 that Marx and Engels were ready to leave Paris for Germany. Since the Communist League was virtually defunct they had to consider how best to further the cause of revolution. Andreas Gottschalk, a leader of the workers in Cologne, suggested that they should stand for election to the new Prussian national assembly in their home towns – Marx in Trier and Engels in Barmen. Georg Weerth, on the other hand, wrote from Cologne that "it would be a good idea if you would come here instead of studying in Paris".[208] Political activity in Berlin – as envisaged by Gottschalk – had few attractions for Marx and Engels. They knew Berlin only too well – a city (in Engels's words) inhabited by "a virtually undeveloped middle class; a crawling cowardly petty bourgeoisie, a proletariat without class-consciousness; a pack of bureaucrats, aristocrats and lackeys at court." Marx and Engels agreed with Weerth and went to Cologne

to set up a newspaper as a vehicle for their propaganda. They chose Cologne because the Code Napoléon was in force in the Rhineland and this gave greater freedom to the press than the Prussian civil code (*Landrecht*) which applied in Berlin. Engels boasted that they used this freedom "to the last drop".[209] Moreover, Cologne was the chief business and banking centre of the most progressive province in Prussia. And here Marx had once edited the *Rheinische Zeitung* and still had contacts among his old friends.

Marx and Engels, however, were not the first to think of establishing a new radical paper in Cologne. Towards the end of March 1848 Georg Weerth told Marx that Heinrich Bürgers and Karl d'Ester were talking about founding a paper but that it seemed doubtful if they would be able to raise the necessary capital.[210] Marx and Engels went to Cologne determined to push Bürgers aside and to take over his project. Engels later claimed that they succeeded in doing so within twenty-four hours of their arrival and that at the same time they frustrated an intrigue "to ban us to Berlin".[211]

On April 24, 1848 a prospectus, drawn up by Heinrich Bürgers, was issued announcing the forthcoming publication of the newspaper which was to be called the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Now it was necessary to find the capital with which to start the new venture. Engels was already in Barmen – his first visit in four years – seeking financial support for the paper. Marx appealed to Engels to put pressure on his father to buy some shares.[212] Engels replied that he was having little success in raising money and that he would have none at all if a copy of the programme of seventeen points ever found its way to Elberfeld or Barmen. Engels's father – not unnaturally – firmly declined to have anything to do with a paper which was to be edited by avowed communists. Engels added that even the local radicals thought that one day the communists "would be their bitterest enemies". It was indeed hardly surprising that they would not support a project fostered by people who would very soon turn against them.[213] On May 9 Engels informed Marx that he had been able to sell only fourteen shares.[214] When the first number appeared Marx tried to reassure his middle-class readers by describing the newspaper as an "organ of democracy" rather than an organ of the Communist League. But a fierce attack upon the Frankfurt National Assembly showed the shareholders only too clearly how extreme were the editorial views of the paper and they lost no time in withdrawing their financial support. Engels later recalled that "immediately after the appearance of our first number half of them deserted us and by the end of the month

[of June] the rest had also left us in the lurch."[215] Eventually Marx – who had only recently been giving financial support to the workers in Brussels – used what was left of his personal fortune to keep the paper alive.[216]

Marx solved the problem of securing good contributors more successfully than the problem of obtaining enough money to launch the new paper. When the first number appeared on the evening of May 31 – it was dated June 1, 1848 – it was announced that Marx was the editor in chief and that the other editors were Engels, Weerth, Dronke, Wilhelm Wolff, Ferdinand Wolff and Heinrich Bürgers. All belonged to the Communist League except Bürgers who appears to have been an editor in name only and to have written no more than a single leading article. Marx had considerable experience as a journalist and had edited the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842. Engels had written for newspapers in four countries while Wilhelm Wolff had made a name for himself as a journalist in Silesia before joining Marx in Brussels. Marx was all-powerful as editor in chief. Engels wrote that "a great daily newspaper that has to go to press regularly at a definite time cannot be run in any other way". "To us Marx's dictatorship was selfevident, acknowledged and unquestioned." "There can be no doubt that it was his clear vision and determination that made the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* the most famous German newspaper in the years of revolution."[217] The paper was read both by middle-class radicals and by workers. Lessner later recalled that he read aloud articles from it to his fellow workers.[218]

Karl Marx was not only responsible for the newspaper as a whole but he also wrote many leading articles particularly upon German domestic affairs. And between April 5 and April 11, 1849 he printed in its columns some of his lectures on "Wages and Capital" which he had delivered to an audience of workers in Brussels in December 1847.[219] Engels's most important contributions were on foreign affairs (such as the workers' rising in Paris in June 1848) and on military operations (such as the campaign in Hungary).[220] In Frankfurt Dronke reported on the debates in the National Assembly. In Paris Dr Ewerbeck was Marx's main correspondent while Schabelitz reported on the proceedings of the French parliament.[221] In Vienna Eduard von Müller-Tellering was the correspondent of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Wilhelm Wolff wrote a series of striking articles on the heavy feudal burdens which the peasants in Silesia had to bear. Georg Weerth – and later Ferdinand Freiligrath – were responsible for the literary supplement. Weerth's satirical novel on *The Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski* – a savage attack upon the

Prussian junkers – first appeared as essays in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. With such an array of talent to support him Marx was able to secure nearly 5,000 regular readers by September 1848 and when the paper ceased publication in May 1849 there were about 6,000 subscribers. Although it had such a short life Engels was able to claim that no German newspaper had ever exercised so great an influence upon public opinion as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and that "no paper has been able to electrify the masses in the same way".[222]

The domestic policy for Germany advocated by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was consistent with the Communist Manifesto and the seventeen points of the communist programme. Marx and his followers hoped that the German liberals would overthrow the reactionary governments and destroy the surviving feudal elements in society. They expected that – particularly in Prussia – the powers of the junkers, the army officers, the civil servants, and the churches would be eliminated. They believed that once this had been achieved the middle classes would soon fall before a rising of the masses which would in turn be followed by the establishment of a classless society in which private enterprise would give way to the state ownership of the means of production. They also expected the German states to be united and the dynasties to be replaced by a republic.

Accepting these principles the contributors of the paper attacked both the monarchical régimes and the liberals who opposed them. They ridiculed the King of Prussia and the Prussian nobles, officers, civil servants and clergy. In nine articles on "Die schlesische Milliarde" (March 22–April 5, 1849) Wilhelm Wolff pilloried the Silesian landowners for oppressing the peasants and there was a marked increase in the sale of the paper in the eastern provinces of Prussia immediately afterwards. Georg Weerth pilloried the Prussian junkers in his novel on the scandalous career of Schnapphahnski which was based upon lurid incidents in the life of Prince Felix Lichnowski. At the same time the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* attacked the democrats – particularly the Prussian liberals – for failing to make a clean sweep of the reactionary administrations and the feudal institutions when they had the chance to do so. Ludolf von Camphausen and David Hansemann, the leaders of the liberal ministry in Prussia which took office at the end of March 1848, were criticised for handling the forces of reaction with kid gloves. The policy of the liberals in the Frankfurt National Assembly was denounced by Marx as "parliamentary cretinism".[223] Engels declared: "Our first number opened with an article which scoffed at the nullity of the Frankfurt National Assembly, the use-

lessness of the long-winded speeches delivered there, and the waste of time of its cowardly resolutions."[224] And when the supporters of reaction began to gain the upper hand Marx and Engels condemned their return to power with all the venom at their command.

At first the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* supported the policy of the extreme radicals who advocated the establishment of a united German republic and the adoption of a policy of extreme nationalism – the founding of a "Greater Germany", the freeing of Schleswig and Holstein from Danish rule, and war against Russia. But by the spring of 1849 Marx and Engels had lost faith in the radicals and they now concentrated their propaganda on the working classes. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* incited unrest among the workers in the Rhineland and took a greater interest than before in Stephan Born's Committee of Workers in Berlin and the Brotherhood of Workers (*Arbeiterverbrüderung*) which had been set up in Leipzig.

Since the communists hoped for a successful revolution of the masses the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* fanned the flames of popular discontent. They supported both passive resistance – by a refusal to pay taxes[225] – and armed revolt. But Marx and Engels condemned risings which they considered to be premature or lacking any chance of success. Thus in articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on May 4 and May 6, 1849 Engels declared that the Prussian authorities in the Rhineland were deliberately trying to provoke a workers' rising so as to have an excuse to declare a state of siege and introduce military rule.[226] And the last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (May 19, 1849) contained an appeal from the editors to the workers of Cologne to refrain from violence. "An armed revolt on your part at this time would simply provide the government with an excuse to declare a state of siege in Cologne and this would inevitably lead to the demoralisation of the workers throughout the Rhineland."[227]

But if Marx and Engels opposed risings which they felt were doomed to failure they believed that eventually only a revolution of the masses could finally sweep away the forces of reaction. On December 31, 1848 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – reviewing the events of the past year – declared: "The history of the bourgeoisie in Prussia – and indeed in all Germany – between March and December 1848 proves that in this country there is no possibility of the middle classes carrying out a successful revolution and there is no prospect of the middle classes securing political power by establishing a constitutional monarchy. It is now clear that a social-

republican revolution is the only practical alternative to a feudal-reactionary counter-revolution."[228]

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* favoured the establishment of a democratic German republic and strongly criticised two of the obstacles which barred the way to unification. The first was Prussia's insatiable ambition to dominate Germany. Engels later observed that "in Germany itself the one really serious opponent – the one enemy which the revolution ought to have destroyed – was the Prussian state with its dynasty, its traditions, and its apparatus of government." "Moreover Prussia could unite Germany only by dismembering her – by excluding the Germans in Austria."[229]

A second obstacle to unification was the existence of a number of small independent territories which clung tenaciously to their sovereignty. Marx and Engels regarded these insignificant principalities as survivors of a bygone age and argued that they should be swept aside so that national unity might be achieved. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* advocated the establishment of a unitary state and rejected all proposals for the establishment of a new federation.

Engels summed up the foreign policy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as follows: "Support for every popular revolution; support for a general war of revolutionary Europe against Russia, the backbone of European reaction."[230] Marx and Engels considered that the Romanov régime was the embodiment of reaction and a constant danger to a democratic Germany. Only Russia's defeat could guarantee the success of a German revolution. At the same time Russia's defeat would enable the Poles to regain their independence. Marx and Engels had supported the Polish cause for some years. Now they wrote a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on the debate in the Frankfurt National Assembly on the Polish question. They warned Poland's oppressors that the day of reckoning was at hand. "You may have swallowed the Poles but, by God, you will never digest them!"[231]

Marx and Engels denounced not only the Romanovs but also the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs for sharing in the spoils of the partitions of Poland. And the Habsburgs were ruling over other subject nationalities such as the Italians. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appealed to the Germans to change their policy with regard to the Poles and the Italians. "Now that the Germans are throwing off their own chains, their foreign policy should be completely reversed. Otherwise the chains with which we bind others will strangle our own newly won liberties."[232] But the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* did not follow a consistent policy with regard to the Slavs – the Czechs, Serbs, Croats and others – who were under Habsburg

or Turkish rule. At first their claims to independence were supported but when a Pan–Slav movement developed with Russian support Engels attacked the Slavs as "counter-revolutionaries". Early in 1849 he described them as backward peoples who could hardly be regarded as civilised. Their fate would be to be wiped out in a future great European war.[233] Engels tried to justify his view of the Slavs by advancing a curious theory of "peoples without history". He argued that there were some peoples which lacked any capacity for self-government and were doomed to be ruled by more advanced nations. "They will never achieve national independence." "They are peoples who were either already under foreign rule when they entered into the first primitive phase of civilisation or who were actually *forced* into the earliest phase of civilisation by their foreign masters."[234] And the Slavs under Habsburg rule fell into this category. This was not one of Engels's happiest doctrines – though Engels himself did not live to see it disproved.

The attitude of Marx and Engels towards France was one of support for the republican revolutionaries and opposition to the upper and middle class reactionaries. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* declared that General Cavaignac's suppression of the workers rising in June 1848 had "divided France into two nations – the owners of property and the proletariat". Marx and Engels appealed for sympathy for the defeated insurgents and they watched with growing concern the return to power of the forces of reaction.[235]

While the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were confident that they could explain events in France to their readers satisfactorily they were faced with certain difficulties when discussing affairs in Britain. According to Marx the English workers should have been in the forefront of the revolutionary movement but the Chartist demonstration of April 10, 1848 had failed to shake the British government which proved to be the most stable in Europe. Writing in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in May 1849 Georg Weerth tried to explain why the English workers had not lived up to Marx's expectations. Weerth argued that the Chartist fiasco had been due to Feargus O'Connor's poor leadership and to the fact that the unrest in the south of England had not been matched by equal revolutionary fervour in the manufacturing districts of the north where improved trade and increased wages had caused support for the Chartist cause to melt away. Weerth was confident, however, that the revolution in England had only been postponed. He thought that the recent abolition of the Corn Laws had already led to a depression in the agricultural districts. "Another industrial crisis now threatens the north of England and

this time it will take place at the same time as an agricultural crisis and a great war." All this would lead to "the collapse of the traditional structure of English society". "The fall of Old England will herald the complete dissolution of modern middle class society." "The collapse of the power of the bourgeoisie will herald the triumph of the proletariat."[236]

The Prussian authorities replied to the attacks of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* by showering writs upon Marx and other editors alleging offences from "defamation of the administration" and "incitement to revolt" to high treason. But the Cologne juries refused to convict. Not content with using the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as a vehicle for their views the editors took an active part in stimulating revolutionary agitation among the workers of Cologne and the Rhineland. When they arrived in Cologne they realised that the local branch of the Communist League was too insignificant an organisation to be of any use to them. And they appreciated that avowed communists were unpopular in the Rhineland. So they tried to take over another left-wing organisation. This was a workers' association led by Andreas Gottschalk. They planned to oust Gottschalk from office just as they had once ousted Schapper from his leading position in the Communist League. At first Gottschalk stood his ground, relying upon the loyalty of the workers in Cologne who knew him not only as a political agitator but as a devoted medical practitioner. But when Gottschalk was in custody from July to December 1848 awaiting trial – he was eventually acquitted – Schapper and Moll were able to take his place as leaders of the workers' association. When Gottschalk was free again he tried to recover his former position but without success. Only a small number of workers followed him to form a splinter group. Some of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also played an active part in the affairs of the Cologne Democratic Society to which Wilhelm Wolff lectured on current affairs.[237] In April 1849 however, Marx, Schapper and Wilhelm Wolff left this society and devoted their energies to organising the workers in the Rhineland against the reaction which threatened all that had been gained by the revolution.[238]

In August 1848 three left-wing political organisations in Cologne – the Workers Association, the Democratic Association, and the Union of Employers and Workers – joined to set up a committee in the Rhineland and Westphalia of the German democratic conference which had recently met in Frankfurt am Main. Marx was the life and soul of this committee and he strongly supported its activities in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

On September 13, 1848 Engels and some other editors of the

Neue Rheinische Zeitung took part in an open air demonstration (presided over by Heinrich Bürgers) which approved an address urging the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin to use force to resist any attempt to dissolve it. At Wilhelm Wolff's suggestion a committee of public safety was set up to represent those citizens in Cologne who had no vote at local elections. A few days later another demonstration was held in a meadow near Worringen on the Rhine (north of Cologne) and this time the red flag was flown.[239] The meeting was attended by deputations from Cologne, Düsseldorf and other towns in the Rhineland. On this occasion Engels and Lassalle – one of the leaders of the Düsseldorf delegates – met for the first time. In later years the rivalry between Marx and Lassalle was to cause deep divisions in the socialist movement in Germany. Elsewhere in the Rhineland – at Neuss and Crefeld for example – meetings demanding the establishment of a united democratic German republic were addressed by Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Schapper and Lassalle.

On September 26, 1848 following unrest in Cologne, a state of siege was declared; the civil militia was disarmed; public meetings were forbidden; and the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suspended.[240] Schapper and Moll were arrested while Wilhelm Wolff went to the Bavarian Palatinate and Georg Weerth went to Bingen in Hesse-Darmstadt. Engels seems to have lost his nerve. He first went into hiding in his parent's house in Barmen (the family being absent on a visit to Engelskirchen) and then fled to Brussels. The Belgian authorities, who had not molested him earlier in the year, now treated him as a vagabond – he had no passport, little money and little baggage – and put him on a train to the French frontier. By Thursday, October 12, when the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication,[241] he was in Paris. He dared not return to Cologne as there was a warrant out for his arrest. He decided to take a holiday and go on a walking tour across France.

It is not easy to account for Engels's decision to give up his political activities and to take a long vacation. Since Germany was in the throes of revolution one might have expected him to return to his editorial duties in Cologne as soon as possible. And if fear of prison kept him away, why did he not stay in Paris – or go to London – and continue to write for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*? He would have served his cause more effectively as a foreign correspondent than by tramping through the wine districts of France. He was admittedly short of money but if he had waited in Paris the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would have supplied him with funds.

Engels had other worries as well. There had been a new breach with his family. Early in October his mother wrote to him that she had seen a newspaper report that a warrant (*Steckbrief*) had been issued for his arrest. She begged him to take his father's advice and emigrate to America. A few days later she declared that she had reliable information that if he returned to Cologne there would be no place for him on the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In a third letter she declared that his friends in Cologne "are a lot of rogues who will make use of you as long as they can get hold of your money and then they will throw you over". Engels feared that his mother might be right and that Marx might regard his continued absence from Cologne as an act of desertion. He probably realised too that Moses Hess and Dr Ewerbeck were intriguing against him. He expressed his anxiety about his future in a letter to Marx who replied with an emphatic assurance that "it is pure phantasy to imagine that I could leave you in the lurch". "You will always be my intimate friend and I hope that I will always be yours too."[242] Engels seems to have been depressed owing to his fears for the future. He was exhausted after four years of intense activity in the cause of world revolution. He appreciated that he needed a rest and he set off from Paris to throw aside the cares of politics for a few weeks.

Engels gave an account of his walking tour through France in one of the finest descriptive pieces that he ever wrote.[243] He was an enthusiastic admirer of France and the French. He praised Paris – "a city in which European civilisation reaches its greatest heights, a city in which all the strands of our history and culture are brought together, and a city from which at regular intervals are emited those electric impulses which rock the universe." "Here people combine a passion for a full life with a passion for making history." Engels declared, however, that the full flavour of life in Paris could be properly appreciated only if one knew the French provinces as well because the city expressed the creative genius of a whole people which had lavished its wealth and artistic skill to create a capital worthy of a great nation.

But in the autumn of 1848 Engels found that Paris was a very different place from the city that he had known in the twilight of the July Monarchy and the dawn of the Second Republic. In 1846 and 1847 Paris had been a city of "universal cheerfulness and care-free abandon" while in March and April 1848 the workers had rejoiced in their new freedom and had planted trees of liberty along the boulevards. Now – after the suppression of the workers' rising in June 1848 "in an ocean of blood" – the halcyon days of spring had vanished. Engels saw hungry, disarmed and disillusioned

workers in the streets. "The balls and the theatres are deserted and the boulevards are frequented only by the bourgeoisie and the police spies." "In short we are back in the Paris of 1847 without the life, the spirit, the fire and the ferment that the workers had injected into the city in those days." To Engels Paris had become a city of the dead and he decided to leave it as soon as possible.

As he was short of money he travelled on foot and enjoyed the experience of a vagabond life. He ceased to worry about his own future and he was no longer concerned with the ever growing threat of reaction in Germany. His leisurely pilgrimage gave him an opportunity to appreciate all that rural France had to offer and – for the first time – he learned at first hand something of the way of life of a peasant society. He observed changes in the geology and topography of the districts through which he passed. He noticed differences in farm buildings, outhouses and cottages. He commented upon different types of farming and he noted local variations in the countryman's patois, dress, customs and outlook.

Engels tramped along the country lanes over the hills that divided the basin of the Seine from that of the Loire. He came across a group of itinerant basket weavers from Alsace who were delighted to meet someone who understood their German dialect. An overnight stop at the village inn at Dampierre gave him an opportunity of meeting members of a colony of workers from Paris who had formerly been employed by the National Workshops and were now engaged in constructing a dam. "There were all kinds of workers from goldsmiths, butchers, shoemakers and joiners to a rag and bone man from the Paris boulevards." "A lusty butcher, who had already established himself as a sort of foreman, was loud in his praises of the undertaking. He said that it was possible to earn from 30 to 100 sous a day depending upon how hard one worked. A fair day's work could easily bring in from 40 to 60 sous. He offered me an immediate job in his 'brigade' and declared that he was sure that I would soon settle down and earn 50 sous a day in my second week. He assured me that I would make good money as the work would last for at least another six months. I would not have minded exchanging my pen for a shovel for a month or two but as I had no papers I would soon have lost the job." Engels remarked that these exiles from Paris read no newspapers and had lost their interest in politics. "Hard work, reasonably good wages, and – above all – the move from Paris to a quiet remote corner of France has restricted their outlook in a remarkable way. They have been in Dampierre for only a couple of months but they are already half way to being turned into peasants."

And Engels had a very poor opinion of peasants. He declared that a peasant was an utterly stupid creature – "a barbarian in the midst of civilisation".

> "A peasant is isolated in a remote village, and lives as a member of a small social group which changes only as one generation follows another. Hard repetitive work ties him – as even serfdom would not tie him – to the same smallholding that passes unchanged from father to son. All aspects of his life are characterised by stability and uniformity. The family is vital to him for it is the most important factor in his life. All this restricts his vision to the narrowest limits that are possible in modern society. The great movements of history either pass him by or carry him along with them – but the peasant knows nothing of their origins, their aims, or the impetus behind them."

Engels's contemptuous dismissal of the French peasants as ignorant barbarians may have been due to the fact that there was obviously no hope of converting them to communism. They were passionately devoted to their little pieces of land and were determined to protect their property against all comers. They had been alarmed in the previous February when the revolution had brought to power men who – so they thought – might try to nationalise the land. Their fears appeared to be confirmed when the Provisional Government increased the land tax. The failure of the workers' rising in Paris in June had been welcomed by the peasants. Now they gave their support to Louis Napoleon whom they regarded as a protector of private property. Since two thirds of the voters were peasants Engels had no doubt that Louis Napoleon would be the next ruler of France. Engels's caustic criticisms of the French peasants was, however, modified by his appreciation of their friendliness, courtesy, and generous hospitality.

When he reached Briare Engels decided to go to Switzerland by way of Auxerre. He left the valley of the Loire and made for Burgundy. He described the inhabitants of this province as good-natured, naïve and witty "French Austrians". The peasants were so friendly and good hearted that Engels even forgave them their "abysmal ignorance of politics and their enthusiasm for Louis Napoleon". He reached Auxerre in time to enjoy a wine festival to celebrate the exceptionally good harvest of 1848. The quality of the wine was superior to that of 1834 and 1846. From far and near the peasants streamed into Auxerre to buy what was left of the vintage of 1847 at very low prices. Engels then crossed the River Yonne and tramped through the vineyards to Saint-Bris where he again saw a little market town given over to the buying and selling of wine. His next stop was at Vermenton. Here Engels's

manuscript unfortunately breaks off. By the end of October he was in Switzerland where he stayed until January 1849 first in Geneva, then in Lausanne and finally in Bern.

While he was in Switzerland Engels received three letters from Marx. In the first – clearly a reply to an urgent appeal for money – Marx stated that he was enclosing 50 thalers and that a similar sum had already been sent to Paris. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had resumed publication on October 12. Marx's colleagues – except Weerth – had not yet returned to Cologne. Marx asked Engels to send him some articles.[245] In his second letter Marx expressed great surprise that Engels had still not received any money from him since he had sent 61 thalers as well as 20 thalers to Gigot and 50 thalers to Dronke which should have been passed on to Engels. Apparently some of the shareholders of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were trying to remove Engels from the editorial board but Marx assured Engels that – in the first issue of the paper after the resumption of publication – he had announced that no change in the membership of the editorial board was contemplated. Marx had also told the "reactionary shareholders" that although they could remove Engels from the editorial board they would save no money by doing so since Marx had the power to pay any fee that he pleased to his contributors. Marx concluded his letter by declaring: "Your old man is a dirty dog and we will write him a really rude letter."[246]

Marx's third letter advised Engels to stay in Switzerland until it was safe to return to Cologne. Marx suggested that Engels should write articles on Proudhon and on the Hungarian campaign ("Hungarian shit" as he elegantly put it). He declared that he had thought of a "fool-proof plan" to raise money from Engels's father. Engels should write to Marx saying that he was in dire financial straits and Marx would then pass this information on to Engels's mother. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx observed, was still advocating an armed rising (*émeute*) – "la révolution marche".[247]

At this time Engels also received letters from his mother and from Georg Weerth. At the end of February his mother wrote: "If you are earning something – but not enough for your needs – simply ask your father for a small remittance." And Weerth wrote that Engels had been summoned to appear before the magistrate in Cologne on December 20.[248]

At the end of December 1848 Engels wrote to Marx to enquire if he could return to Cologne. He declared that he would cheerfully face any jury but that he was not prepared to go to goal while awaiting trial because he would not be allowed to smoke.[249]

Early in January he sent Marx his article on the Hungarian campaign. He declared that he had no money and could not borrow any in "this lousy hole". He complained that he could no longer vegetate in idleness. "Soon I will decide to face prison in Cologne rather than endure freedom in Switzerland." "Let me know if there is the slightest chance of my case being dealt with as favourably as those of Bürgers and Becker."[250]

The manuscript which Engels sent to Marx was published on January 13, 1849 as a leading article entitled "The Magyar Struggle."[251] This – and later – reports by Engels on the war in Hungary were important for two reasons. First, they were the earliest essays in which Engels showed his gift for military criticism which later earned him the nickname of 'the General'. In 1852 in a letter to Marx he boasted that "we gave a wonderfully accurate account of the Hungarian war based upon *Austrian* reports and we gave a cautious but brilliantly accurate forecast of the way in which the campaign would end".[252] At the time Engels's articles were attributed to a high-ranking officer in the Hungarian army while a German journal praised the "very able reporter" who had written on the campaign in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[253]

Secondly, in this article Engels threw caution to the wind and advocated armed resistance against those who sought to deprive the people of the reforms that they had gained from the revolution. He declared that the Magyars had not yet been defeated and that even if they were defeated they would soon rise again. "One day the wild barbaric counter-revolution of the Slavs will overwhelm the Habsburg monarchy and then the camarilla in Vienna will come face to face with their allies in their true colours." "The first victorious rising of the French workers – which Louis Napoleon is doing his best to provoke – will free the German Austrians and the Magyars and will give them the opportunity to take a terrible revenge upon the Slav savages." "The universal war which will follow will crush the Slav alliance and will wipe out completely those obstinate peoples so that their very names will be forgotten." "The next world war will wipe out not only reactionary classes and dynasties but it will also destroy these utterly reactionary races." "And that will be a real step forward."[254]

In the middle of January 1849 Engels at last felt that it was safe for him to return to Cologne and shortly afterwards he was informed that no charges would be brought against him in connection with his activities during the unrest of the previous September. But on February 7 Engels appeared with Marx, Schapper and their publisher Korff, charged with libelling the police and the local attorney-general (*Oberprokurator*) in an article in the *Neue*

Rheinische Zeitung on July 5, 1848. Marx told the jury that "a new society cannot be founded upon obsolete laws". He argued that after the Berlin rising of March 1848 and the calling of the Prussian National Assembly the laws formerly in force must be considered to be in abeyance pending the promulgation of a new constitution. Engels also addressed the jury and the charges against the four accused were dismissed.

On the following day Marx, Schapper and their lawyer Schneider – but not Engels – were charged with inciting citizens to armed rebellion. They were alleged to have done this as members of the Rhenish-Westphalian committee of the conference of democratic societies which had been held in Frankfurt. Again Marx and his colleagues were found not guilty.[255] On February 24 Marx and Engels attended a dinner organised by the Workers Association of Cologne to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Second Republic in France. Engels proposed a toast to the Roman Republic. At about the same time Moll – who had fled to England at the time of the disturbances in Cologne in the previous September – returned to Cologne as the envoy of the London branch of the Communist League to discuss with Marx and Engels the revival of the League.

Between April 20 and May 9, 1849 Engels acted as chief editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* while Marx was away from Cologne making a last effort to raise funds to keep the newspaper alive. On April 23 Marx wrote to Engels from Hamburg that he had not secured any money from Bremen. But he had not given up hope – "les choses marcheront".[256]

It was while he was in control of the paper that Engels printed an unusually violent attack upon Prussia. There had been a rumour that Russian troops were crossing Silesia on their way to Bohemia to assist the Habsburgs to restore order in their territories. Engels wrongly assumed that the rumour was correct and his fury knew no bounds. He declared that "we Rhinelanders became Prussian citizens – and remained Prussian citizens – only because our province was annexed by force. We have never really been Prussians. But now that we are moving against Hungary – now that hordes of Russian bandits are on Prussian soil – now we do feel that we are Prussians. We know full well the shame of being called Prussians."[257]

Early in May 1849 there were popular risings in Saxony, the Bavarian Palatinate and the Rhineland in support of the draft constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Elberfeld was one of the centres involved and on May 10 – immediately after Marx's return from his fund-raising tour – Engels left Cologne

to place his military training at the disposal of the insurgents. After five years of political journalism and revolutionary agitation he exchanged the pen for the sword and arrived in Elberfeld to help to man the barricades. He had stopped at Solingen on the way to gather recruits and to collect some ammunition which local workers had seized at the arsenal at Gräfrath. Soon afterwards Engels described his experiences in Elberfeld in an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[258]

When Engels reached Elberfeld on May 11, 1849 the military commission of the local Committee of Public Safety placed him in charge of the defence works of the town. On May 12 the artillery was put at Engels's disposal – although this consisted only of half a dozen small cannon which were normally used to fire loyal salutes on the King's birthday. Since Engels was known to be a communist he can hardly have been surprised that some of the bourgeois supporters of the rising regarded him with suspicion. As soon as Engels arrived in the town Herr Riotte, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, asked him point blank why he had come to Elberfeld. Engels replied "that he had come because he had been sent from Cologne and because he believed that he could perhaps make himself useful in a military capacity." "Moreover as he had been born in Berg, Engels considered that it was a matter of honour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Berg on the first occasion that they had taken up arms." "Engels declared that he wanted to devote himself entirely to his military duties and to hold himself completely aloof from the political side of the movement." Riotte appears to have been satisfied with these assurances.

On May 14, however, Herr Höchster, another member of the Committee of Public Safety, told Engels that "although he himself had no criticism whatever to make of Engels's conduct, the middle classes in Elberfeld were greatly alarmed at Engels's presence in the town". "They feared that Engels might proclaim the red republic at any time and they all hoped that Engels would leave Elberfeld." Engels gave way, saying that he would not stay in Elberfeld if he was not wanted. But he declared that he would not leave unless he was asked to do so in writing by all the members of the Committee of Public Safety and by Mirbach, the commander in chief of the insurgents. This was done and Engels left Elberfeld on May 15. On his way back to Cologne he again stopped at Solingen, this time – pistol in hand – to lead a crowd of insurgents against the arsenal to requisition some uniforms.

In his account of these events – written immediately after they

occurred – Engels declared that "the free corps and the armed workers were highly incensed at the decisions of the Committee of Public Safety". "They demanded that Engels should stay in Elberfeld and they declared that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives to protect him." "Engels went to the insurgents and calmed them down." Finally Engels assured the readers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* that "the present movement is merely a curtain-raiser to a new and different movement". "And the new movement will be a thousand times more serious than the present movement because it will concern the real interests of the workers themselves." "The new revolutionary insurrection will be a direct consequence of the present movement and the workers may be certain that, as soon as it breaks out, Engels – as well as other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – will be on their side." Two days after this article appeared the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – in its last number on May 19, 1849 – again referred to the rising in Elberfeld. The paper declared that it was unfortunate that the workers there had failed to crush the perfidious middle classes but there could be no doubt that the proletariat would soon hurl "the infamous, hypocritical, cowardly, putrefying, and arrogant bourgeoisie" to the doom that it so richly deserved.

In a later account of the Elberfeld rising of May 1849 Engels sharply criticised the workers for their lack of revolutionary fervour. He declared that the proletariat of the Wupper valley had hardly had time to recover its self-respect after being doped for so many years by hard liquor and pietism. He thought that a recent improvement in trade had sapped their enthusiasm for insurrection. He wrote:

> "On May 11 when I reached Elberfeld at least 2,500 or 3,000 armed insurgents were available. But the only really reliable ones were a small number of Elberfeld workers and some supporters who had come from other towns. The territorials (*Landwehr*) hesitated to support us since most of them were panic-stricken at the mere thought of ending up in chains if the revolt failed. And the number of doubtful supporters increased when they were joined by members of other detachments who were undecided or fearful for the future. Finally the citizen's militia (*Bürgerwehr*) had – from its inception – been a reactionary body set up to suppress the workers. It declared its neutrality and its members concerned themselves only with protecting their own property. All this became clear in the next few days. Meanwhile we lost some of the workers while some of our supporters from neighbouring towns went home. The revolutionary movement was stagnant and our effective forces declined in numbers. The members of the militia, on the other hand, held together and every day they became bolder in supporting the counter-revolution.

Finally when we mustered our forces we found that we could rely only upon a mere 700 or 800 men. Neither the territorials nor the militia responded to this call to arms."[259]

It has often been stated that on the Sunday when he was in Elberfeld, Engels went to the River Wupper to inspect the defences of the Haspel bridge which linked the two towns of Elberfeld and Barmen. Here, it is said, Engels unexpectedly met his father who was returning from church. The elder Engels was horrified to see his son wearing a red sash and leading an insurrection.[260] The evidence for this alleged confrontation between Engels and his father is far from conclusive. Certainly Engels himself never mentioned the incident. Soon after Engels left Elberfeld a local newspaper denounced his followers as "gangs of unemployed, escaped jail-birds, and licentious thugs"[261] and a warrant (*Steckbrief*) was issued for his arrest.[262]

The days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were numbered. By the middle of May, as Engels later recalled, "the risings in Dresden and Elberfeld had been suppressed, the insurgents in Iserlohn had been surrounded, and the Rhineland and Westphalia bristled with bayonets. As soon as the reaction had triumphed in Westphalia and the Rhineland the Prussian troops were ready to advance upon the [Bavarian] Palatinate and Baden. Now at last the government dared to attack us openly. Warrants were issued against half of our editors while the other half were liable to expulsion as aliens because they were not Prussian subjects. Against such odds there was nothing that we could do."[263] Engels did not mention that, owing to its precarious financial position, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* would not have survived for long even if the authorities had left the paper and its editors in peace.

On May 16, 1849 Marx was served with a notice of expulsion from Prussia and since he had given up his Prussian citizenship he had no redress against such an order. Three days later the final number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared, printed in red ink, with a defiant farewell poem by Freiligrath. Marx's last message to the workers of Cologne was an appeal to them to refrain from violence since no armed rising could hope to succeed in a well-armed garrison town. Engels indulged in a final vitriolic attack upon the middle classes whom he so heartily detested. Fearing arrest for his part in the rising in Elberfeld Engels decided to accompany Marx when he left Cologne and to shake the dust of Prussia off his feet for ever. The rest of his life was spent in exile. But before leaving Germany for good Engels indulged in one last gesture of defiance against the Prussians. He joined the rebels in

Baden and fought against the Prussian army in which he had once served as a volunteer.

In the middle of May 1849 when Marx and Engels left Cologne they realised that they could no longer hope to foment insurrection in the Rhineland. Here, as Engels later admitted, "the actual fighting was of little importance. All the large towns being fortresses commanded by citadels, there could be only skirmishes on the part of the insurgents. As soon as a sufficient number of troops had been drawn together there was an end to armed opposition."[264] And now the only German territories in the hands of insurgents were Baden and the Bavarian Palatinate. This part of Germany was a predominantly agrarian region where the traditional – almost medieval – structure of rural society was breaking down. Loss of access to open commons and to woodlands was making is impossible for smallholders to survive. Poor harvests and the potato blight added to their distress. In the towns the craftsmen were feeling the first effects of competition from cheap factory goods produced in the more industrialised parts of Germany and conveyed by the newly built railways. Engels observed that the risings in Baden in 1848 and 1849 were supported by the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants and not – as in the Rhineland or Saxony – by the industrial proletariat. In 1848 the Grand Duke of Baden had been able to suppress risings led by Friedrich Hecker, Franz Sigel and Gustav Struve. But in 1849 there were fresh revolts both in Baden and in the Bavarian Palatinate and this time a number of military units mutinied and went over to the insurgents.

By May 1849 the Bavarian government had lost control over its isolated province of the Palatinate where the radicals had formed a provisional government at Kaiserslautern. This was no revolution of an embittered proletariat against its capitalist oppressors. It was a revolution of peasants, craftsmen and shopkeepers against the Bavarian bureaucracy and army. In his description of the rising in the Palatinate Engels wrote: "The dull, pedantic, old-Bavarian beer drinking officials were at last thrown out and replaced by the gay wine-bibbers of the Palatinate." "The abolition of police regulations on taverns was the first revolutionary act of the people of the Palatinate. The whole of the province was transformed into an immense wine tavern and the quantity of strong drinks consumed during those six weeks 'in the name of the people of the Palatinate' defied all accounting." "All the old uncongenial constraint seemed to have vanished with the old bureaucracy. People dressed in a free and easy way with a view to convenience, and with the difference in clothing every other difference in social relations instantly disappeared. All classes of society met in the same drinking houses

and a socialist dreamer might have seen the dawn of universal brotherhood in that unconstrained intercourse." "The provisional government followed the example of the province. It consisted almost exclusively of genial wine-drinkers whom nothing astonished more than the fact that they were suddenly to form the provisional government of their native land which Bacchus had so favoured. And yet these jolly regents behaved much better than their Baden neighbours. . . . In good will and sober reason the government of the Palatinate was far above that of Baden."[265]

Meanwhile Baden was also in the throes of revolution. This rising however was different from that in the Palatinate. In Baden virtually the whole of the country rose in revolt whereas in the Palatinate there were significant royalist pockets of resistance to the new provisional government. In Baden the army went over to the insurgents but in the Palatinate only some of the troops supported the cause of revolution. In Baden the provisional government was a right-wing administration while that of the Bavarian Palatinate was a left-wing radical administration. Engels was much more in sympathy with Karl d'Ester – a former leader of the Cologne democrats and a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly – who tried to inject some revolutionary fervour into the Palatinate provisional government, than with Lorenz Brentano whose extreme caution and singularly inept leadership of the Baden insurrection filled him with contempt.

When his army mutinied the Grand Duke of Baden fled from Karlsruhe to Alsace and Lorenz Brentano set up a new provisional government on May 14, 1849. This bourgeois administration was sharply criticised by Marx and Engels for failing to pursue a resolute revolutionary policy. They held that "the defensive is the death of every armed rising"[266] and argued that the armies of Baden and the Bavarian Palatinate should immediately take the offensive, march on Frankfurt – the seat of the National Assembly – and act as the spearhead of a vigorous assault upon the supporters of the counter-revolution.

Engels later declared that there had never been "such a favourable position for a provincial and partial insurrection as this". "A revolution was expected in Paris; the Hungarians were at the gates of Vienna; in all the central states of Germany, not only the people, but even the troops, were strongly in favour of the insurrection, and only wanted an opportunity to join it openly." "And yet the movement, having once got into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, was ruined from its very beginning. The petty bourgeoisie rulers, particularly of Baden – Herr Brentano at the head of them – never forgot that by usurping the place and prerogatives of the

'lawful' sovereign, the Grand Duke, they were committing high treason." "They sat down in their ministerial armchairs with the consciousness of criminality in their hearts. What can you expect of such cowards?" "They not only abandoned the insurrection to its own uncentralised – and therefore ineffective – spontaneity, they actually did everything in their power to take the sting out of the movement, to unman, to destroy it".[267]

On leaving Cologne Marx and Engels went to Frankfurt am Main (May 19–21) in the hope of persuading the more radical members of the National Assembly to call on the revolutionary armies of Baden and the Bavarian Palatinate to march upon Frankfurt. Wilhelm Wolff, the only communist representative in the Assembly, attacked his fellow members – and the *Reichsverweser* – for their cowardice when faced with the forces of reaction. On this visit to Frankfurt Marx took the opportunity to discuss with his friend Joseph Weydemeyer the possibility of using the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* – edited by Otto Lüning – as a vehicle for his views now that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had ceased publication.[268]

Marx and Engels went on to Baden where they pleaded with the leaders of the revolution in Mannheim, Ludwigshafen and Karlsruhe to march on Frankfurt. But they had no success. Next they went to Speyer and Kaiserslautern only to be disappointed at the failure of the provisional government of the Bavarian Palatinate to adopt a more positive policy of armed opposition to the German counter-revolution.

At the end of May 1849 Marx and Engels went to Bingen where they were arrested by the authorities of Hesse-Darmstadt on suspicion of being involved in the rising in the Palatinate. They were taken to Frankfurt but were released almost immediately and allowed to return to Bingen. Here they parted company. Marx went to Paris as the accredited representative of the democratic party of the Bavarian Palatinate while Engels went to Kaiserslautern. Here the provisional Palatinate government offered him various civilian and military posts which he declined. He was, however, persuaded by d'Ester to contribute to the newspaper *Der Bote für Stadt und Land*. In an article in this official organ of the provisional government Engels argued that "in a few weeks – perhaps in a few days – there will be a great clash on German soil between the massed armies of the republican West and the enslaved East." "All national issues will disappear for now only one question has to be answered: 'Do you want to be *free* or do you want to be Russian?'."[269] Once more Engels was confidently making a wildly inaccurate prophecy. This first article in *Der Bote*

für Stadt und Land was also his last. Engels's second article was rejected as being "too inflamatory". And then Engels was actually arrested but he was freed within twenty-four hours owing to the protests of his supporters.

Early in June 1849 Engels received a letter from Karl Marx who had reached Paris safely but was in urgent need of money.[270] Engels replied to Marx but did not post the letter because he heard that Prussian troops had occupied Homburg and cut off communications with Paris. He later wrote to Jenny Marx: "So far I had held aloof from all connection with the so-called revolution but when I heard that the Prussians were coming I could not deny myself the pleasure of joining in the struggle." "Willich was the only officer who was any good so I went to him and became his adjutant."[271]

Engels did not join the insurgents because he believed in their cause but because he welcomed the opportunity – denied to him in Elberfeld – of fighting the Prussians. Moreover he thought that if none of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* took up arms their enemies would taunt them with cowardice.[272] He recognised that the rising had no chance of success. All hopes that the revolutionary movement in south west Germany would secure outside support faded away when the attempt to dislodge Louis Napoleon failed on June 13 and when Amand Goegg failed to march on Vienna. The Baden insurgents (placed under the command of Louis Mierowlawski on June 10) were completely isolated and could no longer take the offensive. They could only retreat in face of the overwhelmingly superior forces of Prussia and the German Federation massed against them under the Crown Prince of Prussia. The revolutionary army was a motley collection of trained troops and untrained volunteers. It included much of the Baden regular army, the Baden militia, some units of the army of the Bavarian Palatinate, and some groups of revolutionary supporters from other parts of Germany and from abroad. Among the more important of these free corps were workers' battalions from Mannheim, Karlsruhe and elsewhere and foreign units such as the Magyars and the Poles. Willich's corps of 700 to 800 men was made up of a company of Rhineland workers (including compositors from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*), a company of French workers from Besançon, four companies of volunteers from the Palatinate, and a company of students.[273]

The campaign lasted for only a few weeks – from June 12 when the Prussians left Homburg to advance on the Palatinate until July 23 when they captured Rastatt, the last stronghold of the insurgents. The three Prussian army corps had no difficulty in disposing of the ill-equipped and ill-disciplined forces of Baden

and the Palatinate. Wedged in between France, Württemberg and Switzerland, the insurgents had little room in which to manœuvre and they could only retreat southwards through the Black Forest. Once the Crown Prince had crossed the River Neckar the only point at which a stand could be made was on the River Murg. Here Baden's territories narrow to a mere twelve or thirteen miles between the Rhine and the Württemberg frontier, with the fortress of Rastatt as a strong defensive position. The Prussians turned the enemy's flank by marching through Württemberg territory. The rebel front collapsed on June 29. Willich's corps then fought rearguard actions to cover the retreat of a number of Baden troops. Willich and Engels crossed into Switzerland on July 12. Rastatt fell on July 23. Willich, Engels and Liebknecht were lucky to escape capture for the Prussians took a terrible revenge upon the revolutionaries who fell into their hands. According to Franz Mehring twenty-eight of the insurgents were shot and sixty-eight received long prison sentences.[274] No one knows how many died of typhus in the damp dungeons of Rastatt. For those who escaped, long years of exile lay ahead.

Engels had played an active part in the campaign. As soon as he joined Willich at Offenbach he was sent back to Kaiserslautern to secure supplies. When he reached Neustadt he learned that Kaiserslautern had been evacuated. He secured some ammunition, lead and powder and rejoined his corps. On June 17 and 18 Willich's force successfully covered the retreat of the Palatinate volunteers into Baden territory and accompanied them to the outskirts of Karlsruhe. On June 19, despite Brentano's protests, Willich and Engels marched their troops into Karlsruhe. They were inspecting the Grand Duke's collection of weapons when they learned that the Prussians were crossing the Rhine at Germersheim. Willich at once marched against them but – lacking support from the main Baden force – he was unable to check the advance of the Prussians. On June 21 the insurgents counter-attacked and recaptured Waghäusel but when Prussian reinforcements appeared they had to evacuate the town again. The failure of Sznayde's troops, stationed near Karlsruhe, to take part in this engagement contributed to the Prussian victory. Willich's corps retreated to Rastatt which was reached on June 26. Two days later it took part in the battle of the Murg, the last serious stand of the revolutionary army. Here Josef Moll fell in action. He had been an active revolutionary for over ten years – a leader first of the London branch of the Communist League and then of the Workers Association in Cologne. After the disturbances in Cologne in September 1848 Moll had fled to London but he had soon returned to Ger-

many under an assumed name and – in Engels's words – had "carried out propaganda work in different districts and undertook missions the danger of which terrified everybody else". "I met him again in Kaiserslautern. There, too, he undertook missions to Prussia for which he would immediately have been shot if he had been found out. On his return from his second mission he succeeded in getting through all the enemy lines as far as Rastatt, where he immediately entered the Besançon Workers' Company of our corps. Three days later he was killed. In him I lost an old friend and the [Communist] Party lost one of its most indefatigable, fearless and most reliable soldiers."[275]

On reaching Switzerland Engels wrote to Jenny Marx for news of Karl Marx for he had heard a rumour that Marx was in prison. He told Jenny Marx that he had taken part in four engagements. "I discovered that the much vaunted courage of attack recklessly is a most ordinary accomplishment. The whistling of bullets is a trifling matter. I saw plenty of cowardice during the campaign but there were less than a dozen cases of cowardice *in the face of the enemy*. I did see plenty of courage that bordered on folly."[276] Marx replied early in August that he was still at liberty though the French government had ordered him to leave Paris for Morbihan – "the Pontine marshes of Brittany". He suggested that Engels should write an account of the revolution in Baden and the Palatinate. Marx added that he was planning to edit a new journal "most of which will have to be written by the two of us".[277] Engels took Marx's advice and wrote a lengthy account of the insurrection which was published in the following year in Marx's *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. It was a brilliant piece of reporting on the circumstances leading to the rising and on the campaign itself. This "masterpiece of German descriptive prose"[278] helped to establish Engels's reputation in socialist circles as a military critic.

On August 23 Marx wrote that – rather than perish in Morbihan – he would leave Paris for London and he asked Engels to join him there. Marx reminded Engels that if he fell into the hands of the Prussians he would face two firing squads – "1. because of Baden, and 2. because of Elberfeld".[279] Shortly afterwards Engels received a letter from his mother in which she wrote that she prayed that he would reach London safely. Engels stayed in Switzerland – in Vevey, Geneva and Bern – from July until September 1849. In Bern he met Stephan Born and in Geneva he made the aquaintance of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who had fought in the Baden rising and was later to become one of the leaders of the German Social Democrat Party.[280]

Engels decided that London would be a safer refuge than Switzerland. He had an unpleasant experience there when walking in the Jura mountains for he was arrested since he had no papers with him. Having received money from his family in Barmen he sailed from Genoa to England for he had decided that it would be too risky to travel across the Continent overland. It was characteristic of Engels that he should have taken the opportunity of a sea voyage to improve his knowledge of navigation. He kept a diary in which he noted the position of the sun, the direction of the wind, and the nature of the waves at different times of the day.[281] He arrived in London on about November 10, 1849. His friend Georg Weerth, who was in England at this time, wrote to his mother on November 28, 1849: "Recently I also met my colleague Friedrich Engels who has reached London after a voyage of five weeks in a sailing vessel from Genoa."[282]

Since many members of the central committee of the Communist League and former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were now in London Engels was able to resume the activities of a revolutionary exile. With Marx he planned to infuse new life into the Communist League and to start a new political review. In December a contract was signed with a Hamburg firm for the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. But the future was dark. Since he had fought with the rebels in Elberfeld and Baden he could hardly expect his father to finance his career as a revolutionary agitator by making him a regular allowance. His mother made this crystal clear in a letter of December 2, 1849: "I must agree with your father when he says that you cannot expect us to support you so long as you pursue a way of life which, to put it mildly, does not meet with our approval." And the financial position of Marx, who had a family to support, also gave Engels cause for anxiety. After paying off the debts of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx had completely exhausted the funds at his disposal. Five years of intensive work and study for the cause of communism had ended in disaster. On the Continent the revolution had collapsed and reactionary rulers were firmly in the saddle again. In 1850 it needed supreme faith in the ultimate success of their cause for Marx and Engels to plan a resumption of their researches into the capitalist system and a continuance of their communist propaganda and agitation.

V. Exile in London, 1849–50[283]

The phase of Engels's career as a revolutionary agitator which had begun when he left Barmen to join Marx in Brussels in April

1845 ended with a stay of twelve months as a refugee in London. He arrived by sea from Genoa in November 1849 and left again for Manchester in November 1850. When Engels reached London, Marx had already been there for three months.[284] Marx had taken his seat on the central committee of the revived Communist League, which he was determined should be a spearhead of revolution in Germany. Marx had refused to accept defeat and, despite the triumph of the forces of reaction on the Continent, he still believed that it would soon be possible for the revolutionary workers to mount a successful counter-attack against their oppressors. In December 1849 he assured his friend Weydemeyer that "a tremendous industrial, agricultural, and commercial crisis" was approaching in England. "If the Continent postpones its revolution until the crisis breaks out, England may turn out to be from the very start, even against its will, an ally of the revolutionary Continent."[285] And in July 1850 he declared that if the cabinet fell in England "then a real revolutionary movement will commence here".[286]

Meanwhile Marx had no money and was bombarding his friends in Germany with appeals for financial aid. His wife later recalled that small sums sent by her mother "often saved us from the bitterest privations".[287] Marx and his family were ejected from their Chelsea lodgings in April 1850[288] – "harassed on all sides and pursued by creditors"[289] – and found temporary accommodation for £5 a week in the German Hotel near Leicester Square[290] before moving to two rooms in the house of a Jewish lace dealer in Soho.[291] In May 1850 Jenny Marx wrote to Weydemeyer that her husband was "almost overwhelmed with the paltry worries of life in so revolting a form that it has taken all his energy, all his calm, clear, quiet sense of dignity to maintain him in that daily, hourly struggle".[292] In August 1850 Jenny Marx – although she was pregnant and in poor health – travelled to Holland in a vain attempt to raise some money from her husband's uncle Lion Philips and in November she lost her baby son Guido who died "from convulsions caused by pneumonia" a fortnight after his first birthday.[293] Despite his own financial worries, Marx did not forget the needs of his compatriots and he served on a relief committee which was set up by the German Workers Education Society to help penniless German refugees stranded in London. When his enemies accused Marx of feathering his own nest from the fund, Engels quickly sprang to his defence. He assured Weydemeyer that there was no truth in the allegation that the relief committee was "eating up the refugee funds itself". He asserted that no member of the committee had ever received a penny from the fund.[294]

When the *Cornish Diamond* completed its voyage of five weeks

from Italy and sailed up the Thames with Engels on board, only two years had elapsed since Engels had last been in London to attend the conference of the Communist League at which Marx had been commissioned to draw up the Communist Manifesto. In those two years the Continent had been shaken to its foundations by revolution, war, and counter-revolution but England had escaped unscathed. The Chartist rising which Engels had hoped would instal Harney in Downing Street had petered out in the fiasco of the demonstration on Kennington Common in April 1848. Londoners were now looking forward to the Great Exhibition which was to be held in Hyde Park in 1851 and they gave little thought to the reaction on the Continent that had driven a thousand liberals, radicals, and socialists to seek refuge in London.[295]

It is true that in September 1850 the draymen of Barclay & Perkins' brewery showed their detestation of Habsburg tyranny by assaulting General Haynau with whips and sticks when he came to London and that in the following month there was a strong Protestant reaction when the Pope divided England into episcopal divisions for the purpose of Roman Catholic worship. But, for the most part, it was Lola Montez on a charge of bigamy, the Queen attacked by "a person respectably dressed", and the safe arrival of the Koh-i-Noor diamond that made the headlines in the London newspapers in 1850.[296]

While all this was happening, Marx and Engels were busy making their preparations for the revolution on the Continent that they were confident would soon break out. In April 1850, largely on Marx's initiative, the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists was founded, following a meeting between Marx, Engels and Willich (Communist League), Adam and Jules Vidil (followers of Blanqui) and Julian Harney (representing the Chartists). The following statutes, drawn up by Marx and Engels, were adopted:

"1. The aim of the society is the overthrow of all the privileged classes, and to submit these classes to the dictatorship of the proletariat by maintaining the revolution in permanence until the realisation of communism, which will be the last organisational form of the human family.
2. For the attainment of this aim the society will form bonds of solidarity among all sections of the revolutionary communist party by breaking down the barriers of nationality in conformity with the principle of republican fraternity.
3. The founding committee of the society constitutes itself the Central Committee. Wherever it is necessary to carry out the

appointed tasks there will be established local committees in direct communication with the Central Committee.

4. There is no limit to the number of members in the society, but no one may be a member who is not elected by a unanimous vote. But on no account may the vote be secret.
5. All members of the society are obliged by oath to observe unconditionally the first article of the statutes. Any changes, which may conceivably have the effect of weakening a member's deliberate intention to follow the first article, releases the member of the society from his obligations.
6. Decisions of the society will always be arrived at by a two thirds majority of the votes."[297]

Although this society seems to have been still-born, Marx, for a moment, saw himself as the guiding hand behind a great conspiracy of revolutionary German, French, and English workers which was destined to overthrow governments and to establish communism. And the reactionary governments on the Continent took Marx seriously. Prussian agents kept a sharp eye upon German refugees in London[298] and in June 1850 Marx, Engels and Willich wrote to the *Spectator* to protest against this harassment of their fellow countrymen.

In the previous month Marx and Engels had already clearly laid down their policy for the immediate future. They had drawn up an address on behalf of the central committee of the Communist League (March 1850) which had been sent to all its branches. It was a sort of new Communist Manifesto – revised in the light of the events of 1848–9 – and it was a practical handbook for revolutionaries.

Marx and Engels began by claiming that the Communist League already had two achievements to its credit. First, its members had played an active part in the revolutions of 1848–9 "in the press, on the barricades, and on the battlefield". Secondly, the policy laid down in the Communist Manifesto had proved to be "the only correct policy for the proletariat to follow". But in 1850 the League had virtually collapsed. In the winter of 1848–9 Josef Moll had tried to reorganise the League in Germany but his mission had failed and he had fallen in the battle of the River Murg in the rising in Baden. It would now be necessary to send another emissary (Heinrich Bauer) to Germany.

Marx and Engels gave their version of what had happened during the recent revolution in Germany. They claimed that, on seizing power in March 1848, the bourgeoisie had "used its power to oppress the workers – their allies in the struggle – and to reduce them to their former state of servitude". Eventually the middle

class had been forced "to abdicate its power in favour of the old authoritarian feudal elements in society".[300]

Looking into the future, Marx and Engels declared that a new revolution might be expected to break out at any time. "It may come through a rising of the French workers or it may come as a reaction to an invasion of the Holy Alliance." "The party of the proletariat must take its part in this revolution as a fully organised, completely united, and absolutely independent organisation." "If it fails to do this, history will repeat itself and – as in 1848 – the party of the proletariat will be exploited and taken in tow by the middle classes."

Next Marx and Engels analysed the social structure of the German middle classes in Germany in 1850. They classified the bourgeoisie in three groups – on the right "the prosperous section of the upper middle class", in the centre "the democratic constitutional petty bourgeoisie", and on the left the "republican petty bourgeoisie". The group in the centre – the democratic petty bourgeoisie – was, in their view, the most important, since it included most of the middle class urban population, the petty traders, and the master craftsmen. In addition many smallholders and farm-workers in the country districts supported this party.

Marx and Engels discussed the future relationship between the revolutionary workers and the petty bourgeois democrats. They urged the revolutionary workers to "support the petty bourgeois democrats against the groups which they both wish to overthrow". "But the revolutionary workers oppose the petty bourgeois democrats in any action which would benefit only the petty bourgeois democrats." Marx and Engels observed that socialists and democrats pursued quite different aims. The former wished to overthrow the existing social system and to replace it by a socialist society. The latter accepted the existing social system and merely demanded reforms to improve it. These reforms – all of which would benefit the democrats – included higher taxes on the rich; a restriction on the right of inheritance; an expansion of the nationalised sector of the economy; lower interest rates; and the abolition of all surviving feudal institutions. To achieve these aims the democrats favoured the establishment of democratic institutions in central and local government.

Marx and Engels went on to argue that the democrats "intend the workers to retain the status of wage-earners, though they would like the workers to enjoy higher wages and greater security". The democrats favoured a quick revolution to achieve the reforms that they desired. The proletariat, on the other hand, was urged by Marx and Engels "to further its own interests by promoting a

permanent revolution". They summed up their own policy as follows: "The most important aspects of the economy should be concentrated in the hands of the workers. We are not interested in making changes in private property. We propose to destroy it." "We have no desire to hide class distinctions. We wish to remove them." "We do not propose to improve the existing structure of society: we seek to create a new society."

The problem of the attitude to be adopted by the revolutionary workers towards the petty bourgeoisie was the next topic to be examined in the address. Marx and Engels suggested that a revolution passed through three phases in each of which the proletariat should adopt a different policy. The phases were: "(1) the present position when petty bourgeois democrats are as much oppressed as the workers"; "(2) the next phase of the revolution when the petty bourgeois democrats will hold the upper hand"; "(3) after the completion of the revolution when the oppressed classes and the proletariat will be in power".

During the first phase of the revolution Marx and Engels advised the workers not to allow the middle classes to take the initiative. They should set up public and secret organisations of their own. Every branch of the Communist League should act as "a rallying point for the local workers' associations". When a common enemy had to be fought, the workers should co-operate with the democrats. But after the defeat of the forces of reaction by demonstrations and street fighting, the proletariat should firmly resist appeals to go home and return to work. The armed workers should see to it "that a victorious revolution is not immediately followed by a return to normality". "The workers should not be frightened of so-called 'excesses' – popular vengeance against detested individuals or buildings – which leave unpleasant memories in their wake." "On the contrary the workers should not merely accept the fact that 'excesses' occur, but they should try to control them." Marx and Engels suggested that "as soon as there are signs that the bourgeois revolution is achieving its aims, the workers should cease to attack the reactionary parties and should begin to oppose the middle classes with whom they have formerly been allied."

In the second phase of the revolution – immediately following initial successes – the democrats would try to betray the workers. Marx and Engels urged the workers to offer a firm resistance to their erstwhile allies. "The workers must be organised and they must be armed." "They will have to get hold of flintlocks, fowling pieces, cannon and ammunition." "They must, if possible, prevent the revival of the old middle class national guard which

would oppose the proletariat. If this cannot be done, the workers should try to set up their own militia under elected officers and an elected general staff. This militia should not obey a bourgeois government but should take its orders from revolutionary workers' councils. . . . This militia should in no circumstances surrender its arms or ammunition. If the government should try to do this it should be opposed – if necessary by force. . . ."

In the third and final phase of the revolution the proletariat should establish a government of its own and take over the control of the administration. The central committee of the Communist League would move from London to Germany and would call a national assembly. This assembly would work in association with local workers' clubs. During the elections for the national assembly the workers should insist upon their right to vote and – in every constituency – they should put forward their own candidates (preferably members of the Communist League) in opposition to middle class candidates. The workers' candidates should advocate "a radical and revolutionary programme" of legislation. Marx and Engels warned the revolutionary proletariat "not to listen to the argument that to split the left wing vote by putting up working class candidates would allow reactionary candidates to be elected". "To fall for such arguments would be to prepare the way for the certain defeat of the workers." In Germany Marx and Engels urged the workers to insist upon the establishment of a powerful central authority.

Finally, Marx and Engels returned to the phase of the revolution during which the bourgeois democrats would be in control. They suggested that the revolutionary workers should demand the nationalisation – without compensation to the owners – of factories and railways because "such reforms would compromise the democrats in the eyes of the upper classes and the reactionaries". The workers should also demand the immediate abolition of the national debt. The address ended with an appeal to the German workers to "hold fast to the policy of organising a workers' political party". "Their battle cry must be: 'Forward to a victorious permanent revolution!' "[301]

Thirty-five years later Engels claimed that the arguments which he and Marx had put forward in 1850 were still valid. He argued that in 1885 as in 1850 a revolution on the Continent was due at any time and he thought that it would bring the petty bourgeois democrats into power "as the saviours of society from the communist workers". The advice which Marx and Engels had given to the German revolutionary workers in 1850 still held good in 1885.[302]

A second address of the central committee of the Communist League was issued in June 1850. It was not written by Marx and Engels, though they probably saw it before it was sent to branches of the League.[303] The address briefly surveyed the progress made by the League in the past three months. It was stated that the leading regional centre (*Kreis*) of the League was the London centre which had the largest membership and the largest financial resources. The London centre bore the expense of sending emissaries to the Continent. The London centre dominated the local German Workers Educational Society as well as the main fund-raising organisation for the relief of German refugees. In Germany the League's emissary – the shoemaker Heinrich Bauer – had completed a successful propaganda tour. The Communist League had several regional centres (*Kreise*) and branches (*Gemeinde*) in Germany which had forged links with numerous workers' associations and gymnastic clubs.[304] It was reported that the recent attempt of a Swiss democratic organisation to contact workers' associations in Germany had failed. One of its emissaries had stated that he had found that all the useful contacts were already in the hands of the Communist League. Brief references were made in the address to the League's activities in France and Belgium.[305] In Paris Dr. Ewerbeck had recently resigned his membership so that this branch was without a leader. The address of June 1850, like the address drawn up by Marx and Engels in the previous March, was confident that a new revolution would soon break out on the Continent.

In the summer of 1850 Marx and Engels changed their minds on the likelihood of a revolution breaking out within the next few months. In June Marx was assured by his friend Georg Weerth that he did not think that there would be a revolution in Germany.[306] In March when Marx and Engels had written their fiery call to the workers to rise in revolt and in April when they had helped to found the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists they had confidently expected a rising of the workers at any time. But shortly afterwards they realised that they had been mistaken. Writing in November 1850 they declared:

"There can be no question of a revolution breaking out just now in view of this universal prosperity, which has enabled the productive powers of the middle classes to develop as much as they can develop within the framework of a bourgeois society. A revolution of the kind that we have in mind can take place only when there is a clash between the modern powers of production and the bourgeois method of production. . . . A new revolution will be possible only as the aftermath of a new economic crisis. But the revolution is as certain as the crisis."[307]

When Engels quoted these words in 1885 he wrote that in 1850

> "the commercial crisis of 1847, which had prepared the way for the revolution of 1848, had been overcome. A new period of prosperity, such as the world had never seen before, had begun. Anyone who had eyes to see – and was prepared to use them – was bound to appreciate that the storms of revolution that had broken out in 1848 were now gradually subsiding."[308]

As soon as he was satisfied that there was no likelihood of an immediate revolution in Europe, Marx retired from active politics for the time being. In June 1850 he obtained a ticket to the reading room of the British Museum, where he pursued his researches into the growth and structure of the capitalist system. By the following January he was immersed in the problems of theories of rent and of currency, but seventeen years elapsed before the first volume of *Das Kapital* was published.

Marx's withdrawal from revolutionary politics[309] was facilitated by a crisis in the affairs of the Communist League. In the autumn of 1850 Marx and Willich were involved in a series of disputes at meetings of the Communist League, the German Workers Education Society, and the refugee relief committee. So bitter was the quarrel that it led to a duel – held in Belgium – between Willich and Marx's supporter Konrad Schramm. On September 15, 1850 the Communist League in London split into two rival factions – the majority led by Marx and Engels and the minority led by Willich and Schapper. Marx persuaded the Communist League to move its central committee from London to Cologne, where Willich and Schapper were unlikely to secure any support. Marx was determined that no organisation to which he belonged should survive if he could not dominate it. He acted in exactly the same way in 1872 when he secured the expulsion of Bakunin from the First International and the transfer of its General Council from London to New York.

There were several reasons for the split in the Communist League. Personal animosities and rivalries played their part. There was a bitter struggle for leadership in the revolutionary movement. In 1847 Marx and Engels had ousted Schapper from his leading position in the administration of the League. Now Schapper sought to recover his former influence. Willich – who has been described as "a Prussian version of Garibaldi"[310] – believed that, as an experienced soldier he, rather than a bookworm like Marx, should lead the workers to victory when the next revolution broke out. Marx and Engels, however, were not prepared to step down in favour of Willich and Schapper, whom they regarded as "two

old good-for-nothings".[311] And while Willich favoured co-operation between the communists and members of various democratic associations in London, Marx was strongly opposed to this. Again, Willich and his supporters were urging the workers to attack the strongholds of reaction on the Continent by "the power of the guillotine",[312] but Marx and Engels were convinced that, in a period of prosperity, any attempt at an armed rising was doomed to failure. Marx told Willich and Schapper:

> "You are insisting that sheer *will power* rather than the facts of the situation are the driving wheel of the revolution while we tell the workers: 'You have 15 or 20 or 50 years of bourgeois war to go through, not just to alter existing conditions but to alter yourselves and qualify for political power'. You, on the contrary, tell them: 'We must take over political power *at once* or else we may lie down and go to sleep'."[313]

The Communist League did not long survive the transfer of the powers of its central committee from the London centre to the Cologne centre. In May 1851 the leading communists in Germany were arrested and for practical purposes the League was at an end. The trial of the German communists in Cologne ended on November 12, 1852 and within a week – at Marx's suggestion – the London centre passed a resolution dissolving the League. The Willich–Schapper faction was dissolved shortly afterwards.

It is astonishing that in 1850 Marx should have been able to edit a new socialist review when so much of his time was devoted to revolutionary politics and to fending off importunate creditors. Five numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue*[314] were published in Hamburg between January and October. Here Marx and Engels applied their doctrine of historical materialism to an examination of various aspects of French and German history. Marx dealt with the recent revolution and reaction in France in 1848 and 1849 while Engels wrote an account of the peasants war in Germany in the sixteenth century. Engels laid the foundations of his future reputation as a military critic by writing a series of articles on the campaign in Baden in 1849 in which he had taken part. He also discussed the English Ten Hours Bill and reviewed Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. J. C. Eccarius contributed an article on the tailoring trade in London. In their writings in this review Marx and Engels showed that they were at the height of their powers as political journalists.

By November 1850 Marx's fortunes were at a low ebb. His political career seemed to have come to an abrupt end since the powers of the central committee of the Communist League had

been transferred from London to Cologne and the last number of his review had appeared. He no longer had any facilities for influencing public opinion. His wife claimed that the journal had been "a great success" but blamed the publisher for being "so negligent and inefficient over the business side of it, that it was soon obvious that it could not go on for long."[315] Marx had no regular source of income and no prospects. Yet he made no effort to secure paid employment which would enable him to support his family. Instead he carried on with his researches in the reading room of the British Museum.

Engels, too, was in a difficult situation. He does not seem to have earned any money since arriving in England. He had no regular remittance from home, though his father and mother may have sent him money from time to time. His parents told him that they would not support him so long as he persisted in his existing way of life.[316] Although he would much rather have stayed in London so as to be near Marx, he reluctantly decided to submit to his father's wishes and to join the firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester as a clerk at a salary of £200 a year. Engels left London in the middle of November 1850 – he was now 30 years of age – and he hoped to earn enough to be able to give Marx some financial assistance. Soon after taking up his post in Manchester he sent Marx a postal order for £2 – the first of many remittances. Engels hoped that his stay in Manchester would be short. He was convinced that there would soon be a trade depression which would be the signal for a rising of the proletariat in England and on the Continent. As soon as the revolution broke out, Engels was determined to leave Manchester at once and rejoin his friend in London. He waited in vain. Economic crises occurred – as in 1857 – but there was no revolution. It was not until 1869 that he was able to retire from business and it was not until 1870 that Marx and Engels were again united in London.

NOTES

1 For Engels between 1846 and 1848 see Herwig Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960).

2 See *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 173 (Friedrich Lessner) and p. 270 (P. V. Annenkov).

3 See police description of Engels in 1849 in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, June 9, 1849: reproduced in H. Hirsch, *Engels* (1968), p. 62.

4 F. Engels to K. Marx, September 28–30, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 73.

5 Quoted by A. Künzli, *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 380.

6 Georg Weerth to his mother, July 19, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, 1957, p. 172.
7 F. Engels to his sister Marie, May 31, 1845 in F. Engels, *Zwischen 18 und 25* (1965), pp. 262–72.
8 F. Engels (Ostend) to Karl Marx (Brussels), July 27, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 23.
9 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (1898), p. 49.
10 F. Engels (Paris) to K. Marx (Brussels), September 18, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 39–40 and October 23, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 54.
11 F. Engels to K. Marx, August 19, 1846, second postscript, *ibid.*, p. 29, and F. Engels to K. Marx, October 23, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 54.
12 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 12 and 16, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 96. Engels had little success in collecting money due to Marx (F. Engels to K. Marx, March 18, *ibid.*, p. 98).
13 F. Engels, "Von Paris nach Bern" in F. Engels *Auf Reisen* (1966), p. 129.
14 F. Engels, *Auf Reisen* (1966), pp. 134–5.
15 K. Marx (Cologne) to F. Engels (Lausanne), November 10, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 102.
16 K. Marx (Cologne) to F. Engels (Bern), November 28, 1848, *ibid.*, p. 104.
17 F. Engels (Bern) to K. Marx (Cologne), January 7–8, 1849, *ibid.*, p. 105.
18 Engels registered with the Brussels police on August 25, 1845. His address was 7 rue de l'Alliance, Saint Josse ten Noode. Marx lived next door at number 5 (Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1, 1934, p. 389).
19 F. Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" in *The New Moral World*, No. 19, November 4, 1843: extracts in the *Northern Star*, November 11 and 25, 1843.
20 K. Marx, "Kritische Randglossen zu dem Artikel: Der König von Preussen und die Sozial reform. Von einem Preussen" (second article: *Vorwärts*, August 10, 1844, reprinted in *Werke*, Vol. 1, pp. 404–5).
21 Quoted by W. Seidel-Höppner in postscript to Wilhelm Weitling, *Das Evangelicum des armen Sündners* (Reclam edition, 1967), p. 275.
22 For Weitling see W. Seidel-Höppner, *Wilhelm Weitling, der erste Theoretiker und Agitator des Kommunismus* (1961).
23 For Wilhelm Wolff see Ch. 4, section (ii).
24 For Georg Weerth see Ch. 4, section (ii).
25 The *Triersche Zeitung* and *Das Westphälische Dampfboot.* For Weydemeyer see Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer. Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York, 1947).
26 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 222.
27 Karl Marx was given permission to reside in Belgium on giving the following undertaking: "In order to obtain the authorisation to reside in Belgium I hereby declare on my honour that I will refrain while in Belgium from publishing any work concerned with the politics of the day" (signed: Dr Karl Marx, March 22, 1845). The original document is reproduced in R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 153.
28 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den*

Kommunistenprozess zu Köln (third edition, 1885: new edition, 1952), p. 17.

29 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 20, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 10. In his preface to *The Condition of the Working Class in England* Engels had written that "this book was originally designed to form part of a more comprehensive work on English social history." He had contributed some articles on English history to *Vorwärts* (Paris) between August 31 and October 19, 1844 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, pp. 292–334).

30 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 15, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 328.

31 A list of 18 contributions by Engels to the *Northern Star* is printed in *Marx–Engels Verzeichnis* (1966), p. 308.

32 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1, p. 224.

33 Engels had criticised the 'true socialists' in the postscript of "Ein Fragment Fouriers über den Handel" in *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1846* (second year) and in *Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 604–10.

34 Karl Marx to C. W. Leske, August 1, 1846 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 27, p. 448: see also Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx, Eine Psychographie* (1966), pp. 241–2.

35 The first chapter of *The German Ideology* was printed in a Russian translation in 1924 and in the original German in the *Marx–Engels Archiv* (edited by D. Rjazanov), Vol. 1, 1926. A new version of Chapter 1 appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, Year 14, 1966, No. 10. *The German Ideology* was published in its entirety in German in *Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 5, 1932 and in *Werke*, Vol. 3, 1958. There are two English editions of *The German Ideology*. The first, edited by R. Pascal in 1938, included only Parts I and III. The second included the whole of the book and also some pages missing from earlier editions and first printed in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 7, Part I, 1962. The original manuscript (apart from the preface) is in the possession of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.

36 F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* 1888 in *Werke*, Vol. 21, p. 264: see also "Neuveröffentlichung des Kapital I des I Bandes der 'Deutschen Ideologie' von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels" in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, Year 14, 1966. No. 10, p. 1196.

37 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (1965), pp. 597–642.

38 Engels assured the Hamburg publisher Julius Campe in a letter of October 14, 1845 that *The German Ideology* was in no danger of falling foul of the censor: see F. Engels, *Zwischen 18 und 25* (1965), pp. 272–3.

39 Karl Marx to P. V. Annenkov, December 28, 1846 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House), p. 51.

40 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (edition of 1965), p. 37.

41 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (edition of 1965, p. 86 (n).

42 *Ibid.*, p. 149 (deleted passage).

43 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

44 F. Engels to F. Mehring, July 14, 1893 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Modern Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 540.

45 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956), p. 46.
46 K. Marx to S. M. von Schweitzer, January 24, 1865 in K. Marx, *Elend der Philosophie* (edition of 1952), p. 41.
47 K. Marx to P. J. Proudhon (postscripts by Gigot and Engels) in R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 141 and (without the postscripts) in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 32–3.
48 P. J. Proudhon to K. Marx, May 17, 1846 in Maxime Leroy *Les Précurseurs français du Socialism* (1948), pp. 439–42 and in English translation in R. Payne, *Marx*, (1968), pp. 143–4.
49 The full title was *Système des contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la Misère* (two volumes, 1846): English translation – *The Poverty of Philosophy . . . with a preface by F. Engels* (translated by H. Quelch, 1900: new edition edited by C. P. Dutt and V. Chattopadhyaya, 1936 and 1956).
50 P. J. Proudhon, *Philosophie der Staatsökonomie oder Notwendigkeit des Elends* (translated by Karl Grün, two volumes, Darmstadt, 1847). Another German translation by Wilhelm Jordan was published in Leipzig in 1847.
51 Quoted by R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 145.
52 F. Engels (Paris) to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, September 16, 1846 – Committee Letter, No. 2 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 34–5). Karl Marx agreed with Engels on the failure of the English labour bazaars. He wrote in *Misère de la Philosophie*: "They founded in London, Sheffield, Leeds and in many other towns in England equitable labour-exchange bazaars. These bazaars, after having absorbed considerable capitals have all scandalously gone bankrupt. They have lost the taste for them once for all – M. Proudhon take warning!" (H. P. Adams, *Karl Marx in his earlier Writings*) (edition of 1940, new edition, 1965), pp. 192–3.
53 F. Engels to K. Marx, September 18, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 41.
54 K. Marx to P. V. Annenkov, December 28, 1846 in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 39–51.
55 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 157.
56 Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1967), p. 13.
57 For the relations between Marx and Proudhon see Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1967), pp. 129–39; G. Guy-Grand, *La pensée de Proudhon* (1947), p. 38 *et seq.*; Erich Thier, "Marx und Proudhon" in *Marxismusstudien*, Vol. 2, 1957, pp. 120–50; H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), pp. 135–42; H. P. Adams, *Karl Marx in his earlier Writings* (1940: new edition, 1965), Ch. 11; and R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 138–48.
58 Moses Hess to Karl Marx, May 29, 1846 in M. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), p. 74.
59 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 27, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 23; August 19, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 29 and September 16, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 36–7.
60 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 15, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III.
61 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 9, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 70.

62 Max Nettlau, "Londoner deutsche kommunistische Diskussion 1845" in *Archiv für die Gaschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 10, 1922, pp. 366–8.

63 See Arthur Lehring, "Discussions à Londres sur le Communisme Icarien" in *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History*, Vol. 7 (1952), pp.94–6 and H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), p. 56.

64 *Telegraph für Deutschland* (Hamburg), No. 165, October 1844: reprinted in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 64–6.

65 Friedrich Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 151.

66 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" (1885), introduction to reprint of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1853.

67 H. Förder compares this argument with similar arguments advanced by Engels in his article in the *Northern Star*, April 4, 1846.

68 For this stormy session of the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels see the extract from P. V. Annenkov's memoirs in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 269–72; W. Weitling to Moses Hess, March 31, 1846 in E. Barnikol, *Weitling, der Gefangene und seine "Gerechtigheit"* (Kiel, 1929), pp. 269–71; and F. Engels to A. Bebel, October 25, 1888 (in F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel*, Berlin 1958, pp. 155–7).

69 K. Marx to P. J. Proudhon, May 5, 1846 in R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 141–2.

70 K. Marx (Hanover) to F. Engels (Manchester), May 7, 1867: "Do you remember J. Meyer of Bielefeld who failed to print our manuscript on Stirner etc. and sent that young fellow to Kriege to be a millstone round our necks? A few weeks ago he went to Warsaw on business, fell out of a window and obligingly broke his neck" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 390).

71 Published in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 6, p. 3 *et seq.* and *Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 3–17. Weydemeyer published the circular (or manifesto) in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot.* Kriege published it in the *Volks-Tribun* with a reply written by Weitling. The foreword to the circular is printed in G. Winkler (ed.) *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), p. 70.

72 *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*, September 26, 1847.

73 F. Engels, "Die Kommunisten und Karl Heinzen" in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*, October 3 and October 7, 1847 (*Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 309–24). The article was delivered to the newspaper on September 27 but Bornstedt, the editor, hesitated to publish it. Engels protested and the article appeared in print. Karl Marx also attacked Karl Heinzen in a series of articles in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*, October 28, October 31, November 11, November 18, and November 25, 1847 (*Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 331–59). Marx's articles were entitled: "Die moralische Kritik und die Kritisierend Moral, Beitrag zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. Gegen Karl Heinzen." Karl Heinzen carried on the controversy in his book *Die Helden der deutschen Kommunismus* (Bern, 1848). For the controversy with Heinzen see also H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), pp. 217–38.

74 For the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee see Franz

Mehring, *Karl Marx*, (edition of 1967), Ch. 5 and H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend Der Revolution* (1960).

75 See a fragment of a memorandum, written by Engels when he was in Ostend in August 1846, on founding a Communist Publishing Company (*Gesamtausgabe*), Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 24–6.

76 G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 67–9.

77 *Northern Star*, July 25, 1846 (Address of the German Democratic Communists to Mr Feargus O'Connor).

78 K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848 (edited by A. J. P. Taylor: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 119.

79 F. Engels to K. Marx, July 27, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 22–4.

80 F. Engels, *The Status Quo in Germany*, 1847 in K. Marx, F. Engels, Vol. 4: *Geschichte und Politik* 2 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), p. 18.

81 F. Engels to K. Marx, August 19, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 27.

82 F. Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, October 23, 1846 (Committee Letter, No. 3) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 53.

83 F. Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, September 16, 1846 (Committee Letter, No. 2) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 33.

84 F. Engels to K. Marx, middle of October 1846, in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 48.

85 F. Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, October 27, 1846 (Committee Letter, No. 3) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 49–53.

86 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (1898), p. 49.

87 "I was in Paris on March 20 and had breakfast with my friend Engels in the Rue Rivoli. We greatly enjoyed the new chablis of 1846 and the whole world seemed a good place to be in" (Georg Weerth to his mother, April 18, 1847 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 252).

88 Stephan Born, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

89 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 58–9.

90 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 9, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 69.

91 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 14, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 92.

92 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 9, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 68.

93 K. Marx to F. Engels, May 15, 1847, in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 70.

94 *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 6, 1932; *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 40–57; and *K. Marx–F. Engels, Vol. 4: Geschichte und Politik* 2 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 17–33.

95 Iring Fetscher's introduction to K. Marx–F. Engels, Vol. 4; *Geschichte und Politik* 2 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), p. 13.

96 The United Diet met from April 11 to June 26, 1847.

97 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (1898), p. 49.

98 Karl Wallau and Stephan Born were compositors on the staff of the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*.

99 Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1967), pp. 149–56 and note 21 on page 555 and Stephan Born, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–4.

100 F. Engels, "Karl Marx" in the *Volkskalender* (Brunswick, 1877), translated in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 19.

101 In the Vienna *Haus, Hof-und Staatsarchiv* there are records of payments of 1,000 francs (November 1, 1835) and 300 francs (January 31, 1836) to Bornstedt from the secret funds of the Austrian Ambassador in Paris. See Tibor Dénes, "Lehr und Wanderjahre eines jungen Schweizers, 1845–1848" in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16 (1966) (i), p. 51 (note 39).

102 For Bornstedt see article by H. F. Schmitz op der Beek in the *Brüsseler Zeitung*, January 24, 1943.

103 Quoted by Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 386.

104 F. Engels to K. Marx, September 28–30, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 72.

105 Marx took Engels's place as a vice president of the (Brussels) Democratic Association when Engels left Brussels for Paris in October 1847.

106 F. Engels to K. Marx, September 28–30, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 79. Bartels was either Adolphe Bartels (formerly editor of the *Débat Social*) or his brother Jules.

107 *Northern Star*, No. 520, October 9, 1847 (by F. Engels). Engels's own views on the fiscal controversy had appeared in an article in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*, No. 46, July 10, 1847 and in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 58–61.

108 H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1906), p. 223.

109 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 25–26, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 79–80.

110 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 25–26 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 81–2. For a list of Engels's contributions to *La Réforme* see *Marx-Engels Verzeichnis: Werke, Schriften, Artikel* (Berlin, 1966), (p. 312 (column 1).

111 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 25–26, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 79–84. Moses Hess's four articles appeared in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung* on October 14, October 31, November 7 and November 11, 1847 and are reprinted in Moses Hess, *Philosophische und Sozialistische Schriften, 1837–1850* (1961), pp. 427–44.

112 See Engels's article of this meeting of the Fraternal Democrats in the *Northern Star*, December 4, 1847.

113 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (1899), p. 71.

114 Georg Weerth to his mother, June 13, 1846 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 215.

115 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 14, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 91.

116 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 14, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 92.

117 K. Marx to F. Engels, March 16, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 96.

118 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 388 quotes the following passage from the *Moniteur*: "Deux seuls étrangers M. Engels, allemand et un de ses compatriots ont été récemment expulsés de France; mais les causes qui ont motivé cette mesure de la part de

l'autorité sont complètement étrangères à la politique." There are references to Engels's expulsion in the following French newspapers: *Moniteur*, February 15, 1847; *Le Constitutionnel*, February 6 and 8, 1847; *Patrie*, February 14, 1847; and *National*, February 9 and 14, 1847.

119 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (1898), pp. 70–1.

120 Friedrich Engels's speech to the Brussels Democratic Association (in French) on February 22, 1848 is printed in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 6.

121 F. Engels, "Die Bewegung von 1847" in the *Deutsch-Brüsseler Zeitung*, January 23, 1848; Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 290.

122 For the Communist League see Dr Wermuth and Dr W. Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4; new edition, 1969); F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" (introduction of 1885 to a new edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, 1853); Franz Mehring's introduction of 1914 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, 1853); Karl Obermann, *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten 1849–52* (1953); Gerhard Winkler (ed.) *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), Herwig Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), pp. 128–35 and pp. 266–78; E. P. Kandel, *Marx and Engels – the Organisers of the Communist League* (Moscow, 1953: in Russian); S. Na'aman, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten in Deutschland in der zweiten Phase seines Bestehens" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 5, 1965.

123 E. Engelberg (ed.), *Die Klassiker des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus zur deutschen Abeiterbewegung* (1958), p. 17.

124 For the League of Exiles see H. Schmidt, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bundes der Geächteten" in *Neue Zeit*, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 150 *et seq.*

125 For J. C. B. von Bruhn see Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrunderts*, Vol. 3 (1853) (reprinted 1969), pp. 32–3.

126 According to Wermuth and Stieber (*op. cit.*, Vol 1, p. 10) sixteen separate police departments were involved in the enquiries concerning the activities of members of the League of Exiles in Germany.

127 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" (introduction to edition of 1885 of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, 1853) (edition of 1952), p. 11. For Karl Schapper see Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 108–9; A. W. Fehling, *Karl Schapper und die Aufänge der Arbeiterbewegung bis zur Revolution von 1848* (University of Rostock dissertation, 1922); and Wolfgang Schieder, *Aufänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Stuttgart, 1963).

128 For the Paris section of the League of the Just in the early 1840s see Arnold Ruge, *Zwei Jahre in Paris* (1946).

129 F. Engels to Karl Marx, end of December 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 60.

130 "Things are going splendidly in London. The two branches in West London and East London are growing every day and they have already enrolled some 500 members." (Address of the central executive

committee of the League of the Just, London, February 1847, in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten*, 1957, p. 89.) In 1853 the police directors Wermuth and Stieber (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 54) observed that by 1847 "the League must have grown enormously in London, not only in numbers but in influence. Unfortunately at that time the police had no knowledge of the activities of the League."

131 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten", 1885 (*op. cit.*), p. 11.

132 F. Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

133 J. C. Eccarius wrote an article on the tailoring trade in London: see "Die Schneiderei in London . . ." in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* Heft 5 and 6, 1850, pp. 293–303.

134 K. Marx to F. Engels, August 25, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 245. For Schabelitz see Tibor Dénés, "Lehr-und Wanderjahre eines jungen Schweizers . . ." in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16, 1966, No. 1, pp. 34–79. Dénés considers that Schabelitz was never a communist "even though he served Marx for some years and was even a member of the Communist League in Paris for a time" (*op. cit.*, p. 67). The first number of the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung* appeared on April 4, 1845. Schabelitz was the editor from October 1846 to May 1848.

135 Max Nettlau, "Londoner deutsche kommunistische Diskussion, 1845. Nach dem Protokollbuch des Communistischen Arbeiter Bildungsverein" in the *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 10, 1922, pp. 362–91; Ernst Engelberg, "Einiges über die historisch-politischen Charakter des Bundes der Gerechten" in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Leipzig*, 1951–2, Heft 5; "Discussions à Londres sur le Communisme Icarien" in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History* (Amsterdam), Vol. 7, 1952, pp. 94–6; and Carl Grünberg, "Hugo Hildebrand über den kommunistischen Arbeiterbildungsverein in London" in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 11, 1925, pp. 458–9.

136 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" (*op. cit.*), p. 15.

137 G. Winkler (ed.), *Documente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 64–6. The letter (accompanied by a donation to the Silesian weavers) was signed by Schapper, Moll (and others) "on behalf of and in the name of the German Workers Education Society in London."

138 For the *Address to the Working Classes of Great Britain and the United States on the Oregon Question* (1846) see A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge* (1958), pp. 138–9.

139 The author of the leaflet was a former grammar school master named Sievers. It appeared as a brochure and was also published in the *Northern Star*, September 26, 1846, and the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*, September 18, 1846. For Engels's criticism of the leaflet see his letter to Karl Marx, September 18, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 40. Engels declared that the author had "learned from the English how to write utter nonsense which completely ignores the facts and how to misunderstand a historical process."

140 In Committee Letter No. 3 to the Brussels Correspondence Committee dated October 23, 1846 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 52)

Engels reported that Kriege had sent a letter to the *Halle* (headquarters) of the League of the Just in Paris. On that date therefore the headquarters of the League was still in Paris. But the address of the League of the Just of November 1846 came from London and stated that the leaders of the London branch of the League "had been authorised to undertake the duties of leadership within the League". The transfer of authority from Paris to London must have taken place after October 23 and before the end of November 1846.

141 F. Engels to K. Marx, end of December 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 59–60.

142 The first address of the central executive committee of the League of the Just (November 1846) was printed in the *Demokratisches Taschenbuch für 1848* (Leipzig, 1847), pp. 282–90 and in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 78–84.

143 Franz Mehring's introduction to the edition of 1914 of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, 1852 (1952), pp. 151–2.

144 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952), pp. 19–20.

145 The following sentence in the address of February 1847 shows that it was written after the completion of Moll's mission: "We have provisionally reorganized our branches in France and in Belgium." The address of February 1847 is printed in the *Demokratisches Taschenbuch für 1848* (Leipzig, 1847), pp. 290–9 and in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 85–91.

146 W. Wolff (?), "Der preussische Landtag und das Proletariat in Preussen, wie überhaupt in Deutschland" in the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, September, 1847: reprinted in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 92–105. The article has now been attributed to Engels.

147 For the constitution of the Communist League of 1847 see Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Appendix 10 and G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 106–11.

148 Stephan Born, *Erinnerungen eines Achtundviezigers* (1898), p. 54 *et seq.* and Max Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (1924), p. 47.

149 For the debates in the German Workers Education Society on Cabet's emigration plan see Arthur Lehning, "Discussions à Londres sur le Communisme Icarien" in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History* (Amsterdam), Vol. 7, 1952, pp. 94–6 and F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow), p. 152.

150 The draft manifesto of the central executive committee of the Communist League (1847) was in the form of a catechism. Only paragraphs 15, 18, 19 and 20 (discussed by the German Workers Education Society on October 19 and 26 and November 2 and 23, 1847) have survived. Carl Grünberg attempted to "reconstruct" the catechism from the views expressed in the addresses of the League of the Just of November 1846 and February 1847. Such a "reconstruction" makes the dubious assumption that the views of Karl Schapper and his colleagues had not changed between February 1847 and the summer

of 1847. See Carl Grünberg, "Die Londoner Kommunistische Zeitschrift und andere Urkunden aus den Jahren 1847–8", in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 4, 1921, pp. 249–341.

151 The leading article, entitled "Proletarians" was reprinted by C. Grünberg, *op. cit.*, and summarised by H. Förder, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–2.

152 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 25–26, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 79–84.

153 For the "Principles of Communism" – printed by Iring Fetscher in *Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 3: *Geschichte und Politik* (I) (Fischer Bücherei, 1966) – see H. Bollnow, "Wer schrieb das Kommunistische Manifest?" in *Göttinger Universitätszeitung*, 1948, No. 6, and H. Bollnow, "Engels' Auffassung von Revolution und Entwicklung in seinen 'Grundsätzen des Kommunismus' (1847)" in *Marxismusstudien*, 1954, pp. 77–144.

154 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 23–24, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 87–9.

155 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 285.

156 Hermann Bollnow, "Engels' Auffassung von Revolution und Entwicklung in seinen 'Grundsätzen des Kommunismus' (1847)" in *Marxismusstudien*, Vol. 3, 1954, pp. 77–144.

157 F. Engels, "Grundsätze des Kommunistmus" (1847) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 6, pp. 503–22.

158 It has been observed that for Engels "the concept of revolution by peaceful means was an impossibility; only a violent transformation of the existing conditions could improve the position of the proletarians. It would have to be a political, as well as a social revolution" (F. Nova, *Friedrich Engels: His Contributions to Political Theory* (1967), p. 32).

159 A few weeks later in an article in the *Northern Star*, January 22, 1848 Engels declared that "after all the modern bourgeois, with civilisation, industry, order and, at least relative enlightenment following him, is preferable to the feudal lord or to the marauding robber, with the barbarian state of society to which they belong."

160 For this meeting see *La Réforme*, December 5, 1847 (F. Engels), the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung*, Number 140 (J. K. Schabelitz), and the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*, December 9, 1847 (Marx and Engels).

161 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 161.

162 T. Dénes, "Lehr – und Wanderjahre eines jungen Schweizers 1845–1848" in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16, 1966, No. 1, p. 72 (note 78).

163 F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 153.

164 F. Lessner, *ibid.*, p. 174.

165 F. Lessner (*ibid.*, p. 153) also stated that the conference lasted for ten days.

166 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten", Introduction to the edition of 1885 of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952), p. 21.

167 T. Dénes in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16, 1966, No. 1, p. 72.

168 F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 174.

169 Some of these lectures were printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* between April 5 and April 11, 1849.

170 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 162.
171 The printer was D. E. Burghard of Bishopgate. See F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 153.
172 The manifesto appeared in the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung* between March 3 and July 28, 1848: see T. Dénes, *op. cit.*, p. 64. The Communist Manifesto was also printed in Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderbs* (two volumes, 1853–4: new edition, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 209–34.
173 See B. Andréas, *Le manifeste Communiste* (Milan, 1963) and A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto* (Penguin Books, 1967).
174 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 25, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 100.
175 Thus the communist manifesto was translated into English by Helen Macfarlane (in the *Red Republican*, 1850), Samuel Moore (1888) and Eden and Cedar Paul (1930), and into Russian by Bakunin (1869) and by Plekhanov (1882).
176 A. J. P. Taylor: Introduction to *The Communist Manifesto* (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 36.
177 A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 34.
178 A. J. P. Taylor, *The Communist Manifesto* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 62–3.
179 For the speeches of Marx and Engels at the meeting of the Brussels Democratic Association on February 22, 1848 see *Célébration à Bruxelles du deuxième anniversaire de la Révolution Polonaise du 22 février 1846* (Brussels, 1848), reprinted in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 4, p. 519 and p. 522.
180 Max Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 49.
181 See Engels's introduction to a new edition of Wilhelm Wolff, *Die schlesische Milliarde* (1886), pp. 6–7, reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 85–6. In a letter to Marx written on Wednesday and Thursday, March 8–9, 1848 Engels stated that Wilhelm Wolff had left Brussels by train "last Sunday" (i.e. March 5). The police had refused to allow Wolff to go home to collect his belongings (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 94).
182 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 176.
183 The decisions taken at the meeting in Brussels of the central executive committee of the Communist League in Brussels were printed in Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1853: new edition of 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 65–6. The resolutions were signed by Marx, Engels, F. Fischer, Gigot and H. Steingens.
184 *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 223. The sum involved was 5,000 francs.
185 Tedesco was free by March 18: see F. Engels to K. Marx, March 18, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 97.
186 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 8–9, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 94.
187 Georg Weerth in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 8, 1848, reprinted in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4 (1957), pp. 39–44. See also an article of September 3, 1848 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 91–7.
188 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 8–9, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 93–5. A week later Marx told Engels that Gigot "should

be acting with greater energy just now" (K. Marx to F. Engels, March 16, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 97).

189 K. Marx to F. Engels, March 12, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 96.

190 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 18, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 97–9.

191 Georg Weerth to his mother, March 27, 1848 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 284.

192 The only difference between the new central executive committee of the Communist League (named in Marx's letter to Engels of March 12, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 96) and the "committee of the Communist Party in Germany" which issued the seventeen point programme (Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–9) was that Wallau was a member of the central executive committee of the Communist League but not a member of the "Committee of the Communist Party in Germany".

193 Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 68–9.

194 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 16, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 97.

195 Quoted by Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1967), p. 162.

196 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (Berlin, 1952), pp. 23–4.

197 Max Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (1924), p. 73.

198 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to a new edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952), p. 24.

199 For the reports of Wilhelm Wolff (April 18, 1848), Ernst Dronke (May 5, 1848) and Stephan Born (May 11, 1848) see Franz Mehring's introduction of 1914 to the fourth edition of K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952), pp. 157–61.

200 Wilhelm Wolff, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1909), p. 12 *et seq.*

201 For C. J. A. Hätzel see Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 44–52 and Vol. 2, p. 54.

202 Wermuth and Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

203 A "reserve deputy" was one who had the right to take his seat only if the senior deputy was absent.

204 A "Provisional Central Club", with Born as chairman, had been established at a meeting of about 150 workers held in Berlin at the *café d'artistes* on March 29, 1848.

205 Max Quarck argues that Born did not give up his faith in Marxism as quickly as he stated in his memoirs. Quarck observes that throughout the years 1848 and 1849 Born continued to be strongly influenced by his previous association with Marx and Engels in Brussels and Paris. See Max Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 55.

206 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 18: "Before his flight Dronke was admitted to the League by Willich and his friends. I examined him again here (in Brussels) and explained our views to him. Dronke accepted our principles and so I confirmed his admission to the League. In the circumstances there was little else that I could do even if I had had doubts about him. Moreover Dronke is quite a modest fellow – very young – and seems to me to be open to conviction. I think that if we keep an eye on him and help him to study,

he will become a reliable member of the League." (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 98).

207 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, March 25–27, 1848 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4 (1957), p. 282.

208 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, March 25–37, 1848 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 282.

209 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, reprinted in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848. Auswahl aus der 'Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung'* (1955), p. 32. See also G. Becker, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels in Köln 1848–49* (1963) and Auguste Cornu, *Karl Marx et la révolution de 1848* (1948).

210 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, March 25–27, 1848 in Georg Weerth. *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 282. See also Georg Weerth to his mother, March 27, 1848 (*ibid.*, p. 284).

211 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–49" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), p. 32.

212 K. Marx to F. Engels, April 24, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 99.

213 F. Engels to K. Marx, April 25, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 101.

214 F. Engels to K. Marx, May 9, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 101.

215 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), p. 32.

216 Kurt Hager's introduction to Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), p. 7.

217 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), pp. 32–3.

218 F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 168.

219 Karl Marx's articles on "Wages and Capital" appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* between April 5 and April 11, 1849. The paper informed its readers on April 20 that – owing to Marx's absence from Cologne – this series of articles had been suspended. No more articles by Marx on this subject appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In July 1849 Marx wrote to Weydemeyer that he would like to finish his essays on "Wages and Capital" – "of which only the first part appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*." He hoped that Leske might be able to publish his "Wages and Capital" as a pamphlet. On August 28, 1849, however, Weydemeyer informed Marx that he had been unable to find a publisher for the proposed pamphlet.

220 At the end of November 1848 Marx asked Engels to write an article on the Hungarian campaign and on January 7–8, 1849 Engels replied and enclosed an article (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 104–5.

221 T. Dénes, "Lehr – und Wanderjahre eines jungen Schweizers 1845–8" in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 77.

222 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, printed in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), p. 38. For the contributions of Marx and Engels to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see

Marx–Engels Werke, Vols 6 and 7 and a selection of articles in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955). Georg Weerth's articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and his novel *Leben und Taten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphahnski* have been printed in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4 (1957), pp. 39–489. Wilhelm Wolff's articles on *Die schlesische Milliarde* were reprinted in 1886 as a pamphlet (with an introduction by F. Engels) by the Verlag der Volksbuchhandlung in Hottingen-Zürich.

223 For articles on the Frankfurt National Assembly see the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 1 and 7, 1848 and November 23, 1848 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), pp. 42–51 and pp. 237–8. For articles on the Prussian National Assembly in Berlin see the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 4 to 17, 1848 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), pp. 52–75.

224 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), p. 34.

225 See the article entitled "No more Taxes" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, November 17, 1848 (supplement) in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), pp. 236–7.

226 "Der rheinische Städtetag" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 4, 1849) and "Belagerungsgelüste" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 6, 1849).

227 "Address to the Workers of Cologne" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 19, 1849.

228 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, December 31, 1848 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), p. 274. A similar point of view was expressed in the democratic *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* on January 6, 1849: "The revolution of 1848 was the last revolution to be made by the proletariat for the benefit of the middle classes. The revolution of 1849 will be the first revolution to be made by the proletariat in the interest of the workers" (quoted in Max Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1848–9* (1924), pp. 313).

229 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 1848–9" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884, printed in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), p. 33.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

231 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, August 9 to September 7, 1848 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), pp. 112–67.

232 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, July 3, 1848 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), p. 103.

233 "Der magyarische Kampf" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, January 13, 1849) in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, p. 165.

234 "Der demokratische Panslavismus" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, February 15, 1849) in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, p. 275.

235 See articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 29 and July 1, 1848: Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848 . . .* (1955), pp. 84–97.

236 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 19, 1849 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4 (1957), pp. 277–80.

237 See G. Becker, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels in Köln 1848–49* (1963).

238 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, April 15, 1849.

239 Many years later F. Lessner stated that when he attended the congress

of the German Social Democrat Party in Cologne in 1893 he met some peasants from Worringen. "They still remembered me from 1848 and 1849" (*Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 157.

240 The last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to be printed before the suspension was Number 112 dated September 26, 1848. The printing of Number 113 had already begun on the afternoon of September 26 when publication ceased. On September 30, 1848 the regular subscribers were informed that publication would be resumed on October 5 but in fact Number 114 was dated Thursday, October 12, 1848.

241 The date "September 11" given by Marx (in a letter to Engels, October 26, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 102) was a mistake.

242 Extracts from letters written by Engels's mother to her son are taken from Klaus Goebel and Helmut Hirsch, "Engels-Forschungsmaterialen im Bergischen Land" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 10, 1969, pp. 109–34.

243 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 10, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 103.

244 F. Engels, "Von Paris nach Bern" in F. Engels, *Auf Reisen* (1966), pp. 121–59.

245 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 26, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 102.

246 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 10, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 102–3.

247 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 29, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 103–4.

248 Georg Weerth to F. Engels, December 10, 1848 (postscript to letter from Stephan Naut to F. Engels) in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 291.

249 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 28, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 104.

250 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 7–8, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 102–6.

251 "Der magyarische Kampf" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, January 13, 1849) in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, pp. 165–76.

252 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 6, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 361. See also G. Zirke, *Der General* (1957), p. 8, where the date of Engels's letter to Marx is given incorrectly as June 6, 1852.

253 *Deutsche Monatshefte für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben* (Stuttgart), Vol. 10 (ii), p. 125; see also G. Zirke, *Der General* (1957), p. 8. Wilhelm Liebknecht later recalled that when he first met Engels in Switzerland in 1849 – after the campaign in Baden – he "learned that the articles that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had published on the revolutionary war in Hungary, and were attributed to a high-ranking officer in the Hungarian army because they always proved to be correct, were written by Engels. And yet, as he himself told me, laughing, he had no other material than all the other newspapers had. This came almost exclusively from the Austrian government, which lied in the most brazen way. It did the same with Hungary as the Spanish government now (1895) with Cuba – it always won. But Engels here made use of his *clairvoyance*. . . . No matter with what scorn of death the Austrian government issued its Münchausen proclamations it had to mention certain facts – the names of the places

where the clashes took place; where the troops were at the beginning and at the end of the battle; the time of the clashes; the troop movements, etc. And out of these tiny bits and pieces Engels with his clear bright eyes put together . . . the real picture of the events in the fighting area. With a good map of the theatre of operations one could conclude with mathematical accuracy from the dates and places that the victorious Austrians were being pushed farther and farther back while the defeated Hungarians continued to go farther and farther forward. The calculation was so correct, too, that the day after the Austrian army had inflicted a decisive defeat on the Hungarians – on paper – it was thrown out of Hungary in complete disarray." (Wilhelm Liebknecht in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, pp. 138–9).

254 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, January 13, 1849 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, pp. 165–76.

255 The speeches made by Marx and Engels in their defence on February 7, 1849 were printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, February 14, 1849 (*Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, pp. 223–39) and as a pamphlet entitled *Zwei politische Prozesse* . . . (Cologne, 1849).

256 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 23, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 106–7.

257 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 4, 1849; see also G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 332 and H. Hirsch, *Engels* (1968), pp. 57–8.

258 For the rising in Elberfeld in May 1849 see the account (presumably by Engels himself) in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 17, 1849 – English translation by W. O. Henderson in *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 125–7. See also C. Hecker, *Der Aufstand zu Elberfeld im Mai 1849 und mein Verhältniss zu demselben* (Elberfeld, 1849).

259 F. Engels, "Die deutsche Reichsverfassungs-Campagne" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 1, January 1850 (reprint of 1955), pp. 49–50.

260 Ernst von Eynern, "Friedrich von Eynern. Ein Bergisches Lebensbild" in the *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Vereins*, Vol. 55.

261 *Elberfelder Zeitung*, June 3, 1849 and H. Hirsch, *Engels* (1968), p. 61.

262 *Kölnische Zeitung*, June 9, 1849 and H. Hirsch, *Engels* (1968), p. 62. The warrant was issued on June 6, 1849.

263 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" in the *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884: see Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), pp. 37–8.

264 F. Engels, "Petty Traders" in the *New York Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1852 (K. Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848*, edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling, edition of 1952, p. 126).

265 F. Engels, "Die Deutsche Reichsverfassungs-Campagne" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 1. There is an English translation of this passage in Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Reminiscences of Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 140–1.

266 The phrase appeared in an article by Engels in the *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1852: see introduction to W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 16.

267 F. Engels, "Petty Traders" in the *New York Daily Tribune*, October

2, 1852 (K. Marx – should be F. Engels – *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848*, edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling, edition of 1952, p. 127).

268 K. Obermann, *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten 1849 bis 1852* (1955), p. 13.

269 F. Engels in *Der Bote für Stadt und Land*, June 3, 1849, reprinted in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 6, pp. 524–6.

270 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 7, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 109.

271 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, July 25, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 109.

272 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, July 25, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 109.

273 Klaus Schreiner, *Die badisch-pfälzische Revolutionsarmee 1849* (1956), pp. 39–40.

274 Klaus Schreiner, *Die badisch-pfälzische Revolutionsarmee 1849* (1956), p. 71.

275 F. Engels, "Die deutsche Reichsverfassungs-Campagne" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 2, February 1850 (reprint of 1955), pp. 164–5. There is an English translation of this passage in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 143–4.

276 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, July 25, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 109 and W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 128–9.

277 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 11, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 110–11.

278 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 352.

279 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 23, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 113.

280 Wilhelm Liebknecht described his first meeting with Engels in Switzerland in an article in the *Illustrierte Neue Welt: Kalender für das Jahr 1897*, reprinted (in English translation) in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 137–48.

281 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 (1934), p. 356.

282 Georg Weerth to his mother, November 28, 1849 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 338.

283 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten": introduction to a new edition (1885) of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (1852–3); F. Engels, "Karl Marx" in *Die Zukunft*, August 11, 1869; Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: reprinted in one volume in 1969); K. Obermann, *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten, 1849–52* (1955); R. Herrnstadt, *Die erste Verschwörung gegen das Internationale Proletariat. Zur Geschichte des Kölner Kommunistenprozesses 1852* (1958); W. Schneider, "Der Bund der Kommunisten im Sommer 1850" in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 13, 1968, pp. 29–57.

284 Marx's passport shows that he left Boulogne on August 26, 1849.

285 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, December 19, 1849 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 18.

286 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, July 27, 1850 in Karl Marx and

J. Weydemeyer, July 27, 1850 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 19.

287 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 226.

288 4 Anderson Road, Chelsea.

289 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 226.

290 Jenny Marx stated that Marx and his family stayed at the German Hotel for only a week. "One morning our worthy host refused to serve us our breakfast and we were forced to look for other lodgings" (*Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 226). According to the pamphlet *London Landmarks*, Marx and his family lived in the German Hotel "in April and May 1850" (p. 3). See also R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 233.

291 64 Dean Street, Soho (May 8–December 2, 1850) and then 28 Dean Street (until 1856).

292 Jenny Marx to J. Weydemeyer, May 20, 1850 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 237.

293 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 227.

294 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, April 25, 1850 (postscript) in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 19.

295 Baron Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador in London, reported in February 1851 that, according to information supplied to him by the Home Secretary, the "democratic clubs" in London had about 300 German, 200 Magyar and 40 Polish members. This suggests that there were about 1,000 foreign refugees in London at this time who belonged to political associations. See R. Herrnstadt, *Die erste Verschwörung gegen das Internationale Proletariat* (1958), pp. 225–6.

296 See Yvonne ffrench, *News from the Past, 1805–87*, pp. 375–82. For Chartist approval of the attack on Haynau see *The Red Republican*, September 7 and 14, 1850 and R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (1854: new edition, 1969), p. 355. Gammage wrote: "What increased the excitement at this time was the visit of the Austrian General Haynau to London, who was assailed by Barclay and Perkins's draymen, and driven into a dustbin, for his merciless cruelties inflicted on the brave Hungarians. Votes of thanks were passed to the draymen at every meeting, for the personal chastisement inflicted on this monster of despotism, who had presumed to pollute the shores of England by his presence".

297 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 241. The statutes were originally written in French.

298 A Prussian agent described the revolutionary activities of the German exiles in London in a report dated May 2, 1850. Otto von Manteuffel gave a copy to Lord Westmoreland, the British ambassador in Berlin, on May 24. Lord Westmoreland forwarded it to Lord Palmerston. See R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 234–8.

299 "Prussian Spies in London" in *The Spectator*, *Sun*, and *Northern Star*, June 15, 1850. The letter also appeared in some German newspapers such as the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, June 20, 1850.

300 Engels gave a more detailed account of the revolution in Germany in 1848–9 in a series of articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* in

1851–2: see Karl Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (edited by Eleanor Marx, 1896).

301 Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: new edition in one volume, 1969), Vol. 1, Appendix 13, pp. 251–9; appendix to Karl Marx. *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (new edition with introduction by F. Engels, Zürich, 1885: reprinted 1952), pp. 124–36; and Iring Fetscher (ed.), *Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels Studienausgabe*, Vol. 3: *Geschichte und Politik* (No. 1, 1966), pp. 90–9.

302 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten": introduction to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (edition of 1885: reprinted 1952), p. 27.

303 W. Schneider, "Der Bund der Kommunisten im Sommer 1850" in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 13, 1968, pp. 29–57.

304 Three of the most important branches of the Communist League in Germany in 1850 were
(i) Cologne, led by Heinrich Bürgers,
(ii) Frankfurt am Main, led by J. Weydemeyer,
(iii) Mainz, led by Friedrich Lessner.

305 The address of the central committee of the Communist League of June 1850 was printed in Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: reprinted in one volume, 1969), Vol. 1, Appendix 14, pp. 260–5.

306 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, June 2, 1850 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1957), p. 539.

307 Karl Marx and F. Engels, "Revue. Mai bis Oktober" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 5–6, May to October 1850, pp. 317–8. See the reprint of the review (introduction by Karl Bittel: Berlin, 1955).

308 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten": introduction of 1885 to a new edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852–3 (edition of 1952), p. 27.

309 In February 1851 Marx declared that he was "in complete retirement" (Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 11, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 146).

310 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 229.

311 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, April 12, 1853 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 57.

312 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 243.

313 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 246.

314 *Neue Rheinisch Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (edited by Karl Marx: reprinted in 1955 with an introduction by Karl Bittel).

315 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 226.

316 Elise Engels to F. Engels, December 2, 1849: "But now your father says, and I must agree with him, that if you follow a path which – to put it mildly – we cannot approve, you must not expect us to support you" (Klaus Goebel and Helmut Hirsch, "Engels – Forschungsmaterialen im Bergischen Land" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 9, 1969, p. 444). See also Elise Engels to F. Engels, April 11, 1850 (*ibid.*, pp. 444–5).

4

THE MANCHESTER YEARS 1850–1870

I. The Years of Storm and Stress, 1850–60

When Marx referred to Engels's years of "storm and stress"[1] he aptly described the period between Engels's return to Manchester in 1850 and the death of his father in 1860. Engels had a robust constitution but there was a history of epilepsy in his family and he stuttered when excited. The strain of life in Manchester, combined with overwork, led to a breakdown in Engels's health between 1857 and 1860. He was ill for six months in the second half of 1857. And in 1860, when his father died, his brother Emil had to come to Manchester to settle Engels's future in the firm as Engels himself was not well enough to attend to the matter.

Engels's life in Manchester was fraught with difficulties. He disliked Manchester and the "philistines" who made up its business community. As soon as he arrived he wrote to Julian Harney that he was disgusted with the place and Harney replied that Manchester was "a damned dirty den of muckworms". "I would rather be hanged in London than die a natural death in Manchester."[2] Engels knew that Marx missed him[3] and he longed to return to London. He detested office work and the drudgery of earning a living in the cotton trade. He was under a continual strain because he was living a double life. He was a businessman by day and a revolutionary writer in the evenings and at week ends. He hoped that his office colleagues and the gentlemen whom he met at the Albert Club or the Cheshire Hunt would not find out about his revolutionary past, his association with Marx, and his hopes for the downfall of capitalism. Engels disliked having to maintain two establishments – his bachelor lodgings where he entertained his middle-class friends and the home which he made for himself and Mary Burns.

To add to these problems there was the fact that Marx was nearly always short of money. The need to send remittances to Marx frequently left Engels without sufficient funds himself. And the attitude of his father, who strongly disapproved of Engels's friendship with Marx, did not help matters. Engels was, however,

buoyed up by the firm conviction that there would soon be a revolution. When this happened he planned to leave Manchester at once. But he was doomed to disappointment. Whenever there was a trade recession – as in 1857 – he rejoiced at the imminent fall of the bourgeois society which he detested. Throughout the twenty years that he worked for Ermen and Engels he waited in vain for a revolution that never took place.

Engels's position in the firm of Ermen and Engels was not a happy one. He settled in Manchester because he thought that this was the only way to earn enough money to satisfy his own needs and those of Marx. The brothers Peter and Godfrey Ermen regarded Engels's arrival with considerable misgivings since his presence in the office in South Gate threatened their freedom to run the Manchester business as they pleased. The firm of Ermen & Engels had been founded in 1838.[4] It manufactured sewing thread which was a highly specialised branch of the cotton industry. Its trade mark was three red towers – a device taken from the arms granted to a certain Ludwig van Ermen in the sixteenth century. The firm prospered to such an extent that Friedrich Engels senior had more than doubled his capital in twelve years.[5] It was now run by four partners – the three Ermen brothers (Peter, Anthony and Godfrey) and Friedrich Engels senior. Peter and Godfrey Ermen ran the English branch of the firm – which operated the Victoria Mill in Weaste Lane, Eccles – while Friedrich Engels senior (assisted by Anthony Ermen) ran the German branch at Engelskirchen (20 miles east of Cologne).

While both families were represented in Germany, the Ermen family alone ran the Manchester firm. Moreover Peter and Godfrey Ermen did not devote all their time to the firm of Ermen and Engels. As Ermen Brothers they ran a small spinning mill and bleachworks which were independent of the firm of Ermen and Engels though they both used the same offices in Manchester[6] and Ermen and Engels purchased some of the products made by Ermen Brothers. Peter and Godfrey Ermen realised that though Friedrich Engels was only a clerk in the office he was the eldest son of their partner and was bound to keep his father informed of their activities. The elder Engels suspected that Peter and Godfrey Ermen might be using some of his capital to finance the transactions of Ermen Brothers. They might also be charging Ermen and Engels unduly high prices for goods supplied from their own works. Moreover Peter and Godfrey Ermen also feared that arrival of Friedrich Engels in Manchester might interfere with their plans to find places for the next generation of Ermens in the firm. Young Henry Ermen, for example, joined the firm in the same year as Friedrich Engels.

In December 1850, soon after coming to Manchester, Engels wrote to his brother-in-law Emil Blank that he had been spending his dinner hour on four days a week – when the office was empty – examining the books of Ermen Brothers. It may be doubted if he had any right to do this. He drew up balance sheets for the years 1847–50[7] from which his father could see "how these gentlemen have been using his capital". And he carefully compared the prices charged by Ermen Brothers for goods supplied to Ermen and Engels with the average prices ruling in Manchester at the time of each transaction. Engels told Emil Blank that Peter and Godfrey Ermen were at loggerheads but he did not explain why they had quarrelled. His father had told him that he would not continue the partnership with Peter Ermen any longer than was necessary. He was, however, prepared to maintain his association with Godfrey Ermen.[8] A few days later Engels wrote to Marx that Peter Ermen was "running around like a fox whose tail has been caught in a trap" and was trying to get rid of him. The dispute between the two brothers coupled with Peter Ermen's declared hostility, made it possible for Engels to secure Godfrey Ermen as an ally and to obtain from him confidential information about the firm.[9] Although Engels tried to play off one Ermen brother against the other he disliked both of them. He referred to Peter Ermen as "a little bullfrog", while Godfrey Ermen was "a pig", "a dog", and "shit pants". In the office he found himself in an isolated position since the other clerks – like Charles Roesgen – curried favour with the partners on the spot rather than with the son of the absentee partner.

Jenny Marx's advice to Engels at this time was: "Get yourself firmly entrenched between the two hostile brothers." "Their enmity gives you the opportunity to make yourself indispensable to your worthy papa. In my mind's eye I can already see you as Friedrich Engels, junior, a partner of Friedrich Engels senior."[10] Engels took her advice. Early in February 1851 he told Marx that his father wanted him to stay in Manchester until the future of the firm had been settled satisfactorily.[11] The period of uncertainty might last until 1854 when the existing partnership was due for renewal. Engels added that his father was coming to Manchester in the summer. "I will try to make myself so indispensable here that I will be able to dictate my own terms for staying on."[12] A few weeks later Engels wrote to Marx that his "business letters have enchanted my old man". "My intrigue with my old man has been completely successful – at any rate so far – and I can now definitely settle down here and have my books forwarded from Brussels." He added that he had thought of an ingenious plan

which would enable him to watch over his father's interests in Manchester while securing more time for his literary activities. In return for an annual allowance he would act as his father's representative with Ermen and Engels, without holding any appointment with the firm necessitating the keeping of regular office hours.[13] Such an arrangement would certainly have suited Engels but it did not suit his father. Friedrich Engels senior believed that young men in business should attend punctually to their duties in the office. Engels made the best of a bad job and assured his friend Weydemeyer that he now had "a very independent job with many advantages".[14] In fact Engels did not have an "independent" position at this time and his office job had more drawbacks than advantages.

In the summer of 1851 the elder Engels visited Manchester. He hoped to secure the retirement of Peter Ermen, the amalgamation of the two firms (Ermen and Engels and Ermen Brothers), and the appointment of his son to take charge of the Manchester office. Although Engels declined to accept responsibility for running the office his father agreed that his allowance should be fixed at £200 a year. Engels assured Marx that he had made no concessions to his father and that he was free to continue to write in his spare time. And he considered himself free to leave the firm immediately "in the event of a revolution". Although father and son discussed the future of Ermen and Engels amicably enough, their relations quickly deteriorated if politics were discussed.[15]

In September 1851 Friedrich Engels senior asked his son to reduce his expenses from £200 to £150 a year. Engels was furious at this "new trick" and told Marx that he would throw up his business career rather than submit to his father's proposal. Engels admitted that his father "would not earn anything like so much in Manchester this year as he did last year", but this was "due entirely to the bad management of his partners over whom I have no control".[16] In February 1852 Engels wrote that the balance sheet for the previous year would show a "positive loss" for his father and that Godfrey Ermen's reorganisation of the firm was involving him in long hours at the office. "I must attend to business or else everything will go wrong here and my old man will stop my supplies."[17]

In March 1852 the trading loss of Ermen & Engels was confirmed and Engels thought that the partnership would be dissolved and that he would be able to settle in Liverpool and buy cotton for his father.[18] In May Engels wrote to Marx: "My old man will be here next week and then this whole business shit will have to be settled one way or another and my position will be regularised.

Either the partnership will be renewed – which is unlikely – or I will try to persuade my father to withdraw from the firm by the end of the year or possibly even as early as the end of June."[19] In fact – although the partnership with Peter Ermen was to be dissolved at the end of 1853 – the partnership with Godfrey Ermen was renewed. On his return to Germany Friedrich Engels senior wrote to his son that the firms of Ermen Brothers and Ermen & Engels would be amalgamated and that Peter Ermen would leave 10,000 thalers in the firm for six years.[20] The new partnership between Godfrey Ermen and Friedrich Engels senior was signed on June 21, 1852.

A nine year contract, running from June 30, 1855 to June 30, 1864, gave Engels a welcome increase in salary. He received £100 per annum and – what was more important – a five per cent share in the profits of Ermen & Engels. This rose to seven and a half per cent in 1856. Engels's share of the profits was £168 in 1854, £163 in 1855, £408 in 1856, £834 in 1857, £840 in 1858 and £978 in 1859.[21] Although his income had risen, Engels was in financial difficulties in March 1853 when he admitted to Marx that "a reform of my personal expenses is urgently necessary".[22] In June 1853 Engels told Marx that the relations between his father and Godfrey Ermen were far from satisfactory but that his own relations with Charles Roesgen were improving.[23]

In the following year Engels admitted that he had recently been devoting too much of his time to journalism – military articles on the Crimean campaign – with the result that he was neglecting his duties at the office. He had not replied to letters from his father which he had received six months previously.[24] He thought that he had found a way out of his difficulties. He approached the *Daily News* newspaper with the object of becoming its military correspondent. "If all goes well," he wrote to Marx, "I will give up my business career when my father comes here in the autumn and I will then come to London."[25] Marx was delighted. "I hope, Sir," he replied, "you will leave Manchester, Sir, for ever, Sir."[26] But the plan fell through and Engels had to stay in Manchester for many years. In September he was elected a member of the Manchester cotton exchange and Marx congratulated him on becoming "altogether respectable".[27]

In the early 1850s – while the future of the firm was still in doubt – Engels believed that his stay in Manchester would be brief and that he would soon be able to lay down his pen in the office and take up his sword as a leader of the workers in a new revolution. In July 1851 he told Marx that "if a market crash coincides with a very large cotton harvest there will be a fine how do you

do here".[28] In February 1852 Engels thought that the revolutionary movement in England had revived and that there was bound to be a commercial crisis by September or October.[29] A year later Engels asserted that in England "the present prosperity, in my opinion, cannot last beyond the autumn" and that on the Continent it would be impossible "for the present situation to outlast the spring of 1854".[30] Once more he was mistaken.

In 1857, however, his hopes rose again when news reached him of the disastrous bank failures in New York. He hastened to Manchester from the Channel Islands where he was recuperating from an illness. As the commercial depression moved across the Atlantic to Europe, Engels once more felt certain that the capitalist system was at last on the verge of collapse. But capitalism survived and there were no revolutions in England or on the Continent.[31] Only a year later Engels had to recognise that in Manchester "business is very good indeed".[32] Many years afterwards Engels admitted that in the 1850s and 1860s the British economy, far from being on the verge of collapse, had been passing through a phase of "unparalleled expansion".[33] Engels's gloomy, but mistaken, prophecies in the 1850s were shared by Marx who confidently anticipated a world wide economic collapse in 1851, 1852, 1853 and 1855.[34]

After the renewal of the partnership Ermen and Engels enjoyed a period of prosperity. A short survey of the firm's history, which appeared in a trade journal in 1897, stated that Ermen and Engels was a flourishing concern in the middle of the nineteenth century. The growth of the business owed something to Godfrey Ermen's "patent for polishing cotton thread". "This gentleman, in conjunction first with Mr Engels senior, and afterwards with Mr Engels's son, conducted the business with great energy and ability. . . ."[35] According to another account of the firm Godfrey Ermen patented several "improved methods of cotton processing". "He retained the right to earn royalties on them wherever he pleased, becoming thereby a moderately wealthy man, apart from his interest in the firm."[36] His thread was sold under the name of "Diamond Thread". (The registration of this trade mark now stands in the name of English Sewing Cotton Co. and still applies.) Godfrey Ermen was worth £400,000 when he died in 1899. As a businessman he was described as vigorous, tough, and shrewd. The absence of references in the Marx–Engels correspondence to Engels's career in business between 1853 and 1856 suggests that the firm was moving in calmer waters than before. And Engels's relations with his father were improving. In 1856 Friedrich Engels senior showed his appreciation of the efficiency with which Engels was watching over his interests in Manchester by sending him a Christmas present

of money with which to buy a hunter.[37] Engels appreciated the gift as he was a keen rider to hounds with the Cheshire Hunt.[38] In March 1857, however, Engels complained that he was overwhelmed with work at the office. "In his letters my old man asks a hundred questions about the business which have to be answered."[39]

Although for twenty years his income depended upon the prosperity of Ermen and Engels – and of the Lancashire cotton industry – Engels was always delighted when the firm ran into difficulties or when the industry was depressed. So passionately did he detest the middle classes in general and the Manchester business community in particular that he derived the greatest pleasure from any misfortune that befell them. In the summer of 1851, for example, Engels wrote gleefully that there was likely to be a crash in the cotton market very soon. "Peter Ermen is already shitting his pants when he thinks of it – and that little bullfrog is a good barometer of the state of trade."[40] In the autumn of 1857, when there was an economic crisis, Engels – who was just recovering from a serious illness – declared that "the cotton exchange is the one place where my present low spirits give way to cheerfulness and good humour. Of course this annoys the asses there – as do my gloomy forecasts for the future."[41]

Engels worked in Manchester in an office which he detested not to oblige his father but to secure a regular income in order to help Marx financially. In his view it was imperative for the communist cause that Marx should devote himself entirely to the study of economics. Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the completion of Marx's forthcoming masterpiece on the history and structure of the capitalist system. Engels was confident that this book would conclusively prove the validity of the doctrines advocated by the communists. If Marx were to spend all his time in his study or in the reading room of the British Museum he could not be expected to earn his own living. All that Marx earned by his own efforts were fees for newspaper articles and modest royalties from his books but the income derived from these sources was quite insufficient for his needs.

Only the financial support of Engels and other friends saved Marx and his family from the workhouse. Since his student days Marx had failed to manage his financial affairs properly. He was utterly feckless and habitually lived beyond his means. Although he never tired of denouncing the middle classes – and eagerly looked forward to their downfall – he tried to maintain a bourgeois standard of living for himself and his family. When he had money to spend he enjoyed good food and cigars. As soon as he could do so he moved from Soho to a middle class suburb in London. He took

his family for holidays to the seaside. He sent his daughters to private schools and secured for them private tuition in the "accomplishments" considered suitable for young ladies in Victorian England. Marx believed that he was entitled to enjoy a higher standard of living than many of the workers whose cause he championed.

Marx was often in arrears with his rent and rates. He ran up debts with tradespeople in a reckless manner. His newsagent had to wait for over a year before his bill was settled. Jenny Marx admitted that "no matter how much we cut down expenses, we could never make ends meet and our debts mounted from day to day and year to year".[42] No wonder that Marx's wife and his housekeeper were familiar figures at the local pawnshop. No wonder that even the children learned how to deceive the shopkeepers. Once little Edgar (Musch) answered the door when the baker called with three loaves. The baker asked the small boy if Mr Marx was at home. "No, he a'nt upstairs," declared Edgar – hastily seizing the loaves and slamming the door.[43] Marx frequently borrowed money without having the faintest idea as to how he could repay the loans. He simply incurred new debts to pay off old debts. Only a court order, a visit from the bailiffs, or a threat to cut off his water or gas would force Marx to meet his financial obligations. He and his wife pestered relations, friends and political associates for gifts or loans. Like Mr Micawber Karl and Jenny Marx waited for something to turn up. And occasionally something did turn up. Then the Marx family would indulge in a spending spree without a thought for the future. Jenny Marx mentioned in her memoirs that in 1856 she obtained small legacies from the estates of her uncle and mother. Debts were paid, Jenny bought a new outfit to go on a visit to Trier, and the family moved from Soho to Hampstead.[44] Engels of course sent some money to pay for the removal.[45]

There were times when Marx and his family were in desperate straits. One winter they were without coal and on another occasion there was no food in the house except bread and potatoes. Sometimes Marx could not call a doctor as he had no money to pay the fee. In his letters to Engels he complained that he could not afford to post a manuscript or buy a newspaper. Writing to Weydemeyer in May 1850 Jenny Marx described how the family had been evicted from their home in Chelsea. Marx was behind with the rent and was in debt to local tradesmen.

"Finally a friend helped us; we paid our rent and I hastily sold all my beds to pay the chemist, the baker, the butcher and the milkman who – alarmed at the sight of the sequestration – suddenly besieged

me with their bills. The beds which we had sold were taken out and put on a cart. What was happening? It was well after sunset. We were contravening English law. The landlord rushed up to us with two constables, maintaining that there might be some of his belongings among the things and that we wanted to make away abroad. In less than five minutes there were two or three hundred persons loitering around our door – the whole Chelsea mob. The beds were brought in again – they could not be delivered to the buyer until after sunrise next day. When we had sold all our possessions we were in a position to pay what we owed to the last farthing."[46]

The family moved from Chelsea to a couple of rooms in Soho and here Marx's son Guido (Föxchen) died in November 1850. Shortly afterwards Marx asked Engels for money to pay the rent. He explained that his landlady – who was "very poor" – had not received any rent for a fortnight "and she is most importunate in her demands for payment".[47]

In the following year Marx had other worries besides lack of funds. His housekeeper Helene Demuth gave birth to a son on June 23, 1851 and Marx was the father. Jenny Marx was presumably referring to her husband's lapse when she wrote in her memoirs that "in the early summer 1851 an event occurred which I do not wish to relate here in detail, although it greatly contributed to increase our worries, both personal and others".[48] Since he was determined to maintain his position as a respectable family man Marx always denied that he was the father of Helene Demuth's illegitimate child. As usual when he was in a difficulty owing to his own folly he turned to Engels for help. He proposed to let it be known that Engels was the child's father. To add versimilitude to this story the boy was given Engels's christian name. Engels appears to have allowed Marx to do this. When Marx died Engels destroyed all the letters in their correspondence referring to Helene Demuth's child.

It was not until 1962 that Marx's shameful secret became known. Werner Blumenberg found a letter which Louise Freyberger (Engels's housekeeper at the time of his death) had written to August Bebel on September 2, 1898. She recalled that shortly before his death Engels was visited by Marx's daughter Eleanor. At this interview he categorically denied that he was the father of Helene Demuth's child and repeated (what he had already told Samuel Moore and Louise Freyberger) that Marx was the father.[49]

In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Jenny Marx kept her faithless husband awake at night with her tears. "It makes me furious," he told Engels, "but there is not much that I can do about it."[50] In August 1851 Marx told Weydemeyer that his situa-

tion was "indeed distressing". "It will be the end of my wife if it goes on like this for long. The never-ending worries, the pettiest everyday struggles are wearing her out."[51] And in February 1852 he declared: "I have been so plagued by money worries that I haven't even been able to continue my studies at the library, much less write articles."[52]

At this time an agent of the Prussian police gained access to the Marx household. He described the squalor in which the family lived in two rooms in Soho. "In the whole apartment there is not one clean and solid piece of furniture. Everything is broken, tattered and torn, with a half-inch of dust over everything and the greatest disorder everywhere. In the middle of the salon there is a large old-fashioned table covered with an oil cloth, and on it there lie manuscripts, books and newspapers, as well as the children's toys, the rags and tatters of his wife's sewing basket, several cups with broken rims, knives, forks, lamps, an inkpot, tumblers, Dutch clay pipes, tobacco ash – in a word everything topsy turvy, and all on the same table. A seller of second hand goods would be ashamed to give away such a remarkable collection of odds and ends."[53] In 1851 another child (Franzisca) was born. Marx wrote to Engels: "There is literally not a farthing in the house but there is no shortage of bills from petty tradesmen – the butcher, the baker and so forth."[54] And a year later when Franzisca died[55] only a timely gift of £2 from a French émigré made it possible for Marx to buy a coffin so that the child could be decently buried.[56] A third child – Edgar (Musch) – died at an early age in April 1855.[57]

In January 1857 – soon after moving from Soho – Marx was still in financial difficulties. He wrote to Engels: "Today I am actually worse off than I was five years ago when I was wallowing in the very quintessence of filth."[58] Engels declared that this news had come "like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky". If only Marx had mentioned his difficulties a little sooner Engels would have sent him the money which he had just received from his father to buy a horse.[59] In March 1857 Engels was himself short of money and was being dunned by his creditors in the office.[60] In November Marx wrote that he was – as usual – in "financial distress".[61]

In 1858 the situation deteriorated. In January Marx appealed to Engels for help as it was a cold winter and he could not afford to buy any coal. He declared that he would rather be dead and buried than continue to exist in such abysmal poverty.[62] In the summer of the same year he told Engels that he had not had a penny in the house for a month. "I have had to borrow £4 from Schapper to cover essential daily expenses for which cash must be paid. And half of this went in fees in an abortive attempt to raise a loan." At

this time Marx's debts amounted to more than £100. "The root of the trouble is that my modest income can never be used to pay for what I need next month. The money is absorbed by regular expenses such as rent, school fees, and payment of interest to the pawnbroker. What remains liquidates just enough debts to avoid being evicted and turned out into the street."[63] Engels gave what help he could but in the following December Marx described his situation as "more dreary and desolate . . . than ever". His wife had to go to the pawnbroker once more to raise money to pay the most pressing bills.[64]

Almost every letter written by Marx to Engels between 1850 and 1870 included a request for money or an acknowledgement of a remittance. It has been calculated from the Marx–Engels correspondence that Marx received about £4,000 from Engels.[65] This does not include sums mentioned in letters that no longer exist or money handed to Marx and not sent through the post. It does not include fees received by Marx for articles written by Engels or the bottles of wine which Engels sent to his friend from time to time. It does not include the money given by Engels to Marx's daughters both during and after the lifetime of their father.

In his first years in Manchester Engels was able to send Marx only small sums – sometimes only postage stamps – as his own income was small.[66] The correspondence records payments of £33 in 1851, £41 in 1852 and £57 in 1853. Then the remittances dropped to only £12 in 1854 and £10 in 1856. But as Engels's income increased so did his remittances to Marx. In 1857 the payments rose to £70. Engels's remittances amounted to £61 in 1858, £52 in 1859 and £159 in 1860.[67] These figures refer only to sums mentioned in the Marx–Engels correspondence. The actual payments were undoubtedly greater than those recorded in the letters which have survived.

From time to time Engels guaranteed loans raised by Marx – for example £30 from Freiligrath[68] and £250 from Dronke.[69] In July 1858 he offered to help Marx to borrow £30 provided that "the guarantee never leaves the lender's portfolio – otherwise I shall be ruined".[70] Engels insisted upon this condition because his contract with Ermen and Engels forbade him to act as a guarantor of a loan. Engels's efforts to rescue Marx from one financial scrape after another sometimes involved him in transactions of a dubious character. In 1851 he asked Marx to secure from Roland Daniels a letter addressed to Engels acknowledging the receipt of £15 which he had not received. In the letter Daniels was to allege that the money had been spent in settling Engels's debts in Cologne. Presumably this letter was to be used to deceive Engels's father. Fried-

rich Engels senior was to believe that his son had discharged debts in Germany amounting to £15 whereas, in fact, the money would presumably have found its way into Marx's pocket.[71] On May 23, when no letter from Daniels had been received, Engels wrote to Marx that without the letter he would be "in the devil of a fix".[72] Daniels was arrested soon afterwards and it is not known whether he ever wrote the letter that Engels wished to have.[73]

Engels also helped Marx financially in another way. In 1851 Marx was asked by Charles Dana, editor of the *New York Daily Tribune* – whom he had recently met in Cologne – to act as European correspondent for the paper. Since the German press was closed to him Marx welcomed the opportunity of contributing to one of the leading American newspapers. As there was no censorship in the United States he could express his views freely. And he hoped that the £2 which Dana offered for each article would enable him to surmount his financial difficulties. But at this time Marx was not sufficiently proficient in English to write the articles in that language. Delays would be caused if he wrote them in German and had them translated. A simple solution to the difficulty suggested itself to Marx. Engels would write the articles and he would pocket the fee. On August 8, 1851 Marx wrote to Engels: "Freiligrath and I have been invited to become correspondents of the *New York (Daily) Tribune* and we shall be paid for our contributions. This newspaper has the largest circulation in North America. If you can possibly do so I should be glad if you would let me have an article on German affairs – written in English. The article should reach me by Friday morning, August 15. That would be a fine beginning."[74]

The secret of the authorship of the articles was well kept. In 1896 when Eleanor Marx wrote an introduction to a collection of Engels's newspaper articles on the German revolution of 1848 she assumed that her father had written them. In the same year Karl Kautsky edited a German translation of the articles and he too attributed them to Marx. By the summer of 1853 Marx's English had improved sufficiently for him to write some of the articles himself. But he continued to ask Engels to send him contributions for the *New York Daily Tribune*, particularly on military topics such as the campaign in the Crimea.[75] Engels also contributed articles (on Marx's behalf) to *Putnam's Review*[76] and to the *New American Cyclopaedia.*[77]

Engels, the businessman, was kept very busy at the office, while Engels, the journalist, worked long hours in his study in the evenings and at week-ends. On the one hand his father was continually asking for information about the business, while on the other hand,

Marx was insatiable in his demands for more articles to send to Dana. Engels's health was undermined by overwork and by the strain involved in leading a double life and in trying to keep secret his association with Mary Burns and his activities as a journalist. In April 1857 Engels had trouble with his eyes and Marx sent him some drops.[78] A month later he was suffering from glandular fever.[79] By June he had recovered sufficiently to travel to London to see Marx but on returning to Manchester he was soon off work again. On July 14 Marx wrote that he was pleased to learn that there had been some improvement in Engels's condition. He strongly advised his friend not to return to the office but to go to the seaside for a rest. If he failed to take this advice there was a real danger of a relapse followed by an attack of consumption. Marx added: "Surely you do not seek the glory of sacrificing yourself on the altar of Ermen and Engels! Let Mr Ermen shift for himself."[80]

At the end of July 1857 Engels went to Waterloo near New Brighton. He wrote to Marx that he was suffering from glandular fever, that he was in severe pain, and that he could not sleep. He was "crooked, lame and weak".[81] From Waterloo Engels went first to Ryde (Isle of Wight) and then to Jersey. News of the economic crisis in New York led Engels to believe that the long awaited collapse of the capitalist system was at hand.[82] He hurried back to London in November only to suffer a relapse and to be "condemned to four days of hot compresses".[83] Back in Manchester he reported that his doctor (Martin Heckscher) was agreeably surprised at his rapid progress towards recovery. He arranged to work at the office for only part of the day.[84] Early in December Engels assured Marx that he was now in good health.[85] On the last day of 1857 he wrote that he had greatly enjoyed seven hours in the saddle with the Cheshire Hunt. He was confident that exercise on the hunting field would soon restore his health to normal.[86]

In February 1858 Engels was ill again. This time he was suffering from inflammation of the skin and from piles. He found it inconvenient to sit down except on a horse.[87] Marx attributed this relapse to years of overwork in the period of "storm and stress" in Manchester.[88] But Engels's indisposition did not prevent him from riding and he boasted that he had cleared a five foot fence – his highest jump so far.[89] Marx congratulated his friend on his "equestrial performances" but pleaded with him not to take unnecessary risks.[90] Engels replied that if he were to break his neck it would not be by falling off a horse.[91] But Engels did fall off his horse[92] and – as is clear from a letter to Victor Adler in 1892 – he subsequently suffered from the effects of his injury.[93]

Engels appears to have enjoyed reasonably good health for most of 1858 and 1859. In December 1859, however, he was ill once more. In the following April Marx twice enquired anxiously about Engels's health.[94] In May 1860 the state of Engels's health was so unsatisfactory that his brother Emil had to come to Manchester to discuss Engels's future with Godfrey Ermen now that Friedrich Engels senior had died.[95] Many years later Engels wrote that he would never forget the help that Emil gave him in 1860. He recalled that at that time he had been so ill as to be "incapable of taking a single necessary decision".[96]

It has been seen that during his first ten years in Manchester Engels placed not merely his purse but also his pen at Marx's disposal. He put his own literary plans on one side to meet Marx's almost insatiable demands for articles which would be sent to American editors as Marx's work and for which Marx would be paid. In 1858 and 1859 two events occurred which at last encouraged Engels to resume the *rôle* of an independent commentator on political affairs. They were the so-called "New Era" in Prussia in 1858 and the war between Austria and France in northern Italy in 1859. Prince Wilhelm became Regent of Prussia in October 1858 owing to the mental illness of his brother Frederick William IV. Within a month he had dismissed not only Otto von Manteuffel, the Minister President, but all his colleagues as well except for von der Heydt and Louis Simons. There were those in Germany and in Austria who imagined that the disappearance of the reactionary ministry would inaugurate a "New Era" of liberal reform and that Prussia might renew her challenge to Austria for the leadership of the German states. Their hopes – and fears – proved to be groundless. The Regent had all the characteristics of a Prussian officer and he had no intention of allowing any wind of change to blow through his dominions. But the appointment of a new ministry did lead to a revival of political discussion in Prussia for the first time for many years. As Bismarck remarked to his sister: "It certainly looks as if the world of politics is going to be a little less boring in the future."[97] And Marx was quick to notice that there was some relaxation in the way in which the censorship was applied in Prussia. "We are no longer in the era of 1850–8", he remarked to Engels in 1860.[98] Engels lost no time in taking advantage of the situation.

Moreover within a few months of assuming office the new Prussian ministry had to face a crisis in foreign affairs – the war of Italian unification in which France was supporting Piedmont against Austria. Prussia had to decide whether to ally herself with Austria or to remain neutral. Here was a vital political issue and

Engels quickly came forward to give the German public the benefit of his views on the problem. In February 1859 Engels suggested to Marx that he should write a pamphlet on the political and military aspects of the war in Italy which he was confident would break out soon. Marx enthusiastically approved. "*Po und Rhein* is a brilliant idea," he wrote, "and you should get to work on it immediately." He suggested that the brochure should appear anonymously in the hope that readers would assume that the author was "a great general". "The democratic dogs and liberal chumps will see that we are the only chaps who are not struck dumb in this miserable era of peace." Marx added that he had approached Lassalle to ask him to find a publisher for the pamphlet in Berlin.[99] A few days later Marx suggested that Engels should take a few days off from the office to complete the pamphlet.[100] On March 4 Engels informed Marx that the pamphlet would be finished in a few days.[101] *Po und Rhein* appeared in April: 1,000 copies were printed. Marx soon revealed in *Das Volk* that Engels was the author of the pamphlet.[102] Early in 1860 Marx congratulated Engels on the appearance of a favourable review of *Po und Rhein* in the *Allgemeine Militärzeitung*, published in Darmstadt. He wrote: "Your pamphlet has established your position in Germany as a military critic."[103] In 1861, when Marx was visiting Lassalle in Berlin, he wrote to Engels that it was believed in the most exalted military circles that *Po und Rhein* had been written by a Prussian general.[104] In 1860 Engels wrote a sequel to *Po und Rhein* entitled *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein*.[105]

The campaign in Italy caused some alarm in England where the evidence of France's military strength led some people to believe that Napoleon III was following in his uncle's footsteps and was planning other wars of aggression. There was a panic and in May 1859 the government authorised the formation of local Volunteer Corps to support the regular army in the event of a French invasion. Engels was always interested in the raising of civilian forces and he wrote an article on a review of the Volunteers which took place at Newton le Willows in August 1860. The article appeared in the *Allgemeine Militärzeitung* on September 8 and (in English translation) in the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire* on September 14. Marx was delighted when the article received favourable notices in the leading London newspapers and declared that "it was sensational".[106] Engels subsequently wrote further articles on the Volunteers and other military topics for the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*, some of which were published in Manchester as a sixpenny pamphlet.[107] A review in the

United Services Gazette praised the pamphlet and declared that it had been "modestly and carefully written".[108]

The years 1859–60 were a turning point in Engels's career in Manchester. His membership of the Cheshire Hunt and the Albert Club gave him a certain standing in the community. His involvement in the Schiller celebrations of 1859 showed that he was beginning to take a lead in the affairs of the German community in Manchester. The death of his father in March 1860 at last opened up the prospect of a partnership and a degree of financial independence that he had never known before. At the same time the publication of his two pamphlets on the war in Italy and the articles on the Volunteer movement showed that Engels could still play a *rôle* as a political and military commentator, independent of Marx. There was, however, one event in Engels's life at this time which he was glad to forget in later years. In September 1859 he was involved in a drunken brawl during which he struck an Englishman with his umbrella and injured him in the eye. The Englishman threatened to sue Engels for damages. Engels complained bitterly that if the case came to court he would have no chance of success. In his view English justice was heavily weighted against "a bloody foreigner". He recognised that – even if he settled out of court – this escapade would be an expensive business. The final outcome of the affair is not known.[109]

II. The Cotton Lord, 1860–70

There were significant changes in Engels's way of life in Manchester in the 1860s. His father died in 1860; Mary Burns three years later. His father's death enabled Engels to reach an agreement with Godfrey Ermen which paved the way to a partnership. The death of Mary Burns closed an epoch in Engels's life. "I felt that with her I had buried all that was left of my youth."[110]

On securing his partnership Engels gained an improved status in the firm and on the Cotton Exchange. His income increased and he took a more active part in the social and cultural life of Manchester. He enjoyed the confidence of the German community in Manchester and became chairman of the executive committee of the Schiller Anstalt (Schiller Institute). He served on various committees – the Albert Club[111] and the Society for the Relief of Really Deserving Distressed Foreigners[112] for example – and during the Franco-Prussian war he served on a committee which raised over £1,000 to provide comforts for the German wounded. He subscribed £5 a month to this fund.[113] Engels rode with the Cheshire Hunt[114] and attended the Hallé concerts.

Some of Engels's "philistine" friends may have known of his revolutionary activities in Germany in 1848 and 1849 but his participation in the risings in Elberfeld and Baden could now be dismissed as the youthful escapades of one who was a welcome guest in some of the most respected households in Manchester. And if the authorities of his home town could leave him in peace when he visited his family in 1860 and 1862 the businessmen of Manchester could overlook his indiscretions of long ago.

Yet Engels still lived two separate lives. He continued to maintain one establishment as a businessman and another as a revolutionary writer. He flouted middle class morality by living with Mary Burns who was not his wife. In February 1862 he told Marx that he was "living with Mary nearly all the time".[115] And when Mary died he lived with her sister Lizzie, whom he did not marry until she was on her deathbed. It was not until he retired from business in 1869 that he gave up his lodgings in Dover Street.[116] Moreover his bourgeois friends were still puzzled that one who was a pillar of the Cotton Exchange on week days should not be a pillar of a place of worship on Sundays. Normally Engels succeeded in keeping the world of the bourgeoisie at arm's length outside office hours but he admitted to Jenny Marx that at Christmas time, when he received many invitations from middle class friends, he could not help feeling that he had "a foot in the bourgeoisie camp."[117]

While his business activities reached their climax in the 1860s his work for the cause of world revolution also achieved a measure of success. When the Communist League collapsed, Marx and Engels had no organisation for the propagation of their views. Engels had written to Marx in 1851: "We are at last – and for the first time in many years – so situated that we can show the world that we can do without popular applause and that we are not dependent upon any political party anywhere in the world. We are now completely isolated from any sort of low party intrigues."[118]

In the 1860s, however, the situation changed. The International Working Men's Association now gave Marx and Engels a new platform from which to preach their doctrines. In Germany the workers' movement revived – though under the leadership of Lassalle whose policy and ambitions aroused Marx's deepest suspicions. But there were disciples of Marx – such as Liebknecht – who disseminated his ideas in Germany with a freedom that had not existed in the 1850s. Above all the first volume of Marx's *Das Kapital* appeared in 1867 and Engels felt that the sacrifices which he had made to finance the author had not been in vain.

Engels had not been long in Manchester before Jenny Marx wrote that she hoped that he would become a partner in the firm

of Ermen and Engels and would be "a great cotton lord".[119] When the elder Friedrich Engels died it seemed possible that Jenny Marx's prophecy would come true. Engels now had a strong claim to a partnership. On his father's death he hoped to secure a share in the German branch of the firm but his brothers – Hermann, Emil and Rudolf – argued that they alone should control the business at Engelskirchen. They were prepared to agree that £10,000 should be placed in the Manchester firm in Engels's name so that he could secure a partnership there. Engels pointed out – and his brother-in-law Emil Blank agreed with him – that his brothers were in a secure position as partners in a flourishing concern. But he had been left to the tender mercies of Godfrey Ermen. He might have a moral claim to step into his father's shoes as a partner in the Manchester firm but he had no legal claim. Engels eventually accepted the proposal put forward by his brothers because he did not wish his mother to be distressed by an unseemly family quarrel over the inheritance.[120]

Godfrey Ermen did not want to have Engels as a partner. He disliked Engels and he wished to keep control of the firm of Ermen and Engels in his own hands. Moreover when Engels's father died in 1860 Godfrey Ermen again went into business on his own by reviving the firm of Ermen Brothers. This firm (which was independent of Ermen and Engels) now operated the Bridgewater Mill at Pendlebury and Henry Ermen – who had been with Ermen and Engels for ten years – was its manager. And another member of the Ermen family (Francis Julian Ermen) had joined the firm as recently as 1859. Godfrey Ermen was establishing his young nephews in the firms under his control and he did not want Engels to be in a position to thwart his plans.

Engels, however, had two cards up his sleeve. He knew that Godfrey Ermen needed capital. Not only had Godfrey Ermen founded the Bridgewater Mill (Ermen Brothers) but he had secured Bencliffe Mill at Lane End, Eccles for the firm of Ermen and Engels.[121] If Engels were to leave the firm he would naturally take his capital with him. Again if Godfrey Ermen refused to have Engels as a partner – or even to make a firm promise of a partnership in the future – then Engels could threaten to establish a cotton business of his own and enter into competition with Godfrey Ermen.

On April 8, 1860 Engels wrote to Marx that, on returning to Manchester from Barmen – his first visit in 11 years – he had been able to secure a firm basis on which to negotiate with Godfrey Ermen by gaining the support of Charles Roesgen.[122] A few days later he told his brother Emil that Godfrey Ermen had offered to pay their mother the capital which their father had invested in the

Manchester firm. And he would continue to employ Engels for another four years under the terms of their existing contract – a contract which Jenny Marx described as "disadvantageous".[123] When Engels rejected this proposal Godfrey Ermen agreed to offer Engels a partnership in 1864. If Godfrey Ermen refused, Engels threatened to set up his own business. Engels now wrote to Emil that "Charles (Roesgen) is more devoted to our interests than ever and actually believes that we can make Godfrey do anything that we want – perhaps even force him to retire."[124] Roesgen underestimated Godfrey Ermen!

At this time Engels fell ill and Emil Engels came to Manchester to complete the negotiations. Engels hoped "to make the contract as onerous as possible for Godfrey Ermen so that, when the critical moment comes, he will be glad to be rid of me".[125] Godfrey Ermen now promised to admit Engels to a partnership in 1864, provided that (by that time) Engels had invested £10,000 in the firm. This would represent about one fifth of the capital of Ermen and Engels. But it was not until September 25, 1862 that Godfrey Ermen and Engels signed a contract containing "provisions for an eventual partnership between them". The agreement covered the period from April 7, 1860 to June 30, 1864 (when the nine year contract of 1855 expired) and provided that Engels should receive 10 per cent of the profits of the firm. He was also paid 5 per cent interest on his capital. These arrangements gave Engels a substantial increase in his income.[126]

There was no improvement in the early 1860s in the relations between Godfrey Ermen and Engels. Godfrey Ermen hoped that Engels would do something which could be regarded as a breach of contract and then he could force Engels to leave the firm. Engels was determined not to give Godfrey Ermen the satisfaction of catching him out in any breach of his contract. In December 1860 he wrote to Marx: "As far as Godfrey Ermen is concerned it is imperative that I should appear to live within my income. I have not done so during the last financial year. Godfrey Ermen must on no account be able to use this against me in the forthcoming negotiations."[127] In January 1863 Engels warned his friend that he could not raise a loan for Marx from a moneylender. If Godfrey Ermen heard of such a transaction he would be able to dismiss Engels for breach of contract.[128]

In the early 1860s, while Engels was waiting for his partnership, the Lancashire cotton industry suffered its worst slump up to that time. The industry secured about three quarters of its raw material from the United States. During the American civil war the southern states were blockaded by the North and could not export their raw

cotton. The effects of the blockade upon the English cotton industry were delayed because recent bumper cotton crops had encouraged Lancashire merchants and manufacturers to make heavy purchases of raw cotton. For a time the Lancashire industry survived by using existing stocks. But eventually raw cotton became scarce and expensive. The average price of Middling Orleans (Uplands) at Liverpool rose from $6\frac{1}{4}$d per lb in 1860 to $27\frac{1}{2}$d per lb in 1864. Efforts to secure cotton from regions other than America – from India or Egypt for example – had only a limited success. About 50 mills had ceased production by November 1861 while 119 were on short time. A year later over 400,000 operatives were unemployed or on short time. As late as the last week in May 1865 nearly 125,000 operatives were still out of work. Engels believed that hunger would drive the Lancashire workers to revolt and that capitalism and bourgeois society would collapse. But this did not happen. There was very little violence in Lancashire. A Factory Inspector praised the "silent resignation" and the "patient self-respect" of the cotton operatives while the Poor Law Board reported that "the working classes in the cotton manufacturing districts have conducted themselves generally with admirable patience under their privations".[129] Karl Marx denounced the Lancashire workers for "behaving like sheep" during the crisis. "Such a thing has never been heard of in the world."[130] He was naturally delighted when riots broke out in Stalybridge.[131]

There are a few references to the Cotton Famine in the Marx–Engels correspondence. In March 1862 Engels told Marx that trade was bad and that his income would almost certainly decline. "We have large stocks of goods in hand and we cannot sell anything. Our hands are tied until the Americans settle their affairs. We may lose all the profits that we might expect to make by the end of the year."[132] In the following September Engels complained that he was seriously overworked in the office owing to the cotton crisis. Prices had gone up fivefold and customers had to be kept informed of successive rises. Engels was not consistent in his assessment of the way in which the crisis was affecting different branches of the industry. In one breath he asserted that only commission houses were pocketing large profits – there was nothing left over for the owners of cotton mills – while in another he declared that anyone in the industry who showed a little courage could make money out of the great "cotton swindle". Alas, "the worthy Godfrey Ermen is a shit pants" and Ermen and Engels did not have the nerve to take advantage of the situation.[133] In November 1862 Engels wrote that there was grave distress among the cotton operatives. Dr Gumpert had told him that many undernourished patients

were being admitted to hospital.[134] Early in 1863 Engels reported that the cotton market was very depressed. "Prices are no longer rising just now and we cannot sell anything."[135] In November 1864 Engels had some caustic comments to make on the public works which had been started to provide work for the unemployed cotton operatives. He claimed that – out of a total expenditure of £230,000 – only £12,000 had been spent on wages. "The Act for the relief of the distressed factory operatives has been turned into an Act for the relief of the undistressed middle classes. . . ."[136] In the same month Engels admitted somewhat gloomily that trade was at last improving. "It is a pity that nowadays a commercial crisis never seems to come really to the boil!"[137] But in 1865 Engels wrote to Marx that trade was poor again. Bankruptcies however were rare because creditors were willing to accept part of the debts owing to them from cotton firms in full settlement of their claims. "Observe the glory of commercial morality. Goods ordered today have fallen in price by 3d, 4d, or 5d a lb by the time that they are delivered. Firms indulge in all sorts of chicanery and dishonesty to wriggle out of contracts involving financial loss. And so I am kept busy at the office with numerous disputes and recriminations."[138]

In 1864, when the Cotton Famine was nearly over, Engels called upon Godfrey Ermen to implement their agreement of 1862 and admit him to a partnership. He had now invested his inheritance of £10,000 in the business.[139] Godfrey Ermen could not prove any breach of the agreement of 1862 on Engels's part. But before accepting the inevitable, Godfrey Ermen brought his brother Anthony into the business as a partner and as manager of Bencliffe Mill. Anthony Ermen, who had formerly worked in the German branch of the firm, invested only £500 in the English firm. Godfrey Ermen brought Anthony into the Manchester business so that when Engels became a partner he would be confronted by a united front of two Ermen brothers. With a brother running the Bencliffe Mill at Eccles (Ermen and Engels) and a nephew managing his own Bridgewater Mill at Pendlebury, Godfrey Ermen could feel that the Ermen family was firmly entrenched in the two businesses.

On June 30, 1864 Articles of Agreement for the establishment of a partnership were signed by Godfrey Ermen, Anthony Ermen and Friedrich Engels. But this was not the end of the matter. A deed of partnership had still to be drawn up. In July 1864 Engels wrote to Marx that he was engaged in lengthy negotiations with Godfrey Ermen and the lawyers on this deed. Godfrey Ermen, stubborn to the last, refused to recognise Engels as his partner until the deed had been signed and sealed.[140] Engels was furious that Godfrey Ermen should delay recognition of his new status in

the firm until the last possible moment. It was not until September 1864 that Engels was at last able to let Marx know that "the partnership affair is settled at last, the deed is signed, and I hope to have five years of peace as far as this affair is concerned".[141] It is not without significance that in the very letter in which he told Marx of his partnership Engels should have reflected that "as a man gets older, the desire to retire grows; if that is impossible, then his health suffers".[142] Engels celebrated his partnership by moving to a larger house and by taking a holiday in Schleswig-Holstein.

The agreement between Godfrey Ermen, Anthony Ermen and Friedrich Engels made it very clear who was the senior partner and who were the junior partners. Godfrey Ermen held four fifths of the capital and was not under any obligation to devote all his time to the affairs of Ermen and Engels. But Engels did have to devote all his time to the business and was made responsible for running the office. He was required to live within ten miles of Manchester Royal Exchange. He had no claim to the profits of Godfrey Ermen's Bridgewater Mill or on the fees earned by Godfrey Ermen from his inventions. The great advantage that Engels derived from the agreement was a substantial improvement in his financial position. He now had an annual income of £500 – five per cent interest on the £10,000 which he had invested in the firm – and his share of the profits was increased from ten to twenty per cent. Engels was entitled to draw £1,000 per annum for living expenses, in anticipation of his share of the profits. This may not have turned him into a wealthy "cotton lord" but it did mean that he enjoyed a good income and was in a position to assist Karl Marx financially to an even greater extent than in previous years.

As partners Godfrey Ermen and Friedrich Engels ran a flourishing business. Their large four-storey Bencliffe Mill at Eccles employed about 800 operatives who were "profitably and regularly employed".[143] But the partnership was not a happy one. Seldom can so ill assorted a pair have tried to run a business together. They had disliked each other when Engels – a penniless refugee from Germany – had worked in the office as a junior clerk. They disliked each other just as much when Engels had forced himself on Godfrey Ermen as a partner. Engels had been a partner for only a year when he complained that "our office is like a pig stye" because Godfrey Ermen had appointed three inexperienced clerks and had insisted that, in accordance with the terms of the contract, Engels must "teach them how to do their work".[144] And a little later he told Marx that he could not guarantee a loan for him because "I am forbidden by my contract to act as a surety, and – in view of my present relations with Monsieur Godfrey – he would

seize at any chance to put me wrong before a court of arbitration."[145] Engels was getting his own back on Godfrey Ermen when he advised his brother Hermann "not normally to buy your sewings from us". "If you do, Godfrey Ermen will always try to palm off his yarn from Pendlebury."[146] Engels knew that Godfrey Ermen would pass orders on to his own Bridgewater Mill (Pendlebury) rather than to the Ermen and Engels Bencliffe Mill (Eccles).

In 1867 Engels wrote:

> "In two years my contract with that swine Godfrey runs out and as things are I doubt very much whether either of us will wish to renew it. Indeed it is not improbable that we will part company even sooner. If that happens I will give up my career in commerce completely because if I were to set up a business of my own I would have to work very hard for five or six years without achieving anything worth mentioning and then I would have to slave away for another five or six years to garner the harvest of the first five years. And that would ruin my health completely. I long desperately for freedom from business which is a dog's life. I am becoming utterly demoralised by the time wasted in commercial activities. So long as I am in business I am not fit for anything. The situation has become much worse since I have shouldered the heavier responsibilities of being the partner in full charge of the office. Were it not for the increased income I would gladly return to my old job as a clerk. In any case my business career will draw to a close in a few years and then my income will be very much reduced. I am very concerned as to what I am to do about you when that happens. But on retirement from business I expect to arrange something for you – unless of course there is a revolution which would put an end to all our financial plans."[147]

But no revolution occurred to free Engels from his office desk. In June 1867 he told Marx that he was having "all sorts of rows" with Godfrey Ermen;[148] in October he reported that the disputes in the office were enough to send him off his head;[149] and in November he wrote to his brother Hermann that from time to time he was quarrelling both with Godfrey Ermen and with Anthony Ermen.[150] In the following year Engels and Godfrey Ermen opened discussions on the dissolution of their partnership.[151] In November 1868 Engels suggested that he might be willing to continue the partnership for three years if he could become a sleeping partner with no office duties. He would in this case leave his capital in the firm.[152] Godfrey Ermen countered this proposal with an offer to buy Engels out – so gaining complete control of the firm – provided that Engels would promise not to set up a rival firm during the next five years. No sum of money was mentioned, however, and Engels doubted

whether – in the existing state of trade – Godfrey Ermen would make an acceptable offer.

Engels told Marx that he aimed at securing enough capital to be able to make Marx an allowance of £350 per annum for the next five or six years.[153] In December 1868 Engels wrote that his discussions with Godfrey Ermen were continuing. "I cannot trust the dog across the road and I must negotiate with the greatest care." Although no contract for the dissolution of the partnership had yet been drawn up Engels explained to Marx that luckily he had a letter from Godfrey Ermen – and a memorandum which had been given to the solicitor – which outlined an agreed basis for a contract. Engels added that Godfrey Ermen was urging him to draw his money out of the firm before the partnership was dissolved. Engels refused to do this in case it should weaken his position in the concluding stages of the negotiations. In January 1869 Engels received a draft of the proposed agreement.[154] He complained that Godfrey Ermen was employing delaying tactics to spin out the negotiations.[155]

In May 1869 Engels withdrew £7,500 of his capital from the firm[156] and on June 30 – when the partnership agreement lapsed – he retired, although the contract for the dissolution of the partnership had not yet been signed. All that had been arranged was that Engels should receive £1,750 as his share of the goodwill. The contract dissolving the partnership – which was not signed until August 10[157] – provided for a payment of nearly £5,000 (inclusive of the goodwill). If one adds this £5,000 to the £7,500 withdrawn from the firm by Engels in May it appears that Engels received about £12,500 from Godfrey Ermen. This sum represents little more than the capital invested by Engels in the business and it looks as if Godfrey Ermen drove a hard bargain as far as the goodwill was concerned. On December 9, 1869 Engels wrote to Marx: "Everything is settled with Godfrey. He paid me the last of my money yesterday and from now onwards we shall presumably turn our backsides on each other if we meet again."[158] So ended a business association of over twenty years.

On the day of his retirement Engels wrote to Marx: "Hurrah! I have finished with sweet commerce today and I am a free man. I settled all the main points yesterday with the worthy Godfrey and he had to give way completely."[159] To his mother he wrote: "Since yesterday I am a new man – and ten years younger. Instead of going to the gloomy city I took a walk for a few hours in the country. I am sitting at my desk in a comfortably furnished room where I can open the window without having smuts deposited by the smoke. There are flowers in my window and some in front of

the house. Here I can work much better than in my dingy room in the office where I had a view of the courtyard of a public house."[160] He told Marx's daughter Jenny: "I am just now in the honeymoon of my newly-recovered liberty, and you will not require to be told that I enjoy it amazingly."[161] Eleanor Marx was visiting Engels at this time and she later recalled: "I shall never forget the triumph with which he exclaimed: 'For the last time' as he put on his boots to go to the office for the last time. A few hours later we were standing at the gate waiting for him. We saw him coming over the little field opposite the house where he lived. He was swinging his stick and singing, his face beaming. Then we set the table for a celebration and drank champagne and were happy."[162] And Marx sent his "dear Fred" his "sincere congratulations on your escape from Egyptian captivity". "In honour of the occasion I drank a glass more than is necessary to quench one's thirst – but late at night and not first thing in the morning like a Prussian policeman."[163]

Engels was unable to secure a very favourable financial settlement when his partnership with Godfrey Ermen was dissolved. Godfrey Ermen took advantage of the fact that Engels was determined not to renew the partnership agreement. He also knew that Engels wished to retire from business and had no intention of establishing a firm of his own. So he drove a hard bargain. All that Engels secured was the return of the capital that his family had invested in the firm and a mere £1,750 as his share of the goodwill. Engels's contempt for his former partner can be seen from a letter which he wrote to Godfrey Ermen five years after their partnership had been dissolved. In 1874 Godfrey Ermen asked Engels if he would allow the firm to continue to be called "Ermen and Engels". Engels made Godfrey Ermen wait for three months before replying and then he rejected Ermen's request. He declared that so long as the firm was known as "Ermen and Engels" he might, in certain circumstances, be liable for debts incurred by the firm although he had ceased to be a partner.[164] So the name of the firm was changed to Ermen and Roby.

As Engels's income increased so did his payments to Marx. In 1866 he sent Marx £240 and in 1867 he made him an annual allowance of £350.[165] But Marx's expenses were increasing since his family was growing up and he persisted in trying to maintain a middle-class standard of living for himself, his wife and his three daughters. He told his friend Dr Kugelmann that he had "to keep up appearances"[166] and that he needed between £400 and £500 a year to live in London.[167] His two elder daughters left school in the summer of 1860 but they continued to have private tuition in

French, Italian, music and drawing. Marx's earnings from journalism and from royalties seldom exceeded £100 and he made no serious attempt to secure full-time employment. In 1862 his Dutch cousin August Philips attempted to obtain a clerkship for Marx in the office of a railway company.[168] Marx told Engels in September that he hoped to take up the appointment soon[169] but Marx failed to secure the post since his handwriting was so difficult to read.[170]

Marx was continually in debt and had to pay from 20 to 30 per cent interest on the small sums that he borrowed.[171] In 1861 he went to Germany and Holland to try to raise some money and he secured an interest-free loan from his uncle Lion Philips – to be repaid out of his inheritance when his mother died.[172] The Marx family promptly indulged in a spending spree so that by the end of 1861 Marx was in debt again. This time he owed £100.[173]

The year 1862 was one of serious financial difficulties for Marx and the situation was aggravated by the fact that an industrial exhibition was being held in London. Marx could not afford to let his daughters join in the festivities in which their schoolfriends participated. Nor could he entertain Lassalle – who visited him in the summer – as he would have wished.

In March 1862 Marx received a "pig dirty letter" from his landlord demanding £20 rent which was 12 months overdue.[174] In June he wrote to Engels: "My wife tells me every day that she wishes that she were in her grave with her children and I do not blame her. The humiliation, the distress, and the anxiety brought about by the situation in which we find ourselves are positively indescribable."[175]

Marx complained bitterly of the indignities that he suffered at the hands of his creditors. There was the "piano man" from whom he was buying a piano on hire purchase so that his daughters could have singing lessons. The piano man was "an exceedingly uncouth fellow" – "a brutal dog" – who actually expected the instalments to be paid punctually.[176] And the grocer was a "pig dog" who refused to give Marx any more credit and insisted that future transactions must be on a cash basis![177]

There was a serious crisis in Marx's financial affairs at the end of 1862. In December of that year Jenny Marx went to Paris to try to secure money from "an old friend who had become rich and remained generous". But her friend died a few days after her arrival.[178] In January 1863, on a day when there was no food or coal in the house, the brokers' men arrived. On the same day Marx received a letter from Engels informing him of Mary Burns's death. Marx was so depressed by his own worries that when he next wrote to Engels he dismissed Mary's death in a couple of

sentences and went on to discuss his own financial problems. He declared that unless he could borrow a substantial sum from a moneylender or an insurance company he could not keep the family together. Engels complained bitterly of Marx's callous behaviour and Marx was quick to appreciate that this time he had gone too far. He promptly apologised and Engels replied that he was glad not to have lost his best friend at the same time as he had lost Mary Burns. Marx now wrote that unless he could raise some money quickly he would have to go bankrupt. His two elder daughters would have to earn their living as governesses while he and his wife and youngest daughter would go to the City Model Lodging House. Once more Engels came to the rescue. He borrowed £100 himself and sent the money to Marx with a clear warning that he could send no more – except very small sums – for the next six months.[179]

In July 1863 Marx borrowed £250 from Dronke, a former member of the Communist League who now enjoyed an income of £1,000 a year.[180] Engels guaranteed the loan.[181] In 1864 two legacies improved Marx's financial position. On December 2, 1863 Marx informed Engels that his mother had died. Although he had "one foot in the grave" – a large carbuncle having been cut out only a few weeks previously – Marx declared that he was "more necessary than the old woman" and asked Engels for enough money to travel to Trier and Zalt Bommel to collect his legacy.[182] Engels sent him £10 and shortly afterwards he sent another £10 to Jenny Marx to pay a butcher's bill.[183] Marx spent Christmas 1863 at Zalt Bommel with his uncle Lion Philips, "a marvellous old boy", who was the executor of his mother's will.[184] Marx's inheritance amounted to £575, some of which he had already received. In May 1864 Wilhelm Wolff died[185] and left Marx £825.[186]

So in a single year Marx had two windfalls amounting together to about three times as much as he needed to maintain his family for a year. In June 1864 Marx boasted to his uncle Lion Philips that he had made over £400 by dabbling in stocks and shares.[187] But when he wrote to Engels a few days later he merely claimed that he "could have made a killing on the Stock Exchange" if he had had some money.[188] It is doubtful if Marx was telling the truth when he wrote to his uncle about his successful speculation.[189]

When Marx secured the money due to him from his mother's estate he forgot about model lodging houses. The legacy, wrote Jenny Marx, "enabled us to free ourselves from obligations, debts, pawnbroker etc.". She found "a very attractive and healthy house which we fitted out very comfortably and relatively smartly".[190]

By Easter 1864 Marx and his family had moved from Kentish Town to No. 1 Modena Villas.[191] Soon afterwards Wilhelm Wolff died and Marx received a second legacy which afforded his family "a year free from worry".[192] It also paid for a holiday at the seaside, a ball for Marx's daughter and "some smaller parties".[193]

The legacies were quickly spent and within a year Marx was again in debt. In July 1865 he told Engels that for eight weeks he had relied upon visits to the pawnbroker to secure money for household expenses. He had spent £500 in repaying debts and in furnishing his new home. He admitted that he had been living beyond his means. He appealed for help and Engels promptly sent him £50.[194] In August 1865 Engels sent Marx £20 to satisfy the butcher, the "very troublesome" landlord and the "tax-gatherers".[195] Another £15 was sent in November when Marx wrote that his wife was "desolate" at the importunities of the landlord and various tradespeople.[196] Marx persuaded his landlord to wait until the middle of February for two thirds of the current quarter's rent. He declared that unless his financial position improved he would have to leave England for a country such as Switzerland where he could live more cheaply.[197] At the end of 1865 he complained: "I have lost much time in running around all over the place to fix things up right and left. But I can satisfy one creditor only by falling into the clutches of another."[198]

Marx's financial position deteriorated in 1866. In January he complained that he was short of money – and he had "minus zero" to keep his family.[199] In August Engels declared that he could not make Marx a larger allowance than £200 per annum, though he held out the hope that "if everything goes well I may be able to rustle up another £50".[200] In October Marx appealed to Dr Kugelmann for help.

> "My economic position has become so bad as a result of my long illness and the many expenses which it entailed, that I am faced with a financial crisis in the *immediate* future, a thing which, apart from the direct effects on me and my family, would also be disastrous for me politically, particularly here in London, where one must 'keep up appearances'. What I wanted to ask you was: Do you know anybody, or a few persons (in no circumstances must the matter become *public*), who could lend me about 1,000 thalers at 5 or 6 per cent interest for at least two years? I am now paying 20 to 30 per cent interest for the small sums which I borrow, but even so I cannot put off my creditors for much longer and I am therefore faced with the break-up of our household."[201]

When Dr Kugelmann suggested that if Engels were fully informed of the facts he might be able to give Marx greater financial help

Marx replied sharply: "You mistake my relations with Engels. He is my most intimate friend. I have *no secrets* from him. Had it not been for him I should long ago have been compelled to take up 'business'. Therefore in no circumstances do I want any third person to intervene with him on my account. He also obviously can only act within certain limits."[202]

Marx's failure to pay his rent was one of his most serious difficulties. On October 2, 1866 Engels sent Marx £45 for the landlord. It was characteristic of Marx's inability to handle his financial affairs that he did not know how much he owed. He thought that he owed £46 so that he still had to find £1. He borrowed this from his obliging baker Mr Whithers. But when the account came to be settled Marx discovered that it amounted to £48 15s 0d. So he called upon the baker a second time and borrowed £2 15s 0d![203]

The year 1867 opened with new financial worries. The ownership of the house which Marx rented changed hands and the new landlord asked for the prompt payment of the last quarter's rent. And as usual Marx was in debt to the butcher, the grocer, and the tax collector. Engels sent him £20 in February.[204] In the following month Marx decided that he must take the manuscript of the first volume of *Das Kapital* to his publisher in Hamburg in person. He asked Engels for enough money to redeem his clothes from the pawnbroker and to pay his fare. Engels sent Marx £30 and Jenny Marx £10.[205] In May 1867 Marx wrote to Engels from Hanover – where he was the guest of Dr Kugelmann – that he urgently needed a few hundred pounds. He dreaded returning to London where new debts were piling up. On the other hand he declared: "I confidently hope and believe that by next year I shall have enough money to undertake a radical reform of my finances so that I shall at last be able once more to stand entirely upon my own feet."[206]

Nothing came of his good resolution. Instead of economising when he returned to London Marx gave a dance for his daughters, explaining that the young ladies would lose caste with their friends if the dance were not held. He asked Engels for some hock and claret. Engels sent the wine and £10 as well.[207] Three weeks later Marx wrote to Engels that he had just spent £45 to send his daughters to Bordeaux for a holiday. In August he wrote that he would have to pay £11 taxes immediately and also £1 15s 0d interest to the pawnbroker and £4 to two "shit-grocers".[208] In October Marx declared that he must have peace "for some weeks" from his creditors and he decided to raise a loan in London. Engels reminded Marx that, in view of his contract with Godfrey Ermen, it was impossible for him to act as a guarantor of the loan.[209] But he wrote to the Atlas Insurance Company that "from confidential

information I am convinced that Mr Marx will be in a position to repay the loan when due".[210] He sent Marx £30 on November 28 for "immediate necessities".[211] In December 1867 Marx drew £150 from the insurance company but £45 of this had to be used immediately to repay a loan from Borkheim.[212]

In 1868 Marx described himself as "a poor devil who is as hard up as a church mouse".[213] He told Dr Kugelmann in March: "My circumstances are very harassing, as I have been unable to do any additional work which would bring in money, and yet certain appearances must be maintained for the children's sake."[214] At this time Marx became alarmed lest his poverty should adversely affect the marriage prospects of his daughter Laura who was engaged to Paul Lafargue. Marx was anxious to prevent Lafargue – and his family in Bordeaux – from learning of his financial difficulties. And there was the problem of providing Laura with a dowry and an adequate trousseau. Marx told Engels that he could not "send her into the world like a beggar".[215] He appealed in vain to his relations in Holland for a loan and he postponed the wedding as long as possible. But a time came when no further excuses for delay could be made and the marriage took place in April.

Engels sent Marx £150 between March and July 1868 but on July 23 Marx declared that he still needed £20 for Laura's linen and that his only hope of raising some money was to borrow once more from an insurance company.[216] In August Marx was again in urgent need of money to satisfy the landlord, the tax collector and other creditors.[217] Engels sent Marx £25 on August 21[218] and £20 on August 28 – "your landlord will have to console himself with that for the time being".[219] In the following month Engels sent £167 to repay the loan from an insurance company which had been raised the year before.[220] Marx still complained that Laura's trousseau was not complete[221] and in October Engels sent Marx £100. He was able to do this because Borkheim had agreed to wait until the following February for the settlement of an account (amounting to £72) for wines supplied to Engels, Dr Gumpert and Charles Roesgen.[222] In a letter dated October 4 Marx acknowledged the receipt of the £100 but stated that he still had debts amounting to £100.[223] Shortly afterwards Marx asked for more money, this time to pay a quarter's rent and the water rate.[224]

On November 25, 1868, Engels wrote to Marx that he would shortly be retiring from business. In his discussions with his partner Godfrey Ermen he hoped to secure a capital sum which would produce an income sufficient for both Marx and himself. Engels had already warned Marx that when he retired there would be a

drop in his income.[225] Now he asked Marx two questions. First, what did Marx owe? Secondly, could Marx live on £350 a year in future? Engels hoped to be able to allow Marx £350 per annum during the first five or six years after retirement. After that he hoped – perhaps optimistically – that Marx's income from royalties would increase. In later years Engels thought that he would be able to allow Marx only £150 per annum. Engels warned Marx – not for the first time – that when his debts had been paid he must learn to live within his income.[226] Marx replied that he was "quite knocked down" by Engels's generosity. He stated that he owed well over £200 – and not £100 as he had estimated only a few weeks before – but he assured Engels that an allowance of £350 per annum would be "quite adequate". He admitted that in recent years he had spent more than this owing to the need to pay high school fees and to entertain Lafargue whose visit had "greatly increased our expenses". "If all my debts were paid I would be able to insist upon a strict administration of our domestic finances." Marx added that his financial situation was so serious that his daughter Jenny had – without asking his permission – taken a post as a daily governess. Marx clearly felt that it would be difficult to keep up appearances in the future if one of his daughters went out to work.[227]

In 1869 Engels retired from business. The capital which he withdrew from the firm of Ermen and Engels enabled him to send Marx – in addition to a quarterly allowance of £87 10s 0d[228] – the sum of £100. Engels wrote to Marx in August 1869 that he hoped that the £100 "will cause your debts to vanish for ever".[229] The money was very welcome. A few months previously Marx had again complained of financial stringency. He had paid for his wife and two daughters to go on a holiday to Paris to see the Lafargues and he was being dunned by a gentleman from New York for a debt of £15 incurred thirteen years previously.[230] In 1870 Engels settled in London. The two friends now wrote to each other much less frequently than before and there are comparatively few references to Marx's finances in the correspondence after 1870.[231]

The responsibility of running the office of Ermen and Engels made it impossible for Engels to do as much writing as he wished. No major work from his pen appeared in the 1860s. In 1866 Marx tried to persuade Engels to have his book on *The Condition of the Working Class in England* reprinted with an appendix covering the period 1844–66. He was sure that the task could be accomplished in three months.[232] In the following year Marx told Dr Kugelmann that he believed that he had persuaded Engels to do this.[233] But Engels never brought his account of the condition of

the English workers up to date and it was not until 1892 that a second edition of his book appeared in Germany. Engels, however, wrote many articles in the 1860s for newspapers and periodicals. The most important were on military topics such as those on the English volunteer movement,[234] the Seven Weeks War,[235] and the Franco–Prussian war.[236] Among his writings on international politics three articles on the Polish question deserve mention.[237] Engels also succeeded in placing some anonymous reviews of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* in various German newspapers. He wrote one pamphlet at this time in which he offered some advice to the German Workers Party on its policy concerning the constitutional conflict in Prussia.[238] After his retirement Engels could devote more time to his studies and to his writing. In the spring of 1870 he told Marx that he had been working in Chetham's Library. "During the last few days I have again spent a good deal of time sitting at the four-sided desk in the alcove where we sat together twenty-four years ago. I am very fond of the place. The stained glass window ensures that the weather is always fine there."[239]

Despite his office duties and his work as a journalist Engels found time to do some public work in Manchester. He became chairman of the committee of the Schiller Anstalt,[240] a club which grew out of the celebrations held in 1859 to mark the 100th anniversary of Schiller's birth. Carl Siebel, a distant relative of Engels, helped to organise the festivities in the Free Trade Hall. Engels thought that the organising committee was "a crowd of jackasses"[241] and told Jenny Marx that the local "philistines" were very annoyed because he and Wilhelm Wolff "refuse to have anything to do with the Schiller celebrations".[242] But Engels relented to the extent of attending both a rehearsal of *Wallensteins Lager* and the celebrations on November 11. He declared that the failure of the first part of the programme – "a complete washout" – was retrieved by the success of the second part. And Engels enjoyed himself at a party held after the entertainment was over.[243]

The organisers had hoped to make a profit with which to start a German club but ended up with a deficit of £150.[244] Nevertheless the Schiller Anstalt was established in 1860 at Carlton Buildings in Cooper Street (the former Mechanics Institute) with Dr Louis Borchardt as chairman of the committee and Charles Hallé as one of the vice-chairmen.[245] Despite their earlier opposition to the formation of the club Engels and his friends Wilhelm Wolff and Schorlemmer joined the Schiller Anstalt and Wolff left the club £100 in his will.[246]

Engels stated that Dr Gumpert persuaded him to join the Schiller Anstalt.[247] He was certainly a member in May 1861 when

he sharply rebuked the librarian of the club for sending him a peremptory reminder that a book which he had borrowed should be returned. Engels wrote to the committee that if the club's correspondence was conducted in this way its members would never feel homesick. The receipt of such a communication – reminiscent of a letter from a German police commissioner – would make them feel that they were still in the Fatherland – that "beloved police state".[248] A year later Engels complained that the Schiller Anstalt was being overrun by Jews and had become a "Jerusalem club".[249]

Despite his earlier antipathy towards the club Engels agreed to serve on its committee in July 1864 and he was elected chairman shortly afterwards.[250] He told Marx that he had accepted the office to annoy Dr Borchardt, the previous chairman.[251] Engels was an efficient and energetic chairman under whose guidance the Schiller Anstalt made rapid progress. By 1866 it had 300 members. It had a library of 4,000 volumes and a reading room with 55 newspapers and periodicals. It had a regular programme of lectures while provision was also made for various activities such as musical recitals, choral singing and gymnastics.[252] The club became the focus of the social and cultural life of the German community in Manchester. When Ludwig Mond came to England as a young man he "found a warm welcome" at the Schiller Anstalt and made friends with Carl Pieper with whom he was later associated in business.[253]

In 1866 the lease of Carlton Buildings expired and the Schiller Anstalt faced the problem of finding a new club house. The committee decided to build rather than to lease fresh premises and in March 1866 Engels told Marx that the building appeal of the Schiller Anstalt was keeping him very busy every evening.[254] On March 19 the committee appealed to members of the German community to subscribe to a fund for this purpose. The members of the club had already raised nearly £1,200 in a few days. Engels had subscribed £20.[255] It was estimated that between £5,000 and £5,500 would be needed to carry out the committee's scheme.[256]

On June 28, 1867 the committee circularised subscribers to the building fund. The appeal had produced only £2,875 so far. Depressed trade probably accounted for the failure of the appeal to reach its target. The committee had not been able to find either a suitable plot of land to purchase or suitable premises to rent in the centre of the city. But an extension had been secured (until June 1868) of the lease of Carlton Buildings, though the rent went up from £225 to £450 per annum. In the circumstances – and in view of the rising cost of land in the city centre – the committee

recommended that the club should move to somewhere near All Saints where land was cheaper than in the business quarter of Manchester.[257]

The finding of a suitable plot of land and erection of a new building (Rylands House) involved Engels in much hard work. In March 1868 he wrote that "the accursed affair of the infernal Manchester Schiller Anstalt" had reached a crisis and that everything rested upon his shoulders. He was confident that he could "bring the matter to a successful conclusion, despite Borchardt and various other German cliques."[258] On March 29 he wrote:

> "The infernal Schiller Anstalt affair has kept me on tenterhooks all the week. Yesterday I was able to settle the business. Some blunders by my chief adjutant threw everything into the melting pot again. Had I failed I would indeed have been the laughing stock of Manchester for to be 'done' in business and to get oneself 'sold' is naturally the worst that can happen to anyone here. Now I have achieved a triumph I can retire honourably from the whole business. There are plenty of people who will now push themselves forward to take an active part in the affairs of the Schiller Anstalt."[259]

Despite his triumph Engels complained on June 24 that he was still having trouble "on account of the building of the Schiller Anstalt".[260]

Engels resigned from the committee in September 1868.[261] He told Marx that, in his absence, "the fellows on the committee of the Schiller Anstalt – instigated by the Bradford Schiller Verein – invited that swine Vogt to lecture here. Of course I resigned at once. The swine arrives tomorrow".[262] Karl Vogt had been a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly who had since been in the pay of Napoleon III. Marx had denounced Vogt in 1860 in a virulent pamphlet.[263] Although Engels resigned from the committee he remained a member of the Schiller Anstalt.[264] The committee appealed to him to resume his membership of the committee and he did so in 1870[265] when money was being raised for the relief of the German wounded in the Franco-Prussian war.[266] When Engels left Manchester in 1870 he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had played an important part in securing the removal of the Schiller Anstalt to better premises at Rylands House in Chorlton on Medlock.

A month before Engels resigned from the committee of the Schiller Anstalt an article on the club appeared in a local journal. The writer declared that "the present prosperity of the Schiller Anstalt" had been achieved only after a struggle between "the advocates of culture and the advocates of conviviality". The high-

minded founders of the Schiller Anstalt had wished "to impart a literary and artistic character to the institution" but many of the members wanted to have a purely social club. The writer of the article declared that although "the convivial party triumphed" experience had shown that "beer and culture have taken quite kindly to one another".[267]

Engels was also a member of the Albert Club and served on its committee throughout the 1860s.[268] This club had been established in 1842 in Clifford Street by a group of young Germans who were working in Manchester. In 1859 the Albert Club moved to larger premises at the junction of Oxford Road and Dover Street. The club house was described in 1869 as "a handsome and commodious building". "It stands some yards back from Oxford Street, and has a piece of garden ground, or shrubbery, in front, with a semicircular carriage drive, and two large gates for the ingress and egress of vehicles. Externally, it has more the appearance of a suburban residence of a private gentleman than of a club-house." On the ground floor there was a library, a newsroom, and a dining-room while upstairs there was a billiard room, a smoking room, a card room, a committee room and a private dining-room. A visitor declared that the smoking room was "the best room of its kind in Manchester – certainly it is much superior to any club smoke room now extant in this city." The club had 96 members in 1866 and 120 three years later. About half the members were English and half were foreigners. The German members included Engels, Godfrey Ermen, Dr Borchardt, and Dr Gumpert while Samuel Moore was one of the English members. The annual subscription was five guineas.[269] Engels retained his membership of the Albert Club after he moved to London.[270]

When Engels left Manchester he could look back with some satisfaction on the twenty years that he had spent there. He had kept his post with Ermen and Engels despite Godfrey Ermen's efforts to get rid of him. In the end he had secured his partnership. His earnings, which had grown as time went on, were sufficient to enable him to supply Marx with funds that he so urgently needed. And on retirement, though Godfrey Ermen drove a hard bargain, he secured a financial settlement which made it possible for him – at the age of 50 – to live in comfort in London as a retired gentleman. He was able to make Marx a regular allowance. Now at last he was free from the office duties that had proved so irksome and he had no further contact with the "philistines" in the Manchester cotton trade whom he detested. Now he could spend all his time in furthering the cause of Marxian socialism. Engels had never liked Manchester and he left for a pleasant

house in Regent Park Road with no regrets. From time to time he had news of the German colony in Manchester from his friends Schorlemmer and Gumpert while Charles Roesgen kept him in touch with the fortunes of Ermen and Engels. Not long after Engels settled in London Roesgen gave him an account of the fire that caused serious damage to the Bencliffe Mill at Eccles.[271] Engels had achieved the main purpose of his stay in Manchester. He had seen the appearance of the first volume of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, the work which he believed would prove once and for all the validity of the socialist philosophy.

Much of the Manchester that Engels knew so well disappeared in the hundred years that elapsed after his departure. The office in which he worked has been demolished and slum clearance operations around the University on both sides of Oxford Road has swept away many of the streets that he frequented. Ermen and Engels (later Ermen and Roby) became part of the English Sewing Cotton Company and the Manchester Cotton Exchange – once the most important in Europe – has closed its doors for ever. The Albert Club and the Schiller Anstalt have vanished. Only the words "Albert Club" on a pillar box in Oxford Road still remind us that the club once existed on the other side of the street. Happily visitors to Manchester can still see in Chetham's Library the desk in a pleasant alcove at which Marx and Engels once studied economics together.

NOTES

1 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 285.

2 Julian Harney to F. Engels, December 16, 1850 in F. G. and R. M. Black (ed.), *The Harney Papers* (1969), p. 258.

3 On February 11, 1851 Karl Marx wrote that he was living "in complete retirement". "You will appreciate how much I miss you and how I wish that I could discuss my problems with you" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 146).

4 For the firm of Ermen & Engels see articles in the *Eccles Advertiser*, February 11, 1871, the *Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal*, 1894 ("The Manufacture of Sewing Cotton"), and *The Drapers' Record*, September 18, 1897 ("New Cotton Combinations. The English Sewing Cotton Ltd"); H. E. Blyth, *Through the Eye of a Needle . . .* (1947), p. 11; A. C. G. Ermen, R.N., "Cotton and Communism" (1964: typescript) and "The Three Red Towers" (1965: typescript in Eccles Public Library); J. B. Smethurst, "Ermen & Engels" in *Marx Memorial Library Quarterly Bulletin*, January–March 1967, pp. 5–11) and "Ermen & Engels in Eccles" (typescript).

5 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 6, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 212–13.

6 6 South Gate, St Mary's, Manchester.

7 See document M7 in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam).
8 F. Engels to Emil Blank, December 3, 1850 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 27, pp. 451–2.
9 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 7, 1850 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 123.
10 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 2, 1850 (postscript by Jenny Marx) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 120.
11 On February 5, 1850 Friedrich Engels senior wrote to F. Engels: "I am indeed delighted that you would be willing to stay in Manchester. You are in the right place there. You are better placed than anyone else to represent me there" (Marx–Engels archives, Amsterdam, L. 1588).
12 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 5, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 143.
13 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 26, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 159.
14 F. Engels to K. Weydemeyer, January 23, 1852 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 33.
15 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 6, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 212–13.
16 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 8, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 258.
17 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 17, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 319–20.
18 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 2 and 18, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 328 and p. 332.
19 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 4, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 347–8.
20 Friedrich Engels senior to F. Engels, June 30, 1852 and December 20, 1853 in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), L. 1609.
21 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (two volumes, 1934), Vol. 2, pp. 12, 29, 61, 107 and 172–5.
22 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 4, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 451.
23 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 6, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 479–80.
24 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 21, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 20–1.
25 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part II, Vol. 2, p. 15.
26 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 14, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 16.
27 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 2, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 50.
28 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 30, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 224.
29 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, February 27, 1852 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 40–2.
30 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, April 12, 1853 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 53–9.
31 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 6 and 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 238 and p. 242.
32 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 16, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 339.

33 *Neue Zeit*, July 1888.
34 Werner Blumenberg, *Marx* (1962), p. 121.
35 *Drapers' Record*, September 18, 1897.
36 Captain A. C. G. Ermen, R.N., *The Three Towers* (typescript in Eccles Public Library), John Smethurst, "Ermen and Engels" in the *Marx Memorial Library Quarterly Bulletin*, No. 41, January–March 1967, pp. 5–11 and "Ermen and Engels in Eccles" (typescript). Bennet Woodcroft, *Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions* (1854: new edition 1969) recorded the granting of a patent to Godfrey Ermen on June 17, 1851 for "a method or apparatus for finishing yarns or threads".
37 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 166.
38 There is a reference to the cost of keeping the hunter "Jack" in a letter from Charles Roesgen to Friedrich Engels on October 27, 1857 (Marx–Engels archives, Amsterdam, L. 5434). See also the documents on the "Cheshire Hunt Covert Fund" in the March–Engels archives, Amsterdam, 1918).
39 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 11, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 171.
40 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 30, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 224.
41 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 241.
42 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 230.
43 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, April 27, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 468.
44 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life", in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 229.
45 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 22, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 145.
46 Jenny Marx to J. Weydemeyer, May 20, 1850 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 237–8.
47 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 6, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 125.
48 *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 227.
49 Werner Blumenberg, *Marx* (Rowohlt, 1962), pp. 115–18.
50 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 31, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 226.
51 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, August 2, 1851 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 24.
52 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, February 20, 1852, *ibid.*, p. 37.
53 *Archiv für Geschichte des Sozialismus*, Vol. 10 (1922), pp. 56–8 and Robert Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 251–2.
54 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 31 and April 2, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 179–80.
55 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 14, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 337.

56 *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 228.
57 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 6, 1855 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 87.
58 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 20, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 163.
59 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 165–6.
60 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 20, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 175.
61 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 13, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 239.
62 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 28, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 279.
63 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 15, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 327–30.
64 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 11, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 350–1.
65 The calculation has been made by the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow.
66 For example £1 on January 8, 1851; £1 on February 5, 1851; £5 on May 8, 1851 and postage stamps on April 25, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 140, 195 and 341.
67 D. Rjazanov's introduction to *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. xvii–xx.
68 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 6, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 11–12.
69 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 8, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 135.
70 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 16, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 330–2. For details of the transaction see Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 20, 1858 (*ibid.*, p. 332), July 25, 1858 (*ibid.*, pp. 332–3), August 8, 1858 (*ibid.*, p. 333).
71 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 1, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 189. On May 3 Marx replied that he would write to Daniels as requested (*ibid.*, p. 191).
72 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 23, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 208.
73 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 16, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 210.
74 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 8, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 229.
75 See K. Marx, *The Eastern Question . . . 1853–56* (edited by Eleanor Aveling and Edward Aveling, 1897).
76 K. Marx to F. Engels, June 15, 1855 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 89–90.
77 F. Engels to K. Marx, April 22, 1857 and May 28, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 185–6 and pp. 1967 and C. A. Dana to Karl Marx, June 11, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 197–8. See also *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 200–1, 217–18, 221–4, 231, 237, 267, 270, 276, 282–3, 290, 300–1, 336, 418, 419, 421.
78 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, April 12, 1857 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 184 and p. 187.

79 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 28, 1857 and Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 196 and p. 197.
80 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 14, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 202.
81 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 30, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 204–5.
82 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 242.
83 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 6, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 238.
84 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 239.
85 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 9, 1857 (Gesundheitgut) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 254.
86 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 31, 1857 ("Das bringt meine Gesundheit schon auf den Strumpf") in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 266.
87 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 8, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 284–5.
88 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 285.
89 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 11, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 287.
90 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 14, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 288.
91 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 18, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 289.
92 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 10, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 444.
93 F. Engels to V. Adler, September 25, 1892 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 53.
94 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 17 and 24, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 481–2.
95 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 7, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 484. Friedrich Engels senior died on March 20, 1860.
96 F. Engels to Charlotte Engels, December 1, 1884 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 36, pp. 247–8 and H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 99.
97 Bismarck to his sister, November 12, 1858 in Horst Kohl (ed.), *Bismarckbriefe 1836–1872* (1897), p. 168.
98 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 25, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 509.
99 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 25, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 365. See also a second letter written on the same day (*ibid.*, pp. 366–9).
100 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 3, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 370.
101 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 4, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 371.
102 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 7, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 398.
103 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 11, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 453.

104 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 17.

105 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 31, 1860 and February 4, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 458 and p. 465.

106 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 2, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 514.

107 F. Engels, *Essays addressed to Volunteers* (1861).

108 *United Services Gazette*, March 23, 1861.

109 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 22, 1859 (where the victim of Engels's assault was described as a *Schweinhund*) and October 3, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 417 and p. 421.

110 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 26, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 121.

111 The premises of the Albert Club were in Chorlton on Medlock, first at 26 Clifford Street and then at 315 Oxford Road. For Engels's election to the committee of the Albert Club see letters from the secretary dated December 29, 1859 and December 31, 1862 in the Marx–Engels archives, L. 42 (4) (5), Amsterdam. Members of the club in 1866 included Dr Gumpert, Dr Borchardt and Samuel Moore. See F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller Anstalt in Manchester" in *Marx–Engels Archiv*, ed. D. Rjazanov, Vol. 2, 1927, p. 488 (footnote) and J. A. Petch, "Dover House (315 Oxford Road). A Link with Friedrich Engels" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 72, 1962, pp. 167–9.

112 The secretary of this society in 1868 was W. Berlach whose offices were at 35 Princess Street, Manchester. See F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller Anstalt in Manchester" in *Marx–Engels Archiv*, ed. D. Rjazanov, Vol. II, 1927, p. 490 and H. Whellan & Co., *Directory of Manchester and Salford* (1853).

113 See Marx–Engels archives, M. 22 (Amsterdam).

114 See receipts (£10) for Engels's annual subscription to the Cheshire Hunt Covert Fund in the Marx–Engels archives, M. 18 (Amsterdam).

115 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 28, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 55.

116 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 4, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 176.

117 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, January 3, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 1.

118 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 13, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 148.

119 Karl Marx to F. Engels (postscript by Jenny Marx), December 2, 1850 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 120.

120 F. Engels to Elise Engels, February 13, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe* in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, pp. 582–3. He wrote: "Nothing in the world would induce me to contribute – even in the most trifling manner – to darkening the closing years of your life by taking part in a family dispute concerning the inheritance". See also F. Engels to Elise Engels, February 27, 1861 (*ibid.*, pp. 585–6). In this letter Engels wrote that "affairs with Godfrey Ermen are as good as settled".

121 Bencliffe Mill was acquired by Ermen and Engels at some time between 1852 and 1858.

122 F. Engels to K. Marx, April 8, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 477.

123 Jenny Marx in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 226.
124 F. Engels to Emil Engels, April 11, 1860 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, p. 528.
125 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 7, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 484.
126 The contract between Godfrey Ermen and Friedrich Engels of September 25, 1862 is preserved in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston. A draft of the contract (in German), lacking three paragraphs, is preserved in the Marx–Engels archives, H. 11 in Amsterdam. See also F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 10, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 485.
127 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 3, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 524.
128 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 26, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 121.
129 W. O. Henderson, *The Cotton Famine, 1861–65* (Manchester University Press, second edition 1969), pp. 107–8.
130 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 17, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 111.
131 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 24, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 134.
132 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 5, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 57–8.
133 F. Engels to Karl Marx, early September 1862 and September 9, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 99–110.
134 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 5, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 107.
135 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 26, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 121–2.
136 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 9, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 201.
137 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 2, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 194.
138 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 12, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 260.
139 Engels wrote to his brother Hermann on May 24, 1864 that "Godfrey Ermen would be able to repudiate our contract if the £10,000 which I have promised to invest were short by a single penny" (*Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, p. 663).
140 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 5, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 183.
141 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 2, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 186. The "Articles of Agreement" between Godfrey Ermen and Friedrich Engels (June 30, 1864) are in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston.
142 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 2, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 186.
143 *Eccles Advertiser*, February 11, 1871.
144 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 4, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 292–3.
145 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 431.
146 F. Engels to Hermann Engels, April 6, 1866 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, p. 511.

147 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 386.
148 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 16, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 393.
149 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 432.
150 F. Engels to Hermann Engels, November 27, 1867 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, p. 571.
151 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 18, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 94.
152 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 23, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 129.
153 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 29, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 130–1.
154 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 25, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 150.
155 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 29, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 153.
156 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2, p. 172.
157 The agreements of June 24 and August 10, 1869 concerning the winding up of the Ermen–Engels partnership of 1864 are in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston. For the last stages of the negotiations between Godfrey Ermen and Engels see F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 25, July 30, August 12, December 9 and December 16, *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 210, 215, 221, 256 and 261.
158 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 9, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 256.
159 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 1, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 198.
160 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2, p. 173.
161 Friedrich Engels to Jenny Marx (Marx's daughter), July 9, 1869 in E. Bottigelli, "Sieben unveröffentliche Dokumente von Friedrich Engels" (*Friedrich Engels 1820–1970*: Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971, p. 320).
162 Eleanor Marx's essay on Engels in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsshrift*, November 30, 1890: English translation in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 185–6.
163 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 3, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 199.
164 F. Engels to Godfrey Ermen, June 1, 1874 in M. Jenkins, *Friedrich Engels in Manchester* (1951). The letter is preserved in the Lancashire Record Office at Preston.
165 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 28, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 173.
166 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 42. Later he wrote to Kugelmann that "certain appearances must be maintained for the children's sake". (*Ibid.*, p. 64).
167 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, March 17, 1868 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 65.
168 Arnold Künzli, Karl Marx, *Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 254.
169 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 10, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 102.

170 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, December 28, 1862 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 24.
171 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 42.
172 Jenny Marx in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 228.
173 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 9, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 48.
174 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 3, 1862 and April 28, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 56 and p. 62.
175 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 18, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 77.
176 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 30, 1862 and August 7, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 82 and p. 91.
177 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 14, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 108.
178 Jenny Marx in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 229.
179 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 7, 1863 (death of Mary Burns), Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 8, 1863 (Marx's reply), F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 13, 1863 (Engels's rebuke to Marx), K. Marx to F. Engels, January 24, 1863 (Marx's apology), F. Engels to Karl Marx, 1863 (reconciliation), Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 28, 1863 (further apologies from Marx) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 117–22.
180 Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer, March 11, 1861 in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 261.
181 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 24, 1863; Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 6, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 147–8.
182 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 2, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 157–8.
183 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 3, 1863; Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 4 and 22, 1863; F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 3, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 158–63.
184 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 22, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 160.
185 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 2, 1864; Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 23, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 171.
186 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 11, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 252 (Marx received £824 14s 9d).
187 W. Blumenberg, *Marx* (1962), p. 114; A. Künzli, *Karl Marx . . .* (1966), p. 255.
188 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 182.
189 There is no evidence to support the assertion by R. Payne in *Marx* (1968) that Marx was "becoming a passably rich man as the result of these dubious speculations" (p. 353).
190 Jenny Marx in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 233.
191 Renamed Maitland Park Road in 1868.
192 Jenny Marx in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 233.
193 Jenny Marx, "Kurze Umrisse eines bewegten Lebens" in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 232.
194 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 31 and August 5, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 278 and p. 281.

195 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 19 and 22, 1865; F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 288–91.
196 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 8 and 15, 1865; F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 13, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 293–4.
197 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 20, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 296.
198 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 26, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 299.
199 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 14, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 309.
200 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 356.
201 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 42.
202 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 25, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 44.
203 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 26, October 1 and 3, 1866; F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 2, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 358–61.
204 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 10, February 21 and February 25, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 373–6.
205 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 27 and April 24, 1867; F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 4 and 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 378–85.
206 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 388–9.
207 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 22 and 27, 1867; F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 24 and 26, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 395–403.
208 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 14, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 406–7. In this letter Marx acknowledged that Engels had sent him "very large sums of money" in 1867.
209 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 4, 1867; F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 429–31.
210 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 28, 167; F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 4, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 452 and p. 458. The medical examination in connection with the loan appears to have been somewhat perfunctory: see Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 7, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 459.
211 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 28, 1867; Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 29, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 453–4.
212 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 14, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 463.
213 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 8, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 8.
214 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, March 6, 1868 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 64.
215 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 15, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 22.
216 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 23, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 76.
217 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 13, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 83.

218 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 21, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 85.
219 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 28, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 87.
220 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 9, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 89.
221 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 16 and 19, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 93 and p. 95.
222 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 2, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 105.
223 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 4, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 107.
224 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 15 and 24, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 113 and p. 118
225 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 386.
226 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 25, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 130–1.
227 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 30, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 131.
228 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 25 and March 28, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 157 and p. 173.
229 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 3, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 217.
230 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 21, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 193.
231 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 11, 1870; Jenny Marx to F. Engels, September 13, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 324 and p. 384.
232 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 305–6.
233 On July 13, 1867 Marx wrote to Dr Kugelmann that he hoped "to induce Engels to write and publish the second volume from 1845 down to the present day. I have finally succeeded to the extent of obtaining a promise that he will set about it" (Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 48).
234 Published in the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire* in 1860–1.
235 Published in the *Manchester Guardian*, June 20 to July 6, 1866.
236 Published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1870–1.
237 Published in *The Commonwealth* in 1867.
238 F. Engels, *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (1865).
239 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 15, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 328.
240 F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester" in the *Marx–Engels Archiv* (edited by D. Rjazanov), Vol. 2, 1927, pp. 483–93; W. Blumenberg, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester" in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History* (Amsterdam), Vol. 5, 1950; and an anonymous article in *The Sphinx* (Manchester), August 29, 1868, p. 48.
241 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 4, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 430.

242 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, November 5, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 432–3.
243 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 17, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 435. A copy of the programme of the Schiller Festival in Manchester (November 11, 1859) is preserved in the public library at Wuppertal. The prologue was written by Alfred Meissner, the festive stanzas by E. Slomans, and the epilogue by Carl Siebel.
244 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 17, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 434.
245 The premises were leased to eight years at a rent of £225 per annum. A copy of the statutes of the Schiller Anstalt (1860) is preserved in the Manchester Central Reference Library.
246 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 6 and 11, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 249 and p. 252.
247 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 19, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 31.
248 V. Stoessel (librarian of the Schiller Anstalt) to F. Engels, May 2, 1861 in F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester" (in *Marx–Engels Archiv*, edited by D. Rjazanov, Vol. 2, 1927) and F. Engels to the committee of the Schiller Anstalt, May 23, 1861 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, pp. 596–8.
249 F. Engels to Carl Siebel, June 4, 1862 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, pp. 624–5. This letter was first published in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, October 16, 1920.
250 A. Burkhard (acting secretary of the Schiller Anstalt) to F. Engels, July 8, 1864 in the Marx–Engels archives, L. 858 (Amsterdam).
251 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 200.
252 Circular of the Schiller Anstalt (Manchester, March 19, 1866) signed by F. Engels (chairman), J. G. Wehner (treasurer) and A. Burkhard (secretary).
253 J. M. Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond* (1956), p. 73.
254 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 5, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 312.
255 Schiller Anstalt correspondence in Marx–Engels archives, M. 17 (Amsterdam).
256 Circular of the Schiller Anstalt (Manchester, March 19, 1866).
257 Circular of the Schiller Anstalt to subscribers to the Building Fund (Manchester, June 28, 1867). The circular was signed by F. Engels (chairman), J. G. Wehner (treasurer), and A. Davisson (secretary).
258 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 19, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 31.
259 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 29, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 35.
260 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 24, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 64.
261 For Engels's letter of resignation (September 16, 1868) see W. Blumenberg, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester" (in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam*, Vol. 5, 1950).
262 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 16 and 30, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 91 and p. 104.
263 Karl Marx, *Herr Vogt* (1860); reprinted in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 14, p. 381.

264 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 12, 1869 and August 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 221 and p. 363.

265 On April 28, 1870 A. Davisson wrote to F. Engels: "I have the honour to inform you that at the election held today you were elected a member of the committee for the business year 1870–1" (F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester", *Marx–Engels Archiv*, ed. D. Rjazanov, Vol. 2, 1927).

266 Engels subscribed £5 a month to this fund: see J. G. Wehner to F. Engels, August 3, 1870 (receipt for £5) in the Marx–Engels archives, M. 22 (Amsterdam).

267 Anonymous article on "The Schiller Anstalt" in *The Sphinx* (Manchester), August 29, 1868, p. 48.

268 See letters from the secretary of the Albert Club to F. Engels, December 29, 1859 and December 31, 1862 in the Marx–Engels archives, L. 42 (4) (Amsterdam). See also J. A. Petch, "Dover House (315 Oxford Road). A Link with Friedrich Engels" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 72, 1962, pp. 167–9 and an anonymous article in *The Sphinx* (Manchester), May 1, 1869, p. 43. There is a brief reference to the Albert Club in F. P. Schiller, "Friedrich Engels und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester" in the *Marx–Engels Archiv* (edited by D. Rjazanov), Vol. 2, 1927, p. 488 (footnote).

269 Anonymous article on "The Clubs of Manchester. The Albert" in *The Sphinx* (Manchester), May 1, 1869, p. 43.

270 See, for example, P. Ziegler to F. Engels, January 23, 1873 (acknowledging the receipt of Engels's annual subscription) and February 19, 1874 in the Marx–Engels archives, L. 6477 (Amsterdam).

271 Charles Roesgen to F. Engels, February 12, 1871. For Roesgen's letters to Engels see the Marx–Engels archives, L. 5423 to 5447 (Amsterdam). The fire is described in an article in the *Eccles Advertiser*, February 11, 1871.

5

FRIENDS IN EXILE

I. Wilhelm Wolff[1]

Karl Marx dedicated the first volume of *Das Kapital* "to the memory of my very dear friend Wilhelm Wolff, bold and faithful champion of the proletarian cause". Jenny Marx recalled her first meeting with "our dear Wilhelm Wolff" in Brussels in 1846 and declared that this was the beginning of "a close bond of friendship which ended only with the death of our dear Lupus in May 1864".[2] Engels wrote that when Wolff died "Marx and I mourned our most trusted companion while the revolutionary cause in Germany lost a valued fighter who could never be replaced."[3]

In a sketch of Wolff's career Engels mentioned that "for several years Wolff was my only friend in Manchester who shared my political views". "It is not surprising that we met nearly every day and that I had many opportunities of admiring his judgment on current affairs – which was almost instinctively correct." Engels and Wolff discussed the good old days when they fought for their ideals shoulder to shoulder with Marx in Brussels, London and Cologne. Their working days were now spent in the society of middle class "philistines" but in their leisure hours they could dream of a bright new world in which there would be no place for Manchester cotton lords. Before he sank into obscurity in Manchester Wilhelm Wolff had been a revolutionary journalist and communist agitator. As a champion of the oppressed peasants and handloom weavers of his native Silesia, as a leading member of the Communist League, and as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* he had earned the hatred of the Prussian authorities.

Wilhelm Wolff was born in the Silesian village of Tarnau (Kreis Schweidnitz)[4] on June 21, 1809. His father was a smallholder and a carpenter and – since feudal obligations survived in Silesia at this time – he had to work on the manor farm in the summer and to help with the threshing of his landlord's corn in the winter. A small wage was paid for these services. Since members of a peasant's family generally had to work on their lord's estate Wolff as a child performed feudal services for the Countess of Fürstenberg. His

personal experience of life in Tarnau enabled him in later years to write about the grievances of the Silesian peasants with unrivalled authority. It was far from easy in those days for the son of a peasant in Silesia to break away from the social class in which he was born. But his teachers recognised his academic abilities and his parents gave him what help they could so that he was able to attend the grammar school at Schweidnitz and later the University of Breslau where he read classics. He earned money by coaching to enable him to continue his studies.

In December 1831, when he had been at the University for two years, Wilhelm Wolff joined the students' association. The revolution in France of 1830 had generated a revival of liberal agitation in Germany which culminated in a great open air demonstration at Hambach in 1832 (to demand more freedom for the press) and an abortive attempt to seize the guard house at Frankfurt in 1833. There was a revival of students associations which had been forbidden by the Carlsbad Decrees. At the beginning of the winter term of 1832 Wilhelm Wolff was elected to the post of first secretary of the Breslau students association and he played an active part in recruiting new members. Moritz Elsner, one of his friends, later recalled that Wolff, though not a duelling man or a drinking man, was popular among the students and had a considerable influence over them. He was the leading spirit in a small left-wing group – always a minority of the student body as a whole – which was engaged in political discussions. It was due largely to Wolff's efforts that the radical ideas current in the Universities of south west Germany were brought to Breslau. Wolff's friends now established themselves as a separate group within the students' association. They discussed such problems as the future of Poland, the need for a Prussian constitution, and the social question. In May 1833 – immediately after the attack on the Frankfurt guard house – the Prussian authorities took stern measures to suppress student unrest and in some universities arrests were made. This led to the dissolution of the radical group in Breslau. Wolff left the University early in 1834 and took a post in Striegau as a private tutor to earn money to continue his studies.

A senior legal official named Koch was sent to Breslau to investigate the political activities of the students. He soon realised that Wolff had been a leading figure in the students association. Wolff was brought to Breslau in July 1834 for questioning and he was subsequently arrested. It was not until March 1835 that he was charged not only with being a member of a students' association but also with *lèse-majesté*. His defence was that the students' association had been engaged only in academic and social – and not in political

– activities and that nothing that he had said or written amounted to *lèse-majesté*. Wolff was found guilty and sentenced to six years imprisonment for being a member of a students' association and to two years for *lèse-majesté*. The first sentence was reduced to one year but the second sentence had to be served in full. Including the time spent in goal before his trial Wolff was in prison for four years. The sentence was served in the fortress of Silberberg where many other political prisoners – including the poet Fritz Reuter – were incarcerated.

Wolff was released at the end of July 1838. His health had suffered owing to the rigours of his imprisonment. It was now very difficult for him to make a living since his sentence barred him from public employment or from completing his University studies. He could not even teach as a private tutor without securing a licence from the authorities. Wolff was fortunately able to obtain a post as a tutor in the household of the Polish patriot Count Titus Dzialynski whose estates lay at Kurnik in the province of Posen. Dzialynski had taken an active part in the Polish rising of 1830–1 and his estates had been confiscated. Some years elapsed before he was allowed to resume possession of his estates. He was glad to employ Wolff who had suffered so much at the hands of the Prussian authorities. Dzialynski was a scholar, engaged upon the compilation of a collection of old Lithuanian laws (1330–1529) and it is possible that Wolff assisted his patron in editing these documents. Since Wolff lived in Posen for two years he had ample opportunities of seeing how the local peasants, farm labourers and craftsmen lived. Their lot was no better than those of the workers in Silesia.

In the summer of 1840 Wolff returned to Silesia. If he hoped that Frederick William IV's accession would be followed by a relaxation of the supervision which the police exercised over him he was to be disappointed. He secured a post in Ratibor in the household of a merchant and as he had no teaching licence he was nominally a house-guest and not a tutor. Wolff wrote some articles for the *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* at this time. As he was closely watched by the authorities his contributions were anonymous and consequently it has been difficult for historians to identify them. He returned to politics by taking part in a controversy concerning the hymns sung in Protestant churches in Silesia. Some of the traditional hymns, written in an age when the Pietists exercised great influence, were now regarded by progressive churchmen as highly unsuitable for modern services. The issue, of little importance in itself, focused attention upon the conflict within the Church between the conservative supporters of traditional Pietism and the supporters of a liberal

wind of change in Church affairs. Wolff attacked the extreme Pietists for the same reason that Engels criticised Dr Krummacher of Elberfeld–Barmen.

Wilhelm Wolff's contribution to the controversy was to hold the Pietists up to ridicule by printing a verse which he claimed to have found in an old hymnbook:

Ich bin ein echtes Rabenaas
ein wahres Sündenknüppel
der seine Sünden in sich frass
so wie der Rost die Zwibbel
Herr Jesu, nimm mich Hund beim Ohr
wirf mir den Gnadenknochen vor
und schmeiss mich Sündenlümmel
in deinen Gnadenhimmel.

Engels declared that the verse "spread like wildfire throughout the country to the amusement of the godless and the fury of the godly".[5]

At the end of 1842 Wilhelm Wolff left Ratibor for Striegau and by the middle of 1843 he was back in Breslau. Here he again made contact with left wing students – he met Ferdinand Lassalle who was an undergraduate at this time[6] – but on the whole he devoted himself to journalism rather than to political activities. Breslau had changed since Wolff's student days. The building of railways was turning Breslau from a sleepy provincial capital into a bustling commercial centre of a region that was passing through the early stages of an industrial revolution. The Silesian workers were facing the problems of long hours, low wages, harsh factory discipline and poor housing. Factories were driving village craftsmen out of business. Silesia, however, had its own special problems. The old established linen industry had failed to revive after the Napoleonic wars and was still declining owing to its inability to meet foreign competition. The relations between the owners of mines and factories and their workers was complicated by the fact that – at any rate in Upper Silesia – most of the employers were Germans while most of the workers were Poles. National differences aggravated disputes between management and men. Feudal services and dues survived in the country districts of Silesia. The growth of industrial towns would in any case have made it difficult for village craftsmen – weavers and millers for example – to survive in the surrounding country districts. But many smallholders and peasants were still liable to render services and to make ancient feudal payments to the lord of the manor and this greatly aggravated the situation. Moreover the feudal lords in Silesia still controlled the local law

courts which dealt with minor offences and also the police in the villages. Peasants who indulged in poaching or stealing wood received no mercy at the hands of their landlords. The grievances of peasants and craftsmen were therefore as serious as those of the miners and the factory workers.

It was no easy matter for a political journalist with pronounced radical views to survive in Breslau in the early 1840s especially if he had already served a sentence for *lèse-majesté*. Wolff had to contend with a censor who would refuse to permit any criticism of the government to be published and the editor of the papers to which he contributed could see from the fate of the *Rheinische Zeitung* what happened to those who defied the censor. Wolff survived for a couple of years by devoting himself to descriptive writing. He gave vivid accounts of housing conditions in Breslau and the rising of the weavers in 1844 and he let the facts speak for themselves. The threat of censorship forced him to be circumspect in making comments that might be regarded as attacks upon established institutions. Sometimes he was able to write more freely when he contributed to newspapers outside Prussia – even outside Germany – where press censorship was less vigorously enforced.

Wolff's articles on the housing of the workers in Breslau and on the miserable condition of the Silesian weavers made him known far beyond the borders of his native province. In November 1843 he gave a vivid description of the appalling conditions prevailing in a Breslau municipal reception centre for the temporary accommodation of homeless persons. The wretched inmates lived in squalid dilapidated overcrowded rooms which had once been used as a prison. They lacked adequate food and fuel. The article created a sensation and its author became known as "Kasematten Wolff" since the premises which he had described were called "Kasematten".[7] Treitschke has observed that Wolff's description of the sufferings of the homeless in Breslau gave the Germans a salutary shock. They realised that there was just as serious a housing problem in German towns as in English or French manufacturing regions.[8] Only a few weeks after it had published the "Kasematten" article the *Breslau Zeitung* declared that "our attention has suddenly been called to the problem of the condition of the proletariat. We lived quietly and peacefully, amusing ourselves at theatres, concerts and dances but now poverty has reared its ugly head." "And all at once our consciences have been pricked and we are visiting the lodgings of the poor and we are subscribing to funds to alleviate distress."[9] Moreover Wolff's description of the lodgings of the homeless in Breslau gave an impetus to further revelations not only of the housing condition of the urban workers[10] but also of the

grievances of the peasants and the weavers in the country districts of Silesia.

In June 1844 there were two days of disturbances among the handloom weavers in the Silesian villages of Peterswaldau and Langenbielau. The premises of the firms of Zwanziger and Dierig were destroyed. The rising was quickly put down by troops and some 80 arrests were made. The affair might well have been forgotten as a minor incident in a distant province. But it proved to be the signal for industrial unrest in Breslau, Magdeburg, Berlin and elsewhere. Germans began to realise that they too would have to face the social problems which had led to the rising of the workers in Lyons in the 1830s and in Lancashire in 1842. Wilhelm Wolff played an important part in bringing home to the German people the full significance of the disturbances in Silesia. He visited various mountain villages in the textile regions to examine the causes of the affair on the spot. His article on "The Distress and the Rising of the Silesian Weavers" appeared in Püttmann's *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*.

In this essay Wolff described the wretched situation of the peasant weavers of his native province. He wrote:

> "I have often met these poor hungry frozen wretches trudging many miles in the most horrible weather to bring a finished piece of cloth to the merchant. At home his wife and children awaited his return. A single bowl of potato soup had been their only meal in a day and a half. The weaver was taken aback at the price which he had been offered for weaving the cloth. But the merchant was quite adamant and even the clerks and apprentices in the office adopted a shamefully hardhearted attitude towards the poor weaver. He took what was offered and went home in despair. Frequently he was paid in gold at the rate of three silver Thalers and six groschen for one gold ducat but when he changed his ducats into silver money he obtained only two Thalers and 28 groschen or even less. Other merchants had introduced the English truck system. The weavers were paid in kind and not in cash. Since most of the weavers were in debt to their employer they had to accept goods at the price fixed by the merchant. So the merchants had the weavers in a cleft stick. If a weaver protested against this treatment the merchant simply blamed the poor state of trade."

Wolff gave an account of the events in Peterswaldau and Langenbielau which was very different from the official version put out by the Prussian authorities. And he showed that the disturbances were due not merely to local circumstances but to deep-rooted injustices inherent in a rural society dominated by feudal overlords and capitalist merchants. The events in Silesia had not been brought

about simply by low wages or a shortage of food. They heralded the appearance on the German scene of the proletariat as a political force.[11]

Wolff's articles on the housing of the poor and the weavers' rising brought him into the limelight and by the second half of 1844 he was contributing to *Vorwärts*, the organ of left wing German exiles in Paris with which Marx was closely associated. In this paper and in the *Schlesische Chronik* he attacked the Prussian junkers and Prussian militarism with his accustomed vigour. It was obviously only a question of time before the authorities would take action to silence so dangerous a critic of the régime. Criminal proceedings were initiated against Wolff in the autumn of 1845 and he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment early in the following year. He fled to Breslau to avoid arrest and made his way to London where he was soon in touch with members of the German Workers' Education Society and the League of the Just. In April 1846 he settled in Brussels.

Engels later recalled his first meeting with Wolff. He wrote:

> "If I remember rightly it was towards the end of April 1846 – when Marx and I were living in a suburb of Brussels and were collaborating in writing a book (*The German Ideology*) – that we were told that a gentleman from Germany wished to see us. We found ourselves in the presence of a small but sturdily built man. He impressed us as a kindly man of quiet determination. His figure was that of an East German peasant, and he wore the sort of clothes that one would expect to see in a little market town in East Germany. This was Wilhelm Wolff. He had infringed the press laws and had escaped from the Prussian authorities who would have put him in prison. When we first saw him we did not realise what an exceptional character lay behind so modest an exterior. But within a few days Marx and I had formed a close friendship with this new colleague in exile and we realised that we were dealing with no ordinary mortal. He soon revealed his intellectual powers – sharpened by studying classics – his fund of humour, his firm grasp of difficult theoretical problems, his burning hatred of all the oppressors of the proletariat, and his quiet but energetic character. Marx, Wolff and I worked together in friendly collaboration for several years. We stood shoulder to shoulder in times of strife; we were united in victory and defeat; we were together in good times and in bad. And only then did we really appreciate the full extent of Wolff's immense strength of character, his complete reliability – of which there could be no shadow of doubt whatever – and the powerful sense of duty and responsibility towards friend and foe, and towards himself."[12]

In Brussels Wilhelm Wolff found employment in Sebastian Seiler's press bureau which supplied German newspapers with

foreign news. Wolff contributed to left-wing journals such as the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*[13] and the *Westphälisches Dampfboot*.[14] He was associated with the Brussels Correspondence Committee through which Marx and Engels kept in touch with communist groups throughout western Europe. Wolff visited London with Engels in the summer of 1847 to attend the first congress of the Communist League. Wolff represented the Brussels and Engels the Paris workers. At the end of August 1847 a German Workers Association was established in Brussels and Wilhelm Wolff became its secretary. He was one of the Association's most popular lecturers on current affairs at its weekly meetings. Wolff was also a member of an international Democratic Association which was set up in Brussels in November 1847.[15]

Revolution broke out in Brussels in February 1848 but within a few days government troops were in control of the city. Wilhelm Wolff was arrested and harshly treated by the police before being expelled from Belgium.[16] He joined several socialist colleagues in Paris where he sat on the executive committee of the Communist League and signed the document which set forth the League's immediate objectives in Germany.[17]

When the revolution spread to Germany in March 1848 Wilhelm Wolff returned to Silesia by way of Mainz, Cologne and Berlin. In a report to the League of April 18, 1848 he declared that he had seen few signs of activity on the part of the League's supporters. In Cologne the League was moribund. In Berlin all that Wolff could do was to persuade Hätzel to try to revive interest in communism.[18] In Breslau the local communist organisation was defunct.[19] Wilhelm Wolff endeavoured to rally the communist supporters in Breslau and he toured the neighbouring country districts to campaign on behalf of radical candidates seeking election to the Frankfurt National Assembly. He was himself a candidate in Breslau but he was only elected as a "substitute member". This meant that he could take his seat only if the representative for Breslau was absent from the National Assembly.[20] Engels subsequently declared that Wolff's mission to Breslau had been "highly successful".[21]

When Marx and Engels established the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne Wilhelm Wolff joined them and became an editor of the paper. He was now aged 39 and he was one of the most senior members of the editorial board. He was a conscientious editor and if any colleagues were absent they were sure that "Lupus would see that the paper went punctually to press". At this time Wolff gave weekly lectures on current affairs to the local Democratic Society. Friedrich Lessner later recalled that when he joined this

society he "got to know Wilhelm Wolff who often gave talks on current political events. It was a real pleasure to hear that man speak. His vigorous, humorous way of giving a political survey was admired by everybody: he could group even the better known and less exciting events so skilfully and deal with a matter seriously or satirically according to its nature."[22] On September 14, 1848 Wolff and Engels addressed a public meeting in the Frankenplatz to protest against the declaration of a state of siege and the suspension of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[23]

When legal proceedings were initiated against the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Wilhelm Wolff went to the Palatinate but soon returned to Cologne and resumed his duties on the paper. He secured lodgings near his office and seldom appeared on the streets for fear of being arrested. The most important articles which he wrote were those on *Die Schlesische Milliarde* (March 22–April 25, 1849). Once more he attacked the great landowners of Silesia who still refused to surrender their feudal privileges.[24]

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed on May 19, 1849 and since the editors were threatened with legal proceedings they all left Cologne. Wilhelm Wolff went to Frankfurt where, in the absence of the representative from Breslau, he addressed the Assembly as a "substitute member". He charged the Assembly – and the Reichsverweser – with cowardice in the face of mounting reaction. His words fell upon deaf ears. Wolff joined the rump of the assembly which moved to Stuttgart. But Württemberg troops dispersed the assembly and Germany's first elected parliament came to an end.

Wolff went into exile again – first to Zürich and then (in June 1851) to London where he joined Marx and Engels.[25] He had difficulty in earning a living. Weerth tried to secure a post for him as an agent for a German firm but without success[26] and Engels asked Dr John Watts if he could find Wolff some employment in Manchester.[27] Wolff was offered the post of editor of the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*[28] but he decided to stay in England. In March 1853 Marx wrote that "Lupus (Wolff) grows older from day to day and becomes more crotchety",[29] and later in the same year Wolff described his situation as one of "dreadful distress".[30] Eventually Dr Borchardt, a German doctor living in Manchester who had known Wolff in Breslau, offered to find pupils for him if he came to Manchester as a teacher of languages. Borchardt sent Wolff £10 for his travelling expenses.[31] Wolff's departure from London in September 1853 was marred by a childish squabble with Marx over a book which Marx had borrowed from him and failed to return. Marx wrote to Engels that Wolff was a senile old fool soaked in

gin[32] and it was some months before Engels was able to effect a reconciliation between Marx and Wilhelm Wolff.[33]

From 1854 until his death ten years later Wilhelm Wolff lived in Manchester. He did not return to journalism and he did not resume his political activities. The fiery revolutionary who had defied the Prussian authorities in Breslau and Cologne became an obscure tutor living in Chorlton on Medlock and presiding over harmless social gatherings at the Chatsworth Inn frequented by German clerks working in Manchester offices.[34] In a letter to Marx in 1854 Engels mentioned that Wolff sometimes drank more than was good for him. On one occasion he emerged from a public house late at night and became involved in a brawl in which he lost his money and his watch. In February 1858, however, Engels wrote that Wolff was "trying to retire from drinking".[35]

By 1859 Wilhelm Wolff – according to Marx – was "fairly well off". He stayed with Marx in 1861 and his host declared that "in spite of his gout the old fellow looks quite young".[36] At this time Jenny Marx described Wilhelm Wolff as "the same old fellow we used to know". "He is highly respected in Manchester, and the chief opponent of this confirmed bachelor is now his landlady who sometimes keeps him short of tea, sugar or coal."[37] In that year Marx and Lassalle discussed the possibility of founding a new left-wing journal in Germany and Marx suggested that Wilhelm Wolff should be one of the editors. But nothing came of this project.

Only visits from Engels and letters from Weerth and other old friends reminded Wolff of the stirring days of the revolution of 1848. But he had not been forgotten on the Continent and when he went to France on holiday in August 1857 he was kept under constant surveillance by the police. There was an echo from the past in 1863 when Wolff came across a copy of Fritz Reuter's *Ut mine Festungstid*.[38] Through the publisher, Wolff got in touch with the poet. Reuter at once sent his cordial greetings to his former companion in Silberberg prison.[39]

Wilhelm Wolff fell ill early in 1864. Marx came to Manchester to see his old friend for the last time. Wolff died on May 9.[40] Marx and Engels attended the funeral. Freiligrath was unable to do so.[41] In a letter to his wife Marx mentioned that he had paid a tribute to his old friend at the graveside. "I do not think that anyone in Manchester was held in such universal esteem as our poor little fellow."[42] Wolff's estate amounted to £1,370. After bequests of £100 each had been made to Engels, Borchardt and the Manchester Schiller Anstalt, the residue of £818 16s 11d was left to Karl Marx.[43]

II. Georg Weerth[44]

Shortly after settling in Manchester in 1851 Engels wrote to his friend Weydemeyer that "so long as Weerth is in Bradford, we have established a regular switchback service between the two cities, since the journey by rail takes only two and a half hours".[45] For a brief period in 1851–2, before Wilhelm Wolff settled in Manchester, Weerth was the only friend of Engels who lived fairly near at hand. He was in Bradford for much of the time between the middle of August 1851 and October 1852 and he lodged with Engels in Manchester for a week or two before leaving for the West Indies in November 1852. Engels and Weerth had known each other since the 1840s when Engels had worked as a clerk in Manchester and Weerth had held a similar post in Bradford. Together they had studied the condition of the English workers. Weerth had been a close friend and a strong supporter of Marx and Engels in the days of the Brussels Correspondence Committee, the Communist League, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Engels held him in high regard as "the first and most important poet of the German proletariat".[46]

Georg Weerth was born in 1822 at Detmold. He was the third son of Pastor Ferdinand Weerth, the General Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in the Principality of Lippe. The Weerth and Freiligrath families were close neighbours and Georg Weerth's earliest contact with radical ideas may have been through Ferdinand Freiligrath, the revolutionary poet. It was a curious coincidence that the sleepy little town of Detmold should have provided the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* with its two literary editors.

After attending the local grammar school Weerth embarked upon a business career at the age of fourteen. His first post was in Elberfeld with the textile firm of J. H. Brink and Co. Four years later, in 1840, he moved to Cologne where he served for a year in the offices of Count Meinertshagen. Early in 1841 he went to Bonn to serve as a clerk in the firm of Friedrich aus'm Weerth who was his father's cousin. He was able to attend some lectures at the University of Bonn as a visiting student.[47] In some humorous sketches of office life, written in 1845–8, Friedrich aus'm Weerth appeared as "Herr Preiss" who was depicted as a thoroughly unscrupulous and hypocritical merchant whose life was devoted to making money. All Georg Weerth's disgust with the world of commerce in which he felt himself trapped were expressed in his attacks upon the unsavoury character of Herr Preiss. In a letter to Marx the author declared that "old Weerth" would wring his neck if he found out

that he was the merchant depicted as Herr Preiss.[48] In the summer of 1843 Georg Weerth gave up his post in Bonn owing to "a foolish indiscretion"[49] and he was fortunate, later in the year,[50] to secure an appointment as a clerk at £120 a year with the firm of Philip Passavant and Co. of Bradford.[51] He worked in Bradford from December 1843 to April 1846.[52]

Weerth took an instant dislike to Bradford and to its more prosperous inhabitants. He described Bradford as "the most disgusting manufacturing town in England"[53] – "dirty, foggy, smoky and cold".[54] "Every other English industrial centre is a paradise when compared with this filthy hole." "There can be no doubt whatever that here in Bradford one is living in the very home of Lucifer himself."[55] Bradford might have a larger population than Cologne but it had "no theatre, no social life, no decent hotel, no reading room, and no civilised human beings – only Yorkshiremen in torn frock coats, shabby hats and gloomy faces".[56] The English were a "cold hypocritical race" of "barbaric money grubbers".[57] "From the prime minister to the humblest shopkeeper the English behave in a shameful manner behind the mask of religion."[58] Weerth was envious of the rich. He denounced George Cheetham whose "enormous wealth has been amassed by ruining many thousands of his workers".[59] When the head of the firm for which he worked – an old gentleman from whom he had received many kindnesses – retired to Greenhill Hall at Bingley he wrote: "These old merchants live a good life. Let's hope that we can soon kick them all out of their fine mansions. I cannot bear to think of anybody enjoying an unfair share of the good things of life."[60]

Before long Georg Weerth told his mother that he was "completely absorbed in politics and socialism".[61] His conversion to socialism was due to Engels's influence, to envy of the rich, to sympathy for the factory workers, and to his study of economics.[62] His acceptance of Marxist doctrines can be seen from his observation that "the political history of a country is directly associated with its economic development. All too often political events stem directly from economic changes. What may appear at first sight to be a sudden unexpected event is nearly always the result of a slow process of development over a long period of years".[63] Just as Engels studied the way in which the Manchester cotton operatives worked and lived so Weerth examined the condition of the Bradford workers. His accounts of the working class and the poor law in *Sketches of British Social and Political Life* show how carefully Weerth studied the social question in England.[64] His friend Dr John Little McMichan – a Scottish surgeon practising in the working class district of Bradford – showed him round local slums, hospitals,

prisons and workhouses. On one occasion Weerth was present when applicants for poor relief were being interviewed.[65] What he saw in Bradford led Weerth to "cherish and respect" the English workers because they were "intelligent and energetic men". He detested "the monied classes" who treated the workers "like beasts of burden – like merchandise – like machines". The workers had become the "outcasts of modern society".[66]

A common interest in the condition of the English workers brought Weerth and Engels together. The first reference to Engels in Weerth's correspondence is a letter of May 22, 1844 in which Weerth mentioned that he was going to Manchester at Whitsun when he hoped to meet "a German philosopher buried in that dark city".[67] After his visit Weerth wrote: "I spent the day with my friend Engels exploring the great city of Manchester."[68] Engels later recalled how he and Weerth had enjoyed "many a happy Sunday together".[69] Weerth, like Engels, took a lively interest in the political movements of the time. He admired the oratory of Feargus O'Connor and he supported the Chartist cause which he regarded as the spearhead of revolution in England. He was less impressed by speakers at meetings organised by the Anti-Corn Law League and by supporters of new railway companies.[70] He shared Engels's political philosophy and regarded private property as the root of all evil.[71] Like Engels he believed that England was ripe for revolution and that the next slump would herald the fall of capitalism and the triumph of the proletariat. In December 1844 he declared that two bad harvests and a commercial crisis would spark off a revolution. "And it will be no revolution against royal power or parliamentary follies, or religion. It will be a revolution against property." "The next trade slump will throw thousands of workers onto the streets. It will spark off a revolt that will lead to attacks upon property. The last time that there was a revolt in Lancashire and Yorkshire the workers simply grumbled and went on strike. Next time they will attack the homes of the rich and seize for themselves the necessities of life. Next time they will go on strike for so long that a complete social revolution will be inevitable."[72] In January 1845 Weerth wrote that England was ready for "an explosion which will blow up the greater part of society as it exists today".[73] A few months later he wrote to his brother Wilhelm: "I hope that a slump will come soon. When it comes the English constitution will go to the devil. A democratic constitution will take its place and this will inevitably lead to the triumph of socialism."[74]

In the summer of 1845 Georg Weerth's health deteriorated, partly because of overwork and partly because of Bradford's

polluted atmosphere and "the fearful raw north east wind".[75] The elder Passavant suggested that he should have a holiday in Southport but Weerth thought that Paris would be a better place in which to recuperate. He decided to visit Brussels on the way and then a sprained ankle prevented him from going any further. In Brussels he stayed in the same house as Karl Marx[76] and met the members of a small group of Marx's disciples who were engaged in revolutionary propaganda. He described himself as a follower of the "ragged trousered Communists".[77] Weerth, however, had no intention of becoming a full time agitator or of eking out a living as a journalist. He appreciated the comforts of life too much to leave the world of business behind him. His ambition was to escape from the drudgery of an office stool by becoming a commission agent on the Continent. Such a post would enable him to travel and to find time for some political activity. He returned to Bradford for the winter of 1845–6. In April 1846 Weerth left the firm of P. Passavant and became an agent in France, Holland and Belgium[78] for Emanuel and Son, a textile firm with offices in Bradford, Hamburg and Moscow.[79]

In April 1846 Weerth left Bradford for Brussels which was his headquarters for the next two years. Although he made frequent business trips in Belgium, Holland and France[80] he was in Brussels often enough to keep in close touch with Marx and Engels and their political associates. He told his brother Wilhelm: "I have decided once and for all that I am going to devote myself to my business and to making money and that all other activities must take second place."[81] His political activities included writing for the left-wing *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* and serving on the committee of the *Association Démocratique* of Brussels.[82] In September 1847 an international congress, sponsored by the *Association Belge pour la Liberté Commerciale* was held in the Hôtel de Ville of Brussels and was attended by over 300 economists, manufacturers, and parliamentarians from Britain and the Continent.[83] When Weerth heard that the congress proposed to discuss the question: "Will the carrying out of universal Free Trade benefit the working classes?", he put his name down as a speaker. On September 18 Dr Bowring, one of the English delegates, was unable to speak because of a sore throat and the chairman unexpectedly called Weerth to the rostrum. Weerth declared that since no representatives of the working class were present at the conference he would speak on their behalf. He spoke of the wretched condition of the workers in industrialised societies and he claimed that Free Trade would not bring about the slightest improvement in their lot. He warned the manufacturers: "If you do not take care you will have to fear

an irruption of your own workmen, and they will be more terrible to you than all the Cossacks in the world."[84]

In spite of his sore throat Dr Bowring immediately replied to Weerth. He denied that Weerth had any right to represent the English workers and he argued that the abolition of the Corn Laws in Britain had been followed by a substantial increase in food imports – indicating an improvement in the workers' standard of living. Marx had prepared a speech for the congress but did not have an opportunity of delivering it.[85] Weerth's speech was widely reported in the press[86] and the obscure commercial traveller suddenly obtained a certain recognition as a political figure.[87] Julian Harney declared: " 'All men are brethren' is becoming something more than a string of words, when a German, at a conference of delegates from several nations, is seen to rise in defence of the much-wronged people of England."[88]

At the end of November 1847 Weerth told his mother that he was very busy. "By accident I have now become a well known figure and my services are always in demand. But I generally decline all engagements so as to maintain my independence."[89] Various left wing organisations solicited his support and he had visions of playing an important role at the forthcoming meeting of the Communist League in London. Engels became alarmed and appealed to Marx to stop Weerth from going to England. He declared that Weerth "has always been too lazy until his success at the Free Trade Congress launched him into politics. And what's more, he actually wants to go as an 'independent delegate'."[90] Engels considered that Weerth had little aptitude for revolutionary politics and that he could best serve the communist cause by exercising his undoubted literary talents.

On February 25, 1848, when he was in Rotterdam, Weerth heard the news of the establishment of the Second Republic in France.[91] He hurried to Paris to see for himself the triumph of the revolution which he hoped would bring the socialists to power all over Europe. He rejoiced that "one of the finest nations in the world has regained its independence in three days". "It has swept away with bag and baggage the meanest rogue to wear a crown together with the clique that supported him."[92] Weerth joined a committee which organised a demonstration of German residents in Paris in support of the Republic. The Germans marched to the Town Hall and the poet Herwegh presented the republican authorities with an address of congratulation. Weerth told his mother that this had been one of the most wonderful days in his life.[93] But Weerth's most memorable experience in Paris was his visit to the Tuileries. His friend Henri Imbert,[94] whom he had known in Brussels, was now in charge

of an old people's home in the palace. Weerth acquired some letters of historical interest as souvenirs of his visit.[95]

On his return to Brussels Weerth found that trade was so slack that he had plenty of time for politics.[96] Engels declared that he had become "a furious republican on the rampage".[97] When the revolution spread to Germany Weerth returned to the Rhineland where he had discussions with Heinrich Bürgers and Karl Ludwig d'Ester[98] and then with Marx and Engels concerning the establishment of a radical newspaper.[99] When the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared in Cologne on June 1, 1848 Weerth edited its literary supplement. Engels declared that no other German newspaper had so humorous and so biting a literary supplement.[100] Weerth indulged in bitter attacks upon the German princes, nobles and middle classes.[101] He quoted extracts from right-wing journals with satirical comments. He poked fun at the tiny German principalities – like his native Lippe-Detmold – which had survived from an earlier age but were out of place in the modern world.

Weerth fiercely attacked the Prussian junkers in a series of essays that were turned into a novel and published by Hoffman and Campe of Hamburg under the title *The Life and Deeds of the Famous Knight Schnapphahnski* (1849). Here Weerth described a number of highly unedifying episodes in the life of a Prussian junker. When Weerth had written about Herr Preiss he had described a businessman whose character – for all its faults – was not without some redeeming features. But there were no redeeming features in the character of the Knight Schnapphahnski who was depicted as a coward, a thief, a seducer, and a man of no principles who was guilty of one infamous action after another. Schnapphahnski's adventures were based upon events in the life of Prince Felix Lichnowski who was murdered by a savage mob on the outskirts of Frankfurt in September 1848. Weerth claimed that in his novel he had recounted events which had actually occurred.[102] Although Weerth's novel was a political satire of unusual merit it was soon forgotten. Subsequently Friedrich Engels and Franz Mehring tried to rescue it from oblivion. It was not until 1957 that a new edition was published in Weerth's collected works.

At the end of September 1848 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had to suspend publication for a few weeks and Weerth retired to Bingen. Soon after the paper again appeared – in October – Freiligrath joined the staff as one of its editors. This made it possible for Weerth to leave Cologne early in 1849 and to resume his business career as a commission agent in the textile trade, though he continued to send contributions to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[103]

He realised that the revolution now had little chance of success in Germany and he decided that it was time that he started to earn his living again. Weerth was in Hamburg on January 1849 and in England in February. In Yorkshire he made a tour of the woollen and linen districts. In London he met Julian Harney and attended a debate in the House of Commons.[104] When he was in Cologne again (in April) he visited the Countess of Hatzfeld in Düsseldorf and went with her to see Lassalle in prison. He declared that Lassalle was the most brilliant man – other than Marx – whom he had ever met.[105] On May 12 he was summoned to appear before a Cologne court to answer a charge of having slandered the landed aristocracy in Prussia in his novel on Schnapphahnski. He ignored the summons and left the country. On July 4, 1849 he was found guilty and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.[106]

Meanwhile Weerth was travelling in Belgium and France. In June 1849 he was in Paris and saw the suppression of the riots which, in his view, clinched "the victory of the counter-revolutionary party".[107] From Paris he went to Liége where the police locked him up for a night and then expelled him across the Dutch frontier. In July he was in Hamburg on business and early in August he was again in Paris where he visited Marx. At Calais he met Lola Montez by chance and had the privilege of hearing "from her own charming lips the story of many of her adventures".[108] During the autumn of 1849 he was in England. He spent a fortnight in Liverpool before deciding to settle in London for the time being. He rented an office at 42 Cornhill. Jenny Marx in her memoirs mentioned that at this time she arrived in London from France. Weerth "met me when I arrived, sick and exhausted, with my three poor persecuted children. He found accommodation for me in a boarding house in Leicester Square belonging to a master tailor."[109] In November Weerth met Engels who had just arrived in London by sea from Genoa after taking part in the Baden rising.[110]

In January 1850 Weerth's appeal against his conviction for slandering the Prussian aristocracy was rejected.[111] He had the choice of ignoring the court – at the cost of liability to arrest if ever he crossed the Prussian frontier – or of serving his sentence in Cologne. Weerth decided that exile from Germany would make it impossible for him to conduct his textile agency[112], and – against Marx's advice[113] – he surrendered to the Cologne authorities and served his sentence.

Weerth was in prison from February 25 to May 26, 1849. He was well treated since he could order food from outside, buy books and newspapers, and receive visitors. When he was free again he made it clear to Marx that his career as a revolutionary agitator was over.

He proposed to hide in "the quietest mousehole" that he could find. "I no longer believe in the possibility of revolution in Germany," he wrote on June 2, 1849. "For me there is a Fatherland only because I enjoy its cheap Moselle wine and because I can crack feeble jokes about it."[114] He visited England and Scotland in August.[115] He boasted to his mother that "in business affairs I deal only with the men at the top". Nathan Rothschild gave him letters of introduction in connection with a forthcoming business trip to Spain and Portugal.[116] By August he was in Oporto. Weerth travelled extensively in these countries and was not back in Germany until February 1851. From Hamburg he wrote to Marx: "What is the riddle of my restlessness? Why cannot I sit peacefully on my backside for more than ten minutes? The answer is the revolution which has robbed me of all peace of mind."[117] And he told Engels: "Time is money and one needs hard cash for the future. You may be bored but you are right to stick to Manchester. Boredom brings in the money. Wealth does not come from having a good time. Only money can help us today and tomorrow."[118] In April 1850 Weerth told Marx that his literary work had ended when the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication. "It makes sense for *you* to write on economics. But it is simply a waste of time for me to try to entertain fools by cracking feeble jokes."[119]

In July 1851 Weerth was Marx's guest in London and in August he was in Bradford where he stayed – except for business trips to the Continent – for rather more than twelve months. As Engels had now settled in Manchester the two friends were able to meet from time to time.[120] But Weerth was soon complaining about the horrible weather and the horrible inhabitants of Bradford and he longed to return to Spain.[121] Although the Communist League had been revived Weerth was not invited to join it again.[122] Perhaps Marx thought that Weerth was not a sufficiently dedicated Communist since – even when an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – he had given his business interests priority over his political activities. And now Weerth showed no sign of complying with requests from Marx and Engels that he should contribute to a socialist journal edited by Joseph Weydemeyer in the United States.[123] Marx may have considered that Weerth could best be used as a courier and that he would be more effective in that capacity as a businessman who was no longer a party member. In 1852 Weerth rendered his last service to the revolutionary cause by sending Marx business envelopes which were intended to deceive the police and the postal authorities in Prussia.[124] Marx used the envelopes to send material to his friends in Germany who were



Jenny Marx (née Westphalen), 1814–1881



Helene Demuth, 1823–1890



Family Group (about 1861)
back: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
front: Marx's daughters – Jenny, Eleanor, and Laura

assisting in the defence of the Communist leaders on trial in Cologne.

It was at about this time that Weerth severed his connection with Emanuel and Son,[125] and joined the firm of Steinthal & Co. of Bradford, Manchester and Hamburg.[126] He was in Hamburg in the summer of 1852 and returned to London in September of that year. Marx, with whom he stayed for a few days, grumbled to Engels: "You know that I am very fond of Weerth but it is painful to have such a fine gentleman as a guest when I am floundering in all this filth."[127] In October Weerth was in Bradford and in Manchester where he stayed with Engels.[128] He was back in London at the end of November on his way to Southampton to catch a boat for St Thomas in the West Indies.

Weerth's last visits to Marx before leaving England did not pass off smoothly. Marx found it difficult to forgive a former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for washing his hands of revolutionary activities and devoting himself entirely to business and to overseas travel. Marx wrote to Engels on December 3, 1852:

> "I was very busy and in no amiable frame of mind when Weerth called on Sunday. He asked me in a haughty and superior manner what I really proposed to write about the Cologne trial. I replied by asking him what he thought he was going to do in the West Indies and in fifteen minutes he was off. On Tuesday evening he was back again, remarking that he had not intended to come but that Freiligrath had persuaded him to do so. He said that I had been very busy and bad-tempered on Sunday. I permitted myself the observation that for nine-tenths of the time that I had known Herr Weerth he had generally been short tempered and full of complaints and that was something of which I could not be accused. After I had given him a dressing down he recovered his spirits and returned to his old self again. But I feel that Weerth has become damnably bourgeois and takes his business career far too seriously. . . ."[129]

Weerth was away from Europe from the end of 1852 to the middle of 1855. His travels, not without hazards, took him to Porto Rico,[130] Venezuela,[131] Mexico, [132] California,[133] and the Argentine.[134] He was in London again in June 1855 and soon went to Germany to visit his firm in Hamburg and his mother in Detmold. His correspondence in 1855 includes several love letters to Betty Tendering to whom he proposed marriage. In a letter of October 2, 1855 he declared that he was tired of Europe and intended to live in the West Indies. He assured Betty that he would give up travelling and settle in Havana where he could earn as large a salary as that of a Prussian general or minister of state.[135] But Betty Tendering declined his offer of marriage. In the autumn

of 1855 Weerth was in England and met Marx and Engels. Marx wrote to Lassalle at this time: "Weerth does not write essays any more but he speaks them instead and his companions can enjoy his lively actions, his mimicry and his infectious laughter." On November 17, 1855 Weerth left Europe for the West Indies. He died of fever in Havana on July 30, 1856 at the age of 34.[136] Weerth's early promise had not been fulfilled and it was long after his death before his contribution to German literature came to be appreciated.

III. Carl Schorlemmer[137]

In the 1860s Engels spent some of his Saturday evenings at the Thatched House Tavern in Manchester[138] in the company of some young German scientists who were working in the chemical industry which was developing in Lancashire and Cheshire. Some of them eventually became heads of important chemical firms. Heinrich Caro[139] worked as a research chemist for Roberts, Dale & Co. (Manchester), returned to Germany in 1866, and later became managing director of the *Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik* (Ludwigshafen). Ludwig Mond[140] joined John Brunner in 1871 to establish an undertaking at Winnington in Cheshire which made soda by the Solvay ammonia process. Philipp Pauli[141] worked for the United Alkali Co. (Evans & MacBryde) at St Helens and for the Sulphate of Copper Company. On returning to Germany he ran his own chemical works first at Ziegenhausen (by Heidelberg) and then at Rheinau (by Mannheim). In the early 1880s he erected a chemical works for Meister, Lucius & Brüning and eventually became the managing director of this great undertaking.

At the convivial meetings at the Thatched House Tavern[142] the chair was generally taken by Carl Schorlemmer, a lecturer in chemistry at Owens College, Manchester. Engels and Schorlemmer became close friends. In March 1865 Engels told Marx that a chemist, whom he had met at the Schiller Anstalt, had explained Tyndall's "sunbeam experiment" to him.[143] The chemist was probably Schorlemmer and this may well have been one of their first meetings. In June 1867 in a letter to Engels, Marx sent his "best compliments" to Schorlemmer.[144] In May of the following year Engels wrote to Marx that Schorlemmer was "one of the best chaps I have met for a long time".[145] It was fortunate for Engels that he should have met an "ideal teacher and adviser"[146] just when he was embarking upon the study of science. Schorlemmer was an ideal teacher since he was not only a good research chemist but he was also one of the few scientists of his day who took a really broad view of his subject and tried to integrate the study of

chemistry with that of all other branches of science. His book on *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* has been described as "the marxist contribution to summarising the theoretical and practical progress of chemistry in the nineteenth century".[147]

Carl Schorlemmer was 14 years younger than Engels, having been born in Darmstadt in 1834. His father, a master carpenter, wanted him to become a craftsman but his mother encouraged him to carry on with his education after he left the elementary school. He studied for three years at the Darmstadt technical college and then worked in pharmacies at Gross-Umstedt and Heidelberg. At the University of Heidelberg he attended lectures given by the distinguished chemist R. W. Bunsen. Schorlemmer decided to adopt chemistry rather than pharmacy as a profession and he studied at the University of Giessen under Heinrich Will and Hermann Kopp during the summer semester of 1859.[148] It was from Kopp that Schorlemmer learned to appreciate the historical aspects of his subject. Many years later he dedicated his book on *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* to his former teacher. Schorlemmer did not stay at Giessen to work for his doctorate but migrated to England where he lived for the rest of his life.[149]

Engels states that when Schorlemmer came to Manchester he was employed by the chemist Angus Smith. This appointment must have been of short duration since in the autumn term of 1859 Schorlemmer became private assistant to Professor H. E. Roscoe at Owens College which was then situated in Quay Street. Schorlemmer secured the appointment on the recommendation of his friend Wilhelm Dittmar[150] who had just been promoted to the position of demonstrator in the chemistry department.

Schorlemmer, then aged 24, was only two years younger than his professor. Two years previously Roscoe had succeeded Edward Frankland as head of the chemistry department at a time when the college "was at the lowest ebb of its fortunes".[151] There were only 15 students in the department in 1857. It was largely owing to the efforts of Roscoe and Schorlemmer that the chemistry department eventually became one of the most important in the country. When Schorlemmer died the number of students in the chemistry department had risen to 120.[152]

Roscoe found that he had secured the services of a colleague whose "power of work was simply prodigious".[153] Schorlemmer proved himself to be a dedicated scientist who devoted himself to pure research. Throughout his life he was contemptuous of men like Karl Vogt whose only skill lay in popularising the discoveries of others.[154] On taking up his post in Manchester Schorlemmer's first task was to investigate the composition of solutions of halogen

acids under different pressures.[155] Then in 1861 – when Schorlemmer had succeeded Dittmar as demonstrator in the chemical laboratory[156] – Roscoe received from John Barrow (manufacturer of hydro-carbon oils at the Dalton Chemical Works at Gorton) some samples of light oils obtained from cannel-coal tar. Schorlemmer analysed these samples and wrote an article on "the hydrides of alcohol radicals existing in the products of the destructive distillation of cannel-coal". This was the first of many papers which Schorlemmer wrote on the normal paraffins. His experiments showed that all the paraffin hydro-carbons – whether derived from coal tar, from natural petroleum, or by synthesis – formed a single series. If his theory were correct then certain hitherto unknown substances must exist and he proceeded to prepare them – pentane, heptane, diispropyl – in the laboratory.

The paper which Schorlemmer delivered before the Chemical Society in April 1872 on "the chemistry of the hydro-carbons" summarised ten years' work on the subject. Engels recalled that when he first knew Schorlemmer he "often had facial injuries when he came to see me. One cannot take liberties with the paraffins. These substances – almost unknown in those days – continually exploded when Schorlemmer was carrying out his experiments and he bore many honorable scars as a result of his researches. But for the fact that he wore spectacles he might have lost his sight."[157]

In the late 1860s Carl Schorlemmer made a name for himself in scientific circles. The results of his researches appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* between 1865 and 1871. A leading German chemical journal mentioned his work in 1866.[158] On May 10, 1868 Engels wrote to Marx that he could soon expect a visit from Schorlemmer who had been asked to lecture to the Royal Society. The invitation, declared Engels, was

> "a great triumph for him, because Frankland – the leading chemist in London[159] – has criticised all Schorlemmer's research. It will be the making of Schorlemmer if he gets a few more invitations of this kind. I am delighted for Schorlemmer, who puts up with a very poor academic post in Manchester simply because he has the use of a laboratory where he can get on with his research."[160]

Schorlemmer became a member of the German Academy of Naturalists (Leopoldina) (1857), the German Chemical Society of Berlin (1868),[161] and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (1870),[162] and he achieved the distinction of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1871.[163] He was elected to a lectureship at Owens College in 1873 and to a chair in organic chemistry – the first in England – in the following year. When

applying for the chair he submitted a testimonial from the eminent Russian scientist A. M. Butlerov, who was the author of a pioneer work on organic chemistry (1864) and an authority on the derivatives of petroleum.[164] The Principal of Owens College observed that Carl Schorlemmer's promotion was

> "the well-earned reward of many years' devotion – with conspicuous success and with a single-minded enthusiasm not too common in our age – to science pursued for its own sake and to the laborious work of academic life."

When Roscoe resigned his chair in 1885, Carl Schorlemmer was involved in a dispute with the authorities of Owens College. In a letter of November 1, 1886 to the chairman of the committee of the College Council, Roscoe discussed Schorlemmer's position with regard to the appointment of a new Professor of Chemistry. He wrote:

> "Should the Committee come to the conclusion that their new Professor is to be specially an Inorganic Chemist I desire to point out, in justice to the present Professor of Organic Chemistry, that a reorganisation of his duties, and of his remuneration, should be brought about. Professor Schorlemmer occupies a position in his branch of science second to none, the work he has done for the department during 25 years has been most important, as shown by the Honours gained by his students in the Universities both of London and Victoria, and by the fact that his books are the text-books in all the German schools and universities. Under myself – for reasons which I need not specify – Professor Schorlemmer has been contented to work. But he feels (and rightly feels) that to be placed in a similar position under a stranger is more than he can agree to. Hence, if the Committee desire to procure a continuance of Professor Schorlemmer's services in concert with a new specially Inorganic Chemist, his position will have to be altered. My own idea is that the advanced students in Organic Chemistry might be placed under his special charge, and that he should have control of and authority over them in the laboratory as he has hitherto had in the lecture room, and that a proper proportion of the laboratory fees of such students should be paid over to him."

At one stage of the dispute the University authorities terminated Carl Schorlemmer's appointment as a professor – though not as a University teacher – but fortunately changed their minds. The Chemistry Professorship Committee recommended "that the Council should consider whether it is possible to make provision for Professor Schorlemmer, as the Committee understands to be his wish, of laboratory accommodation for private research".[165]

In August 1887 Schorlemmer acted as vice-president of the

chemical section of the British Association when it met in Manchester. In the following year he was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Glasgow where his old friend Dittmar was teaching at the Andersonian College. At the ceremony Professor Simpson described Schorlemmer as "one of the greatest living writers and authorities on organic chemistry".[166]

Schorlemmer's publications were of two kinds. In his earlier writings he described his experiments and advanced his theories in contributions to scientific journals. His later writings dealt with various aspects of chemistry – both organic and inorganic – in a more general fashion. He published 60 papers in the *Journal of the Chemical Society*, 21 contributions to *Liebigs Annalen*, while some of his articles appeared in the proceedings of the Royal Society and Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. In 1868 he translated into German (and revised) a beginners' textbook on chemistry by Roscoe.[167] His three major works were *A Manual on the Chemistry of the Carbon Compounds* (1874),[168] *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* (1879),[169] and (in collaboration with Roscoe) a *Systematic Treatise on Chemistry* (1878–89).[170] Schorlemmer had a much larger share in the writing of this book than Roscoe. Hartog described this book as "the most extensive and at the same time readable textbook on the subject". Schorlemmer also began to write a history of chemistry but this was never completed.[171] Unlike many of his contemporaries, Schorlemmer dealt not only with the theoretical side of his subject but also with the practical application of chemistry to the world of industry. And his historical works (published and unpublished) were far more than descriptions of the development of chemistry over the ages. Schorlemmer regarded the study of the history of chemistry as an essential first step to an understanding of the nature of the subject.

Engels observed that Schorlemmer was a communist before he met Marx and Engels. "All we had to do was to give him a grounding in economics to support the firm conclusions which he had reached by himself long before this."[172] Schorlemmer was admitted to the intimate circle of Marx's disciples and was known by various nicknames such as Jollymeier and Chlormeier. In 1867 he assisted in correcting the proofs of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. He joined the First International and the German Social Democrat Party. Roscoe stated that he knew little of Schorlemmer's political views "for these he did not obtrude upon his friends, though he had decided ones".[173] Privately Schorlemmer did all in his power to further the socialist cause and to help its supporters. In 1881 he tried to help a young Russian scientist – in exile because of his

political views – to find work in England.[174] In public, however, he kept his politics to himself. In 1870 he emerged from the seclusion of his laboratory to go to France with J. G. Wehner to deliver supplies of schnaps, wine, blankets and other comforts to German soldiers wounded in the Sedan campaign.[175] The funds were raised in Manchester by a committee of the German Association for the Relief of the Wounded.[176] Engels was the secretary of the Manchester committee. On September 10 Marx informed Engels that Schorlemmer had visited him on his way to the Continent.[177] On September 17 Schorlemmer wrote to Engels from Bouillon (in Belgium) that he had reached Sedan and had distributed some of the comforts to the wounded in a Prussian and a Bavarian field hospital in Remilly.[178] He praised Wehner for being "a splendid commander" of the little expedition who made everybody work hard. He signed the letter: "Your Jollymeyer who feels very jolly." In the 1880s Carl Schorlemmer frequently visited the Continent to attend scientific conferences[179] and to keep Marx and Engels in touch with their political associates abroad.

Marx and Engels were fortunate to have a communist as their adviser on scientific matters. Engels wrote that Schorlemmer

> "was probably the only leading scientist of his day who was not ashamed to acknowledge his debt to Hegel. At a time when most people despised Hegel, Schorlemmer venerated him. And Schorlemmer was right. Anyone who hopes to achieve anything in the field of the theory of science – anyone who tries to discover a synthesis of different branches of scientific knowledge – must beware of looking upon natural phenomena as static or permanent. Many scientists do this. But natural phenomena should be regarded as factors in a state of flux or transition. Even today the theory of science can still best be studied with the aid of Hegel's philosophy."[180]

Marx and Engels considered that the principles of dialectical materialism should be applied to science as well as to history and economics[181] and their scientific studies were greatly helped by expert advice from Carl Schorlemmer.[182] Engels's letter of May 30, 1873 on "some dialectical ideas about the natural sciences" was seen and approved by Schorlemmer who made such comments as "Very good, I agree", "Quite right" and "That's the point".[183] Schorlemmer gave copies of his books to Marx and Engels. In 1867 Marx wrote that he was "extremely pleased with Schorlemmer's textbook".[184] When Engels moved from Manchester to London in 1870 he corresponded regularly with Schorlemmer on scientific and political matters. Engels's *Anti-Dühring* and his unfinished *Dialectics of Nature* were influenced by Schorlemmer's ideas.

By the 1870s Schorlemmer had secured widespread recognition

as one of the leading chemists of the day. His professional salary and his royalties ensured him an income adequate for his modest bachelor needs. But, as Roscoe observed, Schorlemmer "lived and died a poor man, though had he chosen he might have amassed a large fortune".[185] When he died his personal estate was just under £2,000.[186] Schorlemmer's researches were now concerned with the derivatives of the hydro-carbons hexane and heptane, with aurine colouring matter and (in collaboration with R. S. Dale) with suberic acid from cork. His interests had widened and he devoted much of his time to a systematic analysis of the facts and theories of chemistry. In his books and lectures he tried to assess the significance of chemistry as one aspect of the entire range of scientific knowledge.

Schorlemmer remained in close touch with his friends in London and in Germany. In his vacations he often visited Marx and Engels and he travelled on the Continent to meet fellow scientists and socialist friends. He once had a disagreeable experience in Germany because of his political views. He was on his way from Switzerland to Darmstadt when the police found a box containing copies of a banned socialist journal which were being smuggled into Germany from Switzerland. "The police," wrote Engels, "naturally assumed that the socialist professor was the culprit. From the police point of view a chemist is an academically trained smuggler. So they searched the homes of his mother and his brother. But the professor was in Höchst. A telegram was immediately sent to Höchst and the professor's belongings were examined. But this time the police discovered something that they had not expected to find – a British passport. When the Anti-Socialist Law was passed, Schorlemmer had become a naturalised British subject.[187] The sight of a British passport sufficed to bring the police search to a halt. The police had no wish to become involved in a dispute with the British government. The affair caused a great sensation in Darmstadt and was worth at least 500 votes to the Social Democrats at the next election."[188]

After Marx's death Engels looked forward more than ever to Schorlemmer's visits. The two friends could no longer go for 18 mile walks, as they had done twenty years earlier, but they could enjoy less strenuous holidays together. In the 1880s, however, Schorlemmer's health declined. He suffered from earache, catarrh and a nervous disability. In the summer of 1888 a doctor told Ludwig Schorlemmer that his brother Carl had no chance of living to a ripe old age.[189] Later in that year he was able to accompany Engels, Aveling and Eleanor Marx on a trip to the United States and Canada. In 1890 Schorlemmer and Engels went to Norway

for a holiday. On his return Schorlemmer was ill for some time, suffering from earache and deafness.[190] But the root of the trouble appears to have been lung cancer. In May 1892 Engels learned from Dr Gumpert and Roscoe that Schorlemmer was sinking.[191] When Schorlemmer made his will on May 19 his arm was paralysed so that he could not sign his name but had to make a mark. Engels went to Manchester early in June to see his friend for the last time. Schorlemmer died on June 27 at the age of 58 and was buried in the Southern Cemetery in Manchester.

Engels told Schorlemmer's brother Ludwig that he was sorry that Schorlemmer had had a Christian burial. A Unitarian minister had taken the service. Engels wrote that he could have insisted that the funeral should be a secular one. But in that case he would have had to deliver a funeral oration praising Schorlemmer as a socialist rather than as a chemist. And that would have meant that "the whole English bourgeois press would have attacked me for using Carl's funeral as an excuse for making a useless political demonstration in front of mourners who would be indifferent or even hostile to the socialist cause but who could not make their views known at a funeral". So Engels simply laid a wreath upon Schorlemmer's grave on behalf of the German Social Democrat Party.[192]

When Schorlemmer died his colleague Arthur Schuster wrote that Schorlemmer

> "was not only an investigator in a special branch of chemistry; he was a scholar with an extensive command of many branches of science. His large acquaintance with the complicated history and his perhaps unique knowledge of the bewildering literature of his subject marked him out as the one man who could write a systematic treatise on organic chemistry."[193]

At the same time Roscoe described Schorlemmer as a man

> "of retiring, most modest and unassuming disposition.[194] To only a few of his intimates, German and English, were his true colours visible. As a laboratory teacher he was excelled by few, merely as a lecturer by many. But although, like some other eminent lecturers, his diction may have been faulty, the staple article was there, and I never met a real student amongst all those who passed through his hands who did not express his admiration for the man, and his sense of obligation which he felt for the masterly instruction Schorlemmer always gave."[195]

That Schorlemmer was "not a brilliant lecturer"[196] is confirmed by one of his students who wrote that "his lectures were read without emphasis or pause from notes held close to his nose".[197] But

Smithells stated that although Schorlemmer "had neither the graces of the orator nor the arts of the populariser, his lectures were admirable in construction and suggestiveness".

When Schorlemmer died Engels was anxious that his manuscripts should be published. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue on July 7, 1892:

> "The manuscripts he left may cause some trouble. The most interesting one is in the history of chemistry – 1. The Ancients, 2. Alchemy, 3. latro-chemistry, up to the seventeenth century; a fragment, and the third part not completed, but still full of new views and discoveries. Then a lot of work on organic chemistry. But as he has *two* works in the press at the same time (1. his own organic chemistry, 2. his and Roscoe's big book) it will be pretty hard to distinguish which belongs to which. One of his executors is a chemist (Siebold) but hardly knows enough about the theory of science to distinguish. And Roscoe is red hot after the manuscript as he knows too well that *he* cannot finish the book. I have told the executors in my opinion they might let Roscoe have what belongs to the Roscoe–Schorlemmer book on binding himself to let the heirs participate in the profits of the pending volume (German and English) in the same way as Schorlemmer himself would have done. As Roscoe was elected yesterday for Manchester, he will no doubt pounce upon the executors at once, so I wrote them yesterday giving a full account of what I considered ought to be done in the matter."[198]

Only a week before his own death Engels wrote to Dr Louis Siebold concerning the publication of Schorlemmer's manuscripts.[199]

Engels had always held Schorlemmer in the highest esteem. In 1883 he wrote that "next to Marx there can be no doubt that Schorlemmer is the most famous figure in the European socialist movement".[200] He complained to Philipp Pauli – an old friend from the days of the Thatched House Tavern – that English and German "University donkeys" had failed to recognise Schorlemmer's true greatness.[201] There is little substance in Engels's accusation. The fact that Schorlemmer had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and other learned bodies suggests that the academic world recognised the high qualities of Schorlemmer's scholarship.

Soon after his death, Schorlemmer's friends in Manchester set up a committee to raise funds to build a laboratory in his memory. Philipp Pauli wrote to Engels that he would support the project and Engels replied: "I am in complete agreement with you that each of us should send Perkins a subscription towards the erection of a laboratory to be named after Schorlemmer."[202] On May 3, 1895 the Schorlemmer chemical laboratory at Owens College was opened by Ludwig Mond[203] who had himself subscribed £500,[204]

The laboratory provided accommodation for 36 students. Half the cost had been defrayed by public subscription.

On the following day a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* paid a warm tribute to Carl Schorlemmer. "Schorlemmer himself was recognised by all those who spoke yesterday and indeed by all who knew him, as a lover of chemistry for its purely intellectual – and to him its greatest – rewards. He studied it in its more abstract and its historical aspects; he coveted neither the honour nor the material advantages which lay within his grasp; and all his life he remained known but to a few, and relatively poor. Nevertheless his work forms the cornerstone of the comprehensive theories which within recent years have given chemists so marvellous a mastery over the transformations of matter, and which have directly led to those triumphs in chemical industry which now employ many thousands of workers."[205]

In 1964 the 130th anniversary of Schorlemmer's birth was marked in the German Democratic Republic by the publication of a collection of essays on his life and work.[206] At the same time the College of Chemistry at Leuna (by Merseburg) was renamed the Technical College for Chemistry Carl Schorlemmer.[207]

IV. Eduard Gumpert[208]

There are several references in the Marx–Engels correspondence to Eduard Gumpert, a German doctor who practised in Manchester for many years. He was not only Engels's doctor but also his friend. There is no evidence to suggest that he was a socialist but the fact that Engels thought it worth while to ask Dr Gumpert if he would buy five shares in the *Beehive*[209] suggests that Dr Gumpert may have held left-wing political views.

Dr Gumpert, a native of Hesse, was born in 1834. He qualified as a doctor at the University of Würzburg in 1855 and settled in Manchester as a general practitioner shortly afterwards. In 1856 Dr A. G. Merei and Dr James Whitehead had set up a second children's hospital in Manchester, the first having been established by Dr Borchardt two years earlier. When Dr Merei died in 1858 Dr Gumpert joined Dr Whitehead as an honorary consulting physician at the Clinical Hospital for the Diseases of Children which was situated in Stevenson Square. This hospital moved to larger premises at Park Place, Cheetham Hill Road in 1867. Dr Gumpert served the hospital for 35 years.[210] He was a leading figure in the German colony in Manchester and was a member of the Schiller Anstalt.

The first reference to Dr Gumpert in the Marx–Engels correspondence was in May 1858 when Marx asked Engels how Dr

Gumpert was progressing as a horseman.[211] Jenny Marx told Engels that Dr Gumpert was the only doctor in whom Marx had confidence.[212] Marx and Engels persuaded some of their friends – Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore for example – to seek his advice. Although Marx had a doctor in London he often asked Engels for advice from Dr Gumpert on the treatment of his boils, carbuncles and liver disorders. Dr Gumpert doubted whether he should treat a patient of another doctor. Nevertheless from time to time he prescribed arsenic to alleviate the carbuncles. Dr Gumpert found it difficult to appreciate the niceties of English medical etiquette. There was, for example, the occasion on which Dr Gumpert paid a visit of condolence to a friend who was not a patient. The body of a child who had died of scarlet fever was in the house. Dr Borchardt, the family physician, was present and Dr Gumpert suggested that it was inadvisable to allow other children in the same room as the dead child. Dr Borchardt took offence at what he regarded as Dr Gumpert's unjustified interference. The dispute between the two doctors came before the local medical council which decided that "Dr Gumpert had committed a breach of medical etiquette, though he was morally right".[213]

Whenever he was in Manchester Marx consulted Dr Gumpert and on his advice took the waters at Harrogate and Carlsbad.[214] During Wilhelm Wolff's last illness Engels was dissatisfied with Dr. Borchardt's treatment of the patient and insisted upon calling in Dr Gumpert for a second opinion.[215] In 1891 when Samuel Moore returned to England from a tour of duty in Nigeria he immediately went to Dr Gumpert for a checkup.[216] In the following year Dr Gumpert attended Carl Schorlemmer in his last illness.[217]

Dr Gumpert died on April 20, 1893 at the age of fifty-nine[218] and Engels travelled from London to Manchester to attend the funeral.[219] The only criticism of Dr Gumpert to be found in the Marx–Engels correspondence is Engels's complaint that Dr Gumpert persuaded him to join the Schiller Anstalt and to take office as president. He blamed Dr Gumpert for getting him involved in some unpleasantness in the Schiller Anstalt in connection with the search for new premises.[220]

V. Carl Siebel[221]

For a short time in 1859–60 Engels saw a good deal of Carl Siebel of Barmen whom he described as a "distant relative". Siebel was born in 1836, the son of a wealthy merchant and – although he had literary aspirations – he was destined for a business career. He

completed his training in England between 1856 and 1860 and was in Manchester at the end of that period. He was in Manchester for only a little more than a year but when he returned to Barmen he kept in touch with Engels.

The first reference to Siebel in the Marx–Engels correspondence is on January 27 1859 when Engels mentioned that Siebel – then 23 years of age – had called upon him. Freiligrath had already told Engels that Siebel, whom he had met in London, was "a decent chap" who had an income of £1,000 a year.[222] Siebel had written some poetry and his story of Jesus of Nazareth (1856) had highly displeased the Pietists of Elberfeld and Barmen. Siebel's ambition was to make a name for himself as a romantic poet.[223]

Writing to his mother on April 20, 1859 Engels declared that she had no cause to worry about young Siebel's conduct in Manchester. He assured her that Siebel nearly always stayed at home in the evening. "I doubt whether there are 20 young men of his age in Manchester who lead such respectable lives." Engels discussed Siebel's poetry and observed that although his writing was still quite immature, Siebel was by no means without talent. He had advised Siebel to stop writing poetry for a time and to make a thorough study of the works of the classical poets "of all peoples".

Engels told his mother that although "Siebel's father may perhaps imagine that I am stuffing his son's head with all sorts of nonsense I assure you that I have used all my influence to prevent him from spending too much time writing poetry". He was confident that when he was a little older and a little wiser Siebel would become "a really good fellow capable of producing literary work of a high standard".[224] Shortly after receiving this letter Engels's mother was visited by Carl Siebel. He wrote to Engels that his mother had been delighted to have news of her son in Manchester.[225] In a letter to Jenny Marx of December 22, 1859 Engels wrote about Siebel in less favourable terms than in the letter to his mother. He now declared that Siebel was "an abominable poet" though he had the saving grace of knowing that he was "a humbug".[226] In letters to Marx he called Siebel "a waster"[227] and "an utter charlatan – and what is more he knows it".[228] Marx, too, had a poor opinion of Siebel's literary efforts but all the same he asked Engels to persuade Siebel to write some verses for the short-lived *Das Volk*, a paper which was published in London under the auspices of the German Workers Educational Association.[229]

Carl Siebel looked up to Friedrich Engels who was a good deal older and more experienced than himself. He knew about Engels's activities in 1848–9 as an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and as a revolutionary leader in Elberfeld and Baden. He admired

Engels as a writer and as a man of action and he was soon converted to his political ideas. When he got to know Marx he recognised that he was in the presence of a born leader of men. Although Siebel played no active part in politics he was prepared to give Marx and Engels any help that he could behind the scenes. The arrival of a new faithful disciple suited Marx and Engels even if they regarded him as a humbug and a charlatan.

In February 1860 Engels told Marx that Siebel had many contacts and could be useful in making Engels's pamphlet on *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein* widely known in Germany.[230] This was to be Siebel's modest *rôle* in the Marxian movement in the 1860s. Through his contacts with publishers, booksellers and editors he did all that he could to publicise the books and pamphlets of Marx and Engels. When the first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared Siebel worked hard to place favourable reviews of it in German newspapers and periodicals.

The 100th anniversary of Schiller's birth fell on November 10, 1859 and the German colony in Manchester celebrated the event by holding a festival in the Free Trade Hall on the following day. Carl Siebel took the initiative in organising the celebrations. He recited Alfred Meissner's prologue, wrote the epilogue and produced scenes from Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager*.[231] He managed to interest Engels in the celebrations although at first Engels was reluctant to become involved. Engels told Marx that he was holding himself aloof and declared that the members of the organising committee were "asses without exception".[232] Wilhelm Wolff also declined to support the project. But eventually Engels gave Siebel some assistance with the production of *Wallensteins Lager* and he attended two rehearsals. He was present at the festival and enjoyed himself afterwards at a party – which lasted until four in the morning – attended by the players and singers. Engels told Marx that the organisers had hoped to make a profit so that they could found a Schiller Anstalt (Schiller Institute) in Manchester. They lost £150.[233] But the Schiller Anstalt was founded. On February 4, 1860 Carl Siebel lectured to the Schiller Anstalt on modern German poetry.[234] Despite his earlier opposition Engels joined the Schiller Anstalt. In 1862 he complained to Siebel that the club was dominated by Jews whose extravagant schemes would lead to the bankruptcy of the institute.[235] Yet two years later Engels accepted the position of President of the Schiller Anstalt.

In the summer of 1860, when on a visit to Barmen, Siebel met and became engaged to Reinhilde von Hurter. Engels did not consider it to be a suitable match. He referred to the lady as "a young female philistine" and to Siebel as "a greenhorn".[236] They were

married in the autumn.[237] At this time he distributed copies of Marx's *Karl Vogt* to the editors of various German newspapers and journals.[238] In April and May of the following year Marx was in Elberfeld for a few days. He wrote to Engels that he had met Siebel. "I dined at his house one evening." "He has a charming young wife who sings well and adores her Carl." "I liked her – up to a point. Siebel himself has not changed." Siebel entertained Marx at the radical California Club in Barmen where his health was drunk by the members.[239]

Anyone who enjoyed the honour of Marx's acquaintance was sooner or later asked for a loan and Carl Siebel was no exception.[240] But Siebel, though anxious to help, claimed that he was not in a position to do so. On December 23, 1861 he wrote to Engels: "Can you send Marx 60 to 90 thalers? I will return the money to you at the end of January. I like Marx and I regret that I cannot assist him just now – hence my request to you."[241]

In 1864 Marx enlisted Siebel's help to foster the growth of the First International in Germany. He asked Siebel to persuade Carl Klings, a leader of the workers in Solingen, to recommend to a forthcoming conference at Düsseldorf of Lassalle's German Workers Union, that this association should become affiliated to the First International.[242] In the following year Engels had bad news of Siebel. Emil Blank told him that Siebel was "always drunk and his wife was thinking of divorcing him".[243] Nevertheless Engels kept in touch with Siebel and asked him to send to the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* a notice concerning his pamphlet on the Prussian military question and the German workers' party.[244] In August 1865 Marx declared that Siebel's most recent patriotic verses were worse than anything that he had written in the past.[245]

Two years later Siebel was seriously ill and went to Madeira to recuperate. Engels hoped that when "amicus Siebel" returned he would help to make *Das Kapital* widely known in Germany.[246] In May 1867 Siebel wrote to Marx suggesting that either Marx or Engels should stand as a socialist candidate in Barmen at the first elections to the new Reichstag of the North German Federation.[247] But Marx and Engels had no intention of leaving England at this time. In September 1867 Engels told Marx that Siebel had fallen ill again and would not be of much help to them in the future,[248] but in October Siebel wrote to Engels from Honnef – a spa on the Rhine – offering to try to place anonymous reviews (written by Engels) of the first volume of *Das Kapital* in various German papers.[249] In the following month Engels went to Liverpool to see Siebel when he was embarking for Madeira.[250]

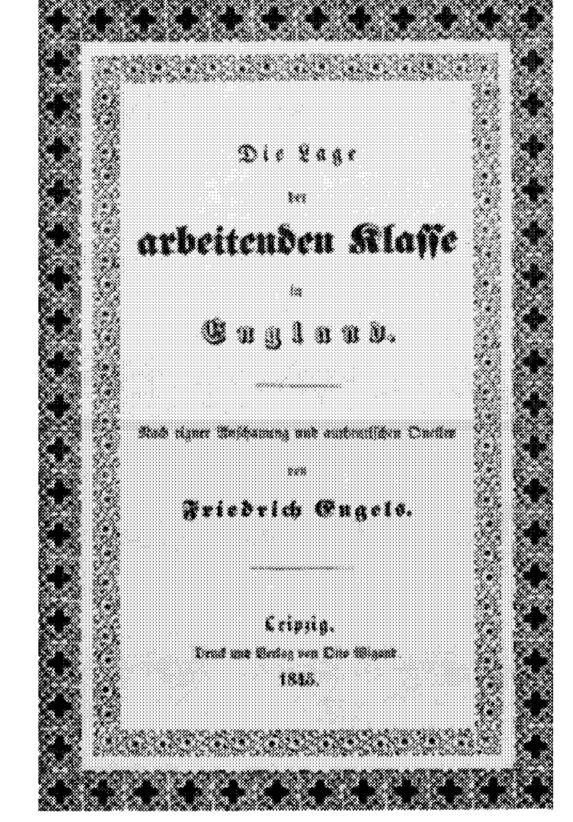
Despite chronic ill-health Siebel was still determined to do all

in his power to assist Marx through his contacts with German editors. Siebel succeeded in placing reviews of Marx's book in four German papers, including the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*.[251] In May 1868 Engels learned from his mother that Siebel had died in Barmen at the age of 32 soon after returning home from Madeira.[252] When Marx heard the news he declared that Siebel was "a good fellow" whose death was "a grievous loss".[253]

VI. English Friends

Engels had many English acquaintances but few English friends. As a businessman, a journalist, a military correspondent, and a rider to hounds he had ample opportunities of making social contacts in Manchester. But there could be no true friendship between Engels and his middle class acquaintances whom he called "philistines" and he told Bebel later that when he lived in Manchester he had always refused to become involved in the "social treadmill" of the bourgeoisie.[254] One might have expected Engels to have made friends with Chartists or radicals. For a time Engels hoped to convert the Chartist leaders to Marx's doctrines. In January 1851 he told Marx that he hoped to establish "a little club" of Chartists in Manchester to discuss the Communist Manifesto which had recently been translated into English.[255] But his efforts were unsuccessful. Since none of the Chartist groups was prepared to swallow the Marxist creed they never enjoyed Engels's full confidence. Marx and Engels welcomed faithful disciples but they could never work for long with those whose political ideas were different from their own.

On his first visit to England Engels had met some of the Chartist leaders such as Harney and Leach. Engels admired Harney[256] as an uncompromising revolutionary, a supporter of the international working class movement, and the editor of the *Northern Star* which he regarded as "the only newspaper which contains reports of all aspects of the workers' movement".[257] Engels became a contributor to the *Northern Star*. Marx and Engels probably met Harney when they visited England in 1845. As early as 1846 Harney joined the League of the Just which eventually became the Communist League.[258] In 1847 Marx and Engels spoke at a banquet in London commemorating the Polish rising of 1830.[259] A resolution calling for the establishment of an international association of democrats was proposed by Harney and carried by the assembled company. Harney visited France after the outbreak of the revolution in February 1848 when Marx had reconstituted the central committee of the Communist League


Die Lage
der
arbeitenden Klasse
in
England.

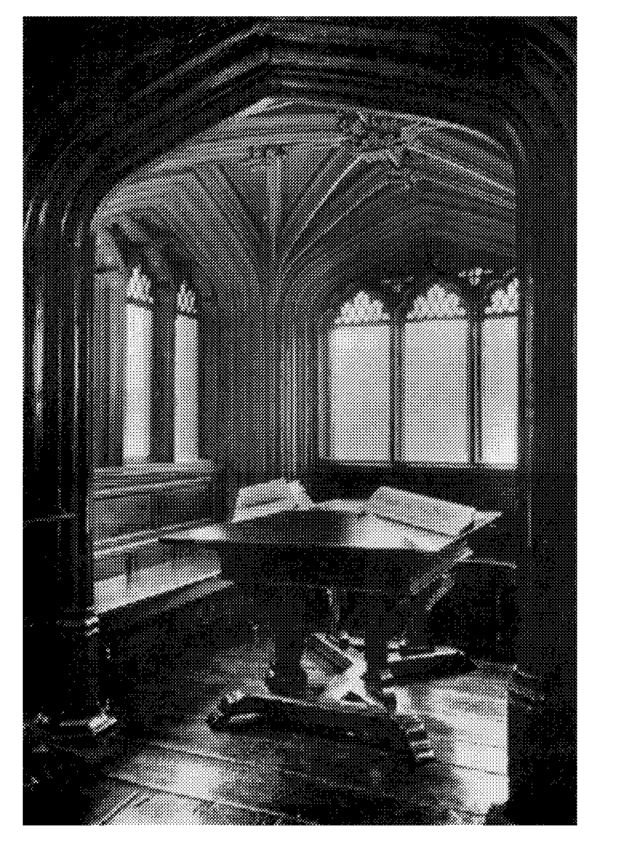
Nach eigner Anschauung und authentischen Quellen
von
Friedrich Engels.

Leipzig.
Druck und Verlag von Otto Wigand.
1845.

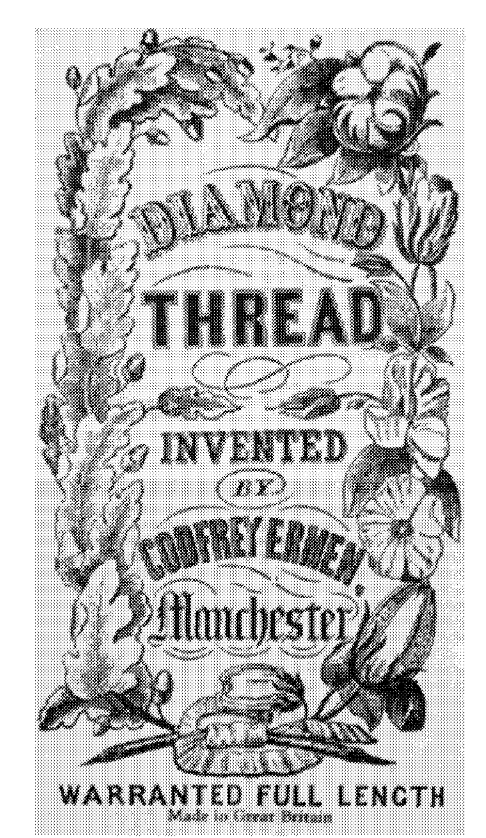
Frontispiece of the first edition of Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England (1845)*



Lodgings of Friedrich Engels in Manchester, 1858–1864
6 Thorncliffe Grove (off Oxford Road)



Desk in Chetham's Library, Manchester, at which Marx and Engels worked together in 1846



Advertisement of Godfrey Ermen's "Diamond Thread"

in Paris.[260] In April 1848 Engels was so confident of the success of the Chartists that he offered to bet his brother in law Emil Blank any sum that Harney would step into Lord Palmerston's shoes within a couple of months.[261]

In 1850 in London – after the failure of the revolution – Harney signed the statutes of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists which were drawn up by Marx and Engels. In his *Democratic Review* he published an article by Engels on the Ten Hour Question[262] and in his *Red Republican* he published Helen Macfarlane's translation of the Communist Manifesto which was described as "the most revolutionary document ever given to the world". When Engels moved to Manchester in 1850 Harney sympathised with his misfortune and declared that he would rather be hanged in London than die a natural death in that "damned dirty den of muckworms".[263]

In 1851 the Chartists were moving towards a socialist programme and the aims approved at their convention of March in that year have been described as "a statement of socialist policy which was not bettered until the twentieth century".[264] Yet at this very time Marx and Engels – described by Harney as "friends of long standing"[265] – ceased to collaborate with him. This was because when the exiles from the Continent quarrelled among themselves Harney declined to support the Marxist faction to the exclusion of other revolutionary groups. When Harney and Ernest Jones were rivals for the leadership of the remnants of the Chartist party in the early 1850s Marx and Engels supported Jones. Marx, writing to Engels in July 1851, was happy to report that Harney's *Friend of the People* was losing ground while the sale of Jones's *Notes of the People* was increasing.[266] Engels and Harney did not entirely lose touch with one another. They met in Jersey in 1857 when Engels was recuperating from an illness and Harney was editing the Jersey *Independent*. Engels wrote contemptuously that Harney was "an exceedingly stupid creature who feels quite at home here as a member of the petty bourgeoisie".[267] Over twenty years later – on a visit to the United States – Engels met Mrs Harney and wrote to Sorge in August 1888: "She says Harney will come to London in October where I shall then see him."[268] In the summer of 1891 Engels and Harney met in the Isle of Wight. On Engels's death Harney paid a warm tribute to one who had been his "friend and occasional correspondent for more than half a century".[269]

In his book on *The Condition of the Working Class in England* Engels quoted from a pamphlet written by James Leach entitled *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*. The pamphlet had appeared anonymously and Engels was the first to identify the author. Leach

had been a weaver and was now a bookseller and printer in a small way. He had been the president of the provisional executive of the National Charter Association in Manchester in 1840 and had served as vice-chairman of the Chartist National Convention in London in 1842. After the disturbances in the north of England in that year Leach had been one of a number of Chartists who had been arrested on charges of seditious conspiracy. At his trial in March 1843 he defended his right to expose the evils of the factory system and to champion the Chartist cause. He was convicted on one count but the sentence was quashed on a technicality. Back in Manchester Leach resumed his activities as a political agitator, addressed meetings in support of the Charter and the Ten Hours Bill. He opposed the Anti-Corn Law League and tried to disrupt its meetings. He was arrested again in 1848. Gammage declared that Leach was a relaxed speaker in public. "For fact and argument there were but few of the speakers of that period who excelled him."[270] Engels regarded Leach as "an upright, trustworthy and capable fellow".[271] He referred to Leach as his "good friend".[272] But the friendship was not renewed when Engels returned to Manchester. There are only two references to Leach in Engels's letters to Marx. The first letter described a debate between Ernest Jones and James Leach in January 1851 at which Engels was present. The second mentioned Leach's attendance in the same month at a Chartist conference in Manchester.[273]

Ernest Jones,[274] another Chartist with whom Engels was associated, was born in Berlin and brought up on his father's estate in Holstein. His father was Major Charles Jones, veteran of the Peninsular and Waterloo and equerry to the Duke of Cumberland who came to the throne of Hanover as Ernest I. Ernest Jones came to England at the age of 19 and qualified as a barrister. He joined the Chartists and soon became one of the leaders of the left wing of the movement which was prepared to attain its ends by physical force rather than by peaceful means. He was one of the most effective Chartist orators. Engels's friend Georg Weerth wrote: "Jones, a master of the two most powerful modern languages, combined in his speeches a profound German scholarship with unlimited English drive. His speeches at the great meetings of the Fraternal Democrats were probably received with greater enthusiasm than those of any other speaker."[275] The violence of one of Jones's speeches earned him a term of imprisonment in 1848.

Engels does not appear to have made contact with Jones during his first stay in England in 1842–4. They probably met when Engels visited England in 1845 and 1847. Since he had been educated in Germany and spoke German Jones could understand

Engels's philosophical arguments in favour of communism. But he was never converted to Marx's doctrines. Ernest Jones was in touch with the international working class movement before 1848. He was, for example, a member of the German Workers Educational Association in London. The German tailor Friedrich Lessner recalled Jones's visits to the Association and described him as a "courageous and self-sacrificing agitator" and a "resolute and fearless leader".[276] Marx and Jones met at the end of 1847 when they spoke at a banquet held to commemorate the anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830.[277]

The first reference to Jones in the Marx–Engels correspondence is in March 1848 when Marx informed Engels that Jones was in Paris and in touch with the newly elected central committee of the communist party. It has been seen that in 1851 when Jones and Harney were rivals for the support of the rump of the Chartist party Marx and Engels supported Jones and contributed to his *Notes to the People* and *The Peoples Paper*. On March 18, 1852 Engels wrote to Marx that Ernest Jones now had a real chance of reviving the Chartist movement.

> "From all I see, the Chartists are so completely disorganised and scattered and at the same time so short of useful people, that they must either fall completely to pieces and degenerate into cliques . . . or they must be reconstituted on an entirely new basis by a fellow who knows his business. Jones is quite on the right lines for this, and we may well say that he would not have got onto the right road without our teaching, for he would never have discovered how the only basis on which the Chartist party can be reconstituted – namely, the instinctive hatred of the workers for industrial bourgeoisie – can be not only preserved but enlarged, developed and based on enlightened propaganda, whilst on the other hand one must still be progressive in opposing reactionary desires and prejudice amongst the workers."[278]

A year later Marx reported that *The People's Paper* was financially sound and that Ernest Jones was planning to address a number of meetings in the provinces.

In 1857, however, Marx and Engels were disappointed at the tactics adopted by Ernest Jones. They criticised him for failing to take advantage of the discontent caused by the slump of that year to rouse the masses in the factory districts. Marx complained that instead of doing this Jones was trying to co-operate with the middle class radicals.[279] In October 1858 Engels declared that "the Jones affair is truly disgusting".[280] The English workers were becoming more bourgeois in character and Jones was losing his old fire. Early in 1859 Marx wrote to Weydemeyer: "I have broken with Ernest

Jones. Despite my repeated warnings and despite the fact that I accurately predicted what would happen – namely, that he would ruin himself and disorganise the Chartist party – he nevertheless took the course of trying to reach an agreement with the radical bourgeoisie. Now he is a ruined man, and the harm he has caused to the British proletariat is enormous."[281]

When the last of the Chartist newspapers collapsed Jones settled in Manchester (1861) and practised at the bar. On the establishment of the International Working Men's Association Marx urged Engels to persuade Jones to set up a branch of the Association in Manchester – but added the warning: "Have an eye on Jones! He is a fellow too clever by half."[282] But Jones seems to have shown little interest in the new association. Marx complained in 1865: "Ernest Jones is here. He was very agreeable socially speaking. But, between ourselves, he keeps in touch with our Association only because it will help him from an electoral point of view."[283] Engels replied that he could never find Jones at home. "We must let Jones go his own way."[284] Marx thought that it would be useful to "co-operate with Jones for a time" – in view of a forthcoming meeting in Manchester of delegates from the International Working Men's Association and the Reform League.[285]

Jones's policy of co-operating with the radicals – and even with the Liberals – continued to be a disappointment to Marx and Engels. In September 1868 Engels told Marx that he had actually heard Jones call Gladstone "a great leader of the working classes". "Once more he has been too clever by half."[286] Two months later Engels described Ernest Jones as a faithful servant of Gladstone and Bright.[287] He had only contempt for Jones's efforts to enter Parliament with the support of the Liberal vote. In the following year Marx asked Engels if he would contribute to the expenses of a demonstration to be held in Trafalgar Square to support Ernest Jones. But early in 1869 Jones died suddenly at the age of 50. On January 29 Engels wrote to Marx: "Tomorrow, with an enormous procession, Jones is to be buried in the same churchyard where Lupus lies. The fellow is really a loss. His bourgeois phrases were only hypocrisy after all, and here in Manchester there is no one who can take his place with the workers. They will disintegrate again completely and fall right into the net of the bourgeoisie. Moreover he was the only educated Englishman among the politicians who was, at bottom, entirely on our side."[288]

Another Englishman with whom Engels was on friendly terms was Edward Jones of Manchester. Frank Hall wrote that as a young man Edward Jones "was exceptionally well informed, and so marked was his gift of speech that one of the Manchester papers

described him as 'a young Demosthenes'. He became a protégé of a Mr Engels, a Manchester merchant, who almost adopted him as a son and sent him to the Mechanics Institute for further training in order to qualify him for public life." Edward Jones played an important part in the activities of the Manchester branch of the International Working Men's Association which met in the Union Chambers near the Town Hall.[289] When Eugène Dupont moved from Manchester Edward Jones became the leading figure in the branch and kept Engels informed of its activities. In 1872 he acted as secretary to the Nottingham congress of the English Federal Council of the First International.

Engels's closest English friend was Samuel Moore. Born in 1838 at Bamford in Derbyshire, Moore studied at Trinity College. Cambridge and graduated in 1862. He then ran a cotton spinning mill at Ancoats[290] and, when the undertaking failed, he embarked – at the age of 40 – upon the study of law at Lincoln's Inn where he qualified as a barrister. Samuel Moore and Engels met in Manchester in 1863.[291] Moore shared the political views of Marx and Engels and when he was given the nickname "King Coal" he could feel that he had been admitted to the inner circle of Marx's closest disciples. Moore joined the International Working Men's Association, the receipt of his subscription of £5 being noted in the minutes of the General Council in September 1866.[292] Moore, however, did not play an active part in politics. His significance in the early socialist movement lay in the fact that he translated most of the first volume of *Das Kapital* into English.

The earliest references to Moore in the Marx–Engels correspondence are in 1865 when Moore purchased a few shares in the *Beehive* journal and joined Engels on a fortnight's holiday in Germany and Switzerland.[293] In June 1867 Engels wrote to Marx that he had found an English translator for *Das Kapital*. Samuel Moore would translate the book. "He knows enough German to read Heine fluently and he will soon master your style. . . . It goes without saying that the translation will be done under my personal supervision. . . . He is an industrious and reliable fellow and he has as much theoretical knowledge as one can expect from an Englishman."[294] In the autumn of 1867 Moore went to Eisenach to study German for six weeks in preparation for his work as translator of *Das Kapital*.[295] In November Engels wrote to Marx that the translation was now in hand.[296]

For many years Moore made little progress with the translation. In January 1869 Engels wrote that Moore was studying Marx's earlier book *Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*.[297] In the 1870s, when Engels had moved to London, there is no mention of the

translation in Engels's correspondence. Only after Marx died in 1882 was the question raised again. In 1883 Engels told Laura Lafargue that he hoped to find a publisher for Moore's English version of *Das Kapital*. He praised Samuel Moore's specimen translation as being "very good and lively".[298] In the following year Engels wrote that he proposed to let Moore have most of Marx's parliamentary papers "for use with the translation".[299] Most of the translation was done in 1883–4. In April 1884 Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue that it had been suggested that Aveling might assist with the translation. Engels doubted whether Aveling's knowledge of German was adequate for this purpose.[300] Moore completed the translation in 1886 with some help from Aveling, and it was published in the following year.[301] In 1887 Samuel Moore made a new translation of the Communist Manifesto.[302]

Samuel Moore was appointed Chief Justice of the territories of the Royal Niger Company in 1889 and held this post until 1899. Engels wrote that Moore would get six months leave every other year as well as "good pay, and the expectation of returning in eight years or so an independent man".[303] In 1890 Engels told Kautsky that Moore was subject to attacks from malaria every six or eight weeks but the attacks were quite mild and there were no after effects. Early in 1891, however, Engels wrote that "Sam Moore is seriously ill".[304] Moore recovered and when he returned to England on his first leave Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue that he "likes the climate and the easy life amazingly".[305] In England he had another attack of malaria.[306] On December 1, 1891 Engels wrote that Moore had returned to Lagos "and would be back in the arms of his black wife in about a week or ten days".[307] Moore was in England again at the end of 1892. Engels mentioned that Moore had visited him in London in November of that year.[308] Engels consulted Samuel Moore when he drew up his will.[309] Moore was in London at the time of Engels's last illness. On one occasion when Engels was in Eastbourne Moore went to Victoria Station to catch Dr Freyberger – Engels's doctor – as he left the train so as to get the latest news of the patient's condition. When Engels died Moore attended the funeral and paid a brief tribute to his old friend. Moore retired in 1899 and died at his home at Castleton Hall, Derbyshire on July 20, 1911.[310]

VII. The "Philistines"

Although in later years Engels declared that "it is possible to enjoy a personal friendship with somebody with whom one differs in politics"[311] it may be doubted whether he had any close friends

among the middle classes in Manchester with whom he came in contact through his business and social activities. Some of these "philistines" – as he called them – were in the cotton trade while some were members of the flourishing German colony in Manchester. It was a real hardship for Engels to be forced to associate day after day with English businessmen. In 1845 he had savagely attacked the English bourgeoisie. He declared:

> "I have never seen so demoralised a social class as the English middle classes. They are so degraded by selfishness and moral depravity as to be quite incapable of salvation. And here I refer to the bourgeoisie proper (in the narrower sense of the term) – and in particular to the 'Liberal' section of the English middle classes which supports the repeal of the Corn Laws. The middle classes have a truly extraordinary conception of society. They really believe that all human beings (themselves excluded) and indeed all living things and inanimate objects have a real existence only if they make money or help to make it. Their sole happiness is derived from gaining a quick profit. They feel pain only if they suffer a financial loss. Every single human quality with which they are endowed is grossly debased by selfish greed and love of gain. Admittedly the English middle classes make good husbands and family men. They have also all sorts of so-called 'private virtues'. In the ordinary daily affairs of life they seem to be as respectable and as decent as the members of any other middle class. One finds them better than Germans to deal with in business. The English do not condescend to that petty haggling which characterises the German trader with his pathetically limited horizon. But what is the use of all that? When all comes to all what really matters to the Englishman is his own interest and above all his desire to make money."[312]

Yet Engels did not find the society of members of the middle class quite so disagreeable as one might suppose. He told Marx: "It is sad but true that here in Manchester the ordinary bourgeois fellow is the one who is easiest to get on with since he drinks and tells smutty stories . . . and one can laugh at him."[313] There are not many references to his "philistine" friends in Engels's letters to Marx. One would like to know more about the solicitor Isaac Hall (who described himself as "an old friend")[314] and the manufacturer Alfred Knowles – "fatty Knowles", who went bankrupt in 1868 and paid his creditors 7s 6d in the pound.[315] Engels joined the Albert Club, the Schiller Anstalt, and the Cheshire Hunt[316] but he seldom mentioned the names of fellow members of these organisations. He did tell Marx that his "philistine" friends knew of his association with Mary Burns[317] and sent their condolences when she died.[318]

In later life Engels sometimes recalled his years in Manchester.

One of his stories concerned the attitude of the "philistines" to smoking. When being entertained by a manufacturer he was invited to retire to the kitchen for a smoke since no gentleman would smoke a cigar in the presence of ladies. To illustrate the strength of sabbatarianism, Engels recalled lunching with a middle class family on a Sunday and being asked which service he had attended. He replied that he always took a walk in the country on a Sunday morning. His host observed that Engels held rather "peculiar religious views" – "somewhat socinian, I think". Belfort Bax, reporting the story, commented that " 'somewhat socinian' was about the extreme limit of heterodoxy conceivable to a respectable middle class mind".[319]

Two of the "philistines" mentioned in the Marx–Engels correspondence were Louis Borchardt and John Watts. Borchardt[320] was born in Landsberg an der Warthe (Brandenburg) in 1813 and qualified as a doctor in Berlin in 1838. He practised in Breslau and organised medical relief measures during the typhus epidemic in Silesia in 1845. He was a democratic agitator during the revolution of 1848 and was imprisoned when the reaction triumphed. On his release he migrated to England and settled in Bradford where he met H. M. Steinthal of Messrs. Steinthal & Co. When Steinthal moved to Manchester, Dr Borchardt followed him in 1852 and built up "an excellent practice among the wealthy classes".[321] His interest in revolutionary politics declined. He joined the Liberals and became president of the Withington branch of the South East Lancashire Liberal Association.

In 1853 Dr Borchardt was appointed honorary physician to the General Dispensary for Children (opened in 1829) at 25 Back King Street, Pool Fold. In 1854 this dispensary moved to North Parade, St Mary's and a little hospital of six beds was added to it. The dispensary and hospital were charitable institutions supported by public subscription. In his first report on the hospital Dr Borchardt observed that many working class children died owing to inadequate home nursing when they fell ill and he urged the provision of additional hospital accommodation – including a fever ward – for sick children.[322] In 1860 the children's hospital was moved to a larger house (30 beds) in Bridge Street. In the following year there were 236 admissions. Between 1873 and 1878 the hospital – now the Royal Manchester Children's Hospital – was transferred to large new premises at Pendlebury. When Dr Borchardt retired in 1878 a ward in the new hospital was named after him, and a marble bust of the doctor was placed at the entrance to the ward. Dr Borchardt has been described as "an efficient administrator", but "he was not very popular because of his autocratic

attitude and intolerance of contradiction".[323] On one occasion he was criticised for dismissing a colleague without giving any reason for doing so.

Dr Borchardt met Marx and Engels through Wilhelm Wolff. Dr Borchardt and Wolff came from Silesia and had probably met in Breslau in the 1840s. The first reference to Dr Borchardt in the Marx–Engels correspondence is in a letter from Marx in 1852. Marx hoped that Dr Borchardt would persuade Steinthal to recommend Wolff to some of his business friends in London.[324] In September 1852 Dr Borchardt sent Wolff £10 so that he could come to Manchester[325] and subsequently Dr Borchardt helped Wolff to find private pupils. Wilhelm Wolff later showed his appreciation by leaving Dr Borchardt £100 in his will.[326]

Engels had a poor opinion of Dr Borchardt but maintained contact with him for Wilhelm Wolff's sake. He regarded Dr Borchardt as "a mendacious character"[327] and "a louse"[328] while Marx dismissed him as "a philistine liberal".[329] Engels was contemptuous of Dr Borchardt's professional skill. In 1858 he complained that Dr Borchardt was not giving Wilhelm Wolff proper treatment[330] and in 1864 – during Wolff's last illness – he insisted that Dr Gumpert should be called in to give a second opinion.[331] Dr Borchardt did not forgive Dr Gumpert for his intervention and the two doctors quarrelled again a few years later when Dr Gumpert suggested that Dr Borchardt should not allow children into a bedroom in which a child that had died of scarlet fever was lying. Both Engels and Dr Borchardt were members of the Schiller Anstalt. Engels was persuaded to become President of this institution because he hoped to annoy Dr Borchardt by doing so.[332] In their correspondence Marx and Engels frequently made derogatory remarks about Dr Borchardt. In 1868, for example, Engels regaled Marx with a scandalous piece of gossip concerning Dr Borchardt's alleged improper relations with a lady who was his patient. Engels declared that Dr Borchardt's position in Manchester had received a "severe shock". "Many people dare to speak about him in a disrespectful way." "And he has lost some of his elegance and cheerfulness."[333] Nevertheless Marx and Engels did not break off relations with Dr Borchardt. In 1859 they tried – apparently unsuccessfully – to persuade him to subscribe to the socialist periodical *Das Volk*.[334] In 1873, when Marx was on a visit to Manchester, Dr Borchardt called upon him. Dr Borchardt died in 1883.

John Watts,[335] a crippled tailor, played a leading *rôle* in the public life of Manchester in the middle of the nineteenth century. He was self-taught and he eventually secured a position as assistant secretary and librarian at the Mechanics Institute in Coventry. In

1841 he became a full-time lecturer for the National Society of Rational Religionists at the Hall of Science in Manchester. In his well attended lectures on Sundays Watts denounced revealed religion and capitalism and advocated atheism and the type of socialism preached by Robert Owen. Later his views changed. He supported radical rather than socialist reforms and he made his peace with the clergy. He became a strong supporter of such causes as the co-operative movement, free public libraries, state schools and technical education. He was a prolific pamphleteer and in 1866 he wrote a book on *Facts of the Cotton Famine.* On his first visit to Manchester Engels attended some of Watts's lectures and gave a vivid description of one of them in an article which he contributed to a Swiss radical journal in 1843. Here he described Watts as "an important fellow", whose writings showed "considerable talent".[336] In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels mentioned Watts's pamphlet on *Facts and Fictions of Political Economists* with approval.[337] But in 1846 Engels complained that Watts was aiming "at becoming respectable in the eyes of the middle classes, despite his far from respectable atheism and socialism".[338] In 1850, when he was back in Manchester, Engels took an even less favourable view of Watts who had become "a faithful disciple of M. Proudhon" and "a completely radical humdrum bourgeois".[339] Watts was actually "on the best of terms with the Bishop of Manchester".[340] Engels, however, decided to "keep on good terms" with Watts who, after all, was "just as endurable as the other philistines here".[341] In 1851 he asked Watts to help Wilhelm Wolff to find a suitable post in Manchester.[342] In 1854 he secured from Watts a letter of introduction to the editor of the *Daily News* since he hoped to become the military correspondent of that paper.[343] But in 1858 when Marx asked Engels to approach Watts for a loan from the People's Provident Assurance Company (of which he was the managing director) Engels replied that he had "fallen out with the fellow".[344] The quarrel appears to have been patched up since in 1863 Engels did call upon Watts in a vain effort to borrow money – on Marx's behalf – from the People's Provident Assurance Company.[345] In 1866 Marx asked Engels to see Watts to secure from him a copy of a pamphlet entitled *On Machinery* which Watts had written.[346] In the first volume of *Das Kapital* Marx attacked a recent pamphlet by Watts[347] as "a positive cesspool of ancient and rotten apologetic commonplaces". He added that "at one time this same Watts traded in Owenism, and in 1842 published a pamphlet entitled *Facts and Fictions of Political Economists.* Among other things he said: 'Property is robbery.' But that was a long time ago".[348]

NOTES

1 Soon after Wilhelm Wolff's death Engels wrote to Marx (on June 9, 1864) that they should write a short biography of Wolff but it was not until 1876 that Engels wrote a brief account of Wolff's life in a series of articles in *Die Neue Welt* (July 1 to November 25, 1876). In 1886 these articles formed the basis of Engels's introduction to a reprint of Wolff's eight articles on *Die Schlesische Milliarde* which had originally appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. This brief biography has been reprinted in two editions of Wolff's works – one edited by Franz Mehring (1909) and one by E. Reiche (1954). It appears also in *Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels: Werke*, Vol. 19, pp. 53–88 and in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 77–104. See also Willy Klamitter's essay on Wilhelm Wolff in *Schlesische Lebensbilder*, Vol. 1 (1922), pp. 266–70; Helmut Bleiber, "Wilhelm Wolff's Auftreten in Breslau in Frühjahr 1848" in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1958, Heft 6, pp. 1310 *et seq.*; and Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff, sein Weg zum Kommunisten 1809–1846* (1963).

2 *Mohr und General: Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels* (1965), p. 207 and Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 223.

3 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 103.

4 Wilhelm Wolff was born in Tarnau, Kreis Schweidnitz and not – as Engels stated (*Biographische Skizzen*, 1967, p. 78) – in Tarnau near Frankenstein.

5 For the "Rabenaas" hymn see F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 83, Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff. Sein Weg zum Kommunisten 1809–46* (1963), p. 127 and D. Hoffmann "Die Rabenaastrophe" in *Correspondenzblatt für Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens*, Vol. 6, Lignitz, 1898, (Heft 1, p. 71).

6 H. Oncken, *Lassalle* (Third edition, 1920), p. 34.

7 Wilhelm Wolff, "Die Kasematten" in the *Breslau Zeitung*, November 18, 1843, reprinted in *Der Aufruhr der Weber in Schesien (Juni 1844) und andere Schriften* (edited by Karl Bittel) (Berlin, 1952).

8 Heinrich Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Vol. 5 (edition of 1927), p. 510.

9 *Breslau Zeitung*, December 5, 1843 and W. Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff. Sein Weg zum Kommunisten 1809–46* (1963), p. 177.

10 In 1844 the poor law doctor Alexander Schneer described some of the workers' houses in Breslau as "pigsties rather than habitations fit for human beings" (*Über die Zustände der arbeitenden Klassen in Breslau* (1844), p. 25 and W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

11 F. W. Wolff, "Das Elend und der Aufruhr in Schlesien" (written at the end of June 1844) in Püttmann's *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* (Darmstadt, 1845). Reprinted in Eduard Bernstein, *Documente des Sozialismus*, Vol. 1 (1902), pp. 296–313, Wilhelm Wolff, *Der Aufruhr der Weber in Schlesien* (Juni 1844) *und andere Schriften* (edited by Karl Bittel, 1952), and Carl Jantke and Dietrich Hilger, *Die Eigentumlosen* (1965), pp. 157–78. Wolff's views on the weavers rising in Silesia were similar to those held by Marx, Engels and the members of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. See Karl Marx, "Kritische Randglossen zu dem Artikel, Der König von Preussen und

die Sozialreform. Von einem Preussen" (1844) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 3 (1932) and a letter from the German Workers' Educational Society in London to the editor of the Hamburg *Telegraph* in G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 64–6. The letter stated: "We accuse society which treats us like pariahs, lays insupportable burdens upon us, gives us no rights and allows us to rot in hunger and distress."

12 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 103.

13 At one time a number of Wilhelm Wolff's contributions to the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* were erroneously attributed to Engels.

14 Wilhelm Wolff may have been the author of an article on the Prussian Landtag and the proletariat which appeared in the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* (the London organ of the newly established Communist League) in September 1847. The article has also been attributed to Engels.

15 F. Engels, introduction of 1885 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952), p. 20 and F. Mehring, Karl Marx (edition of 1967), pp. 150–1.

16 Marx wrote that the police "tore off his spectacles, spat in his face, kicked him and cursed him" (R. Payne, *Marx*, 1968, p. 176).

17 The members of the executive committee were Marx, Engels, Wilhelm Wolff (formerly of Brussels) and Bauer, Moll and Schapper (formerly of London).

18 Wilhelm Wolff's gloomy account of the situation in Berlin was confirmed shortly afterwards by Stephan Born who wrote to Marx on May 11, 1848 that the local branch of the Communist League had been dissolved.

19 For Wilhelm Wolff's report of April 18, 1848 see Franz Mehring's introduction of 1914 to the fourth edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (reprinted as an appendix to the edition of 1952, pp. 157–8).

20 For Wilhelm Wolff's activities in Silesia in 1848 see H. Bleiber, "Wilhelm Wolff's Aufenthalt in Breslau im Frühjahr 1848" in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1958, Heft 6, p. 1310 *et seq.*

21 F. Engels's introduction of 1885 to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (edition of 1952, p. 25).

22 Friedrich Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 156.

23 Friedrich Lessner, *op. cit.*, p. 156 and R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 186.

24 These articles were reprinted in 1886: see Wilhelm Wolff, *Die Schlesische Milliarde* (introduction by Friedrich Engels) (Hottingen-Zürich, 1886) and Wilhelm Wolff, *Gesammelte Schriften* (edited by Franz Mehring, 1909).

25 See Georg Weerth to Ferdinand Lassalle, May 3, 1851 for Weerth's efforts to secure papers for Wilhelm Wolff that would enable him to travel to England (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 507).

26 Georg Weerth to Engels, November 24, 1851: "My plan for Lupus has fallen through" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 432).

27 Engels to Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 243.

28 Marx to Weydemeyer, August 2, 1851 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–1895* (New World Books, 1963), p. 23.

29 Marx to Engels, March 10, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 457.

30 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen*, (1967), p. 102.

31 Engels to Marx, September 19, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 504.

32 Wolff was only aged 44 but Marx and Engels referred to him as "the old man".

33 Marx to Engels, September 7, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 499–501 and A. Künzli, *Karl Marx, Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 365. In another letter Marx complained of Wilhelm Wolff's "infamous insolence" (October 8, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 508). For the reconciliation see Marx to Engels, January 25, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 4 and A. Künzli, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

34 Friedrich Engels to Jenny Marx, April 16, 1857: "The old gentleman is now very popular with a group of German clerks who gather at the Chatsworth Inn from time to time. Wolff takes the chair every Sunday evening in a most dignified manner. The German clerks and the English philistines who frequent the inn would be lost without him" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 184–5). The Chatsworth Inn (proprietor J. Royle) was situated in Boundary Lane, Chorlton on Medlock (W. Whellan, *Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1853, p. 472).

35 Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx, March 23, April 3, 1854 and February 11, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 12, 15 and 286.

36 Karl Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer, February 1, 1859 in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (New World Books, 1963), p. 60; Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 1, 1868, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 29.

37 Jenny Marx to Louise Weydemeyer, May 11, 1861 in *Mohr und General: Erinnerungen an Marx und Engels* (1965), p. 261. Marx considered that Horace Mayhew's definition of an old bachelor applied to Wilhelm Wolff. He quoted from an article by Horace Mayhew in the *London Illustrated News*: "Symptoms of being a confirmed old Bachelor: When a man cannot go anywhere without his umbrella, that's a symptom. When a man thinks everyone is cheating him, that's a symptom. When a man does all the shopping himself etc." (Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels, August 25, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 162).

38 Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx, August 25, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 210–11.

39 For Wilhelm Wolff's letter to Fritz Reuter of December 30, 1863 see the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1957, Heft 6, p. 1244. An extract from Reuter's reply of January 12, 1864 was given by Engels in his *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 80. Reuter declared that he was still waiting for revolution to break out in Germany. The constitutional conflict in Prussia was at its height and Reuter wrote: "If only the Prussians would at least refuse to pay their taxes. That is the only way to get rid of Bismarck and company and kill off the old king with sheer vexation."

40 Wilhelm Wolff was buried in the (now disused) cemetery in Ardwick.

41 Ferdinand Freiligrath to Karl Marx, May 10 and 11, 1864 in F. Mehring, "Freiligrath und Marx in ihrem Briefwechsel" in *Ergänzungshefte zur Neuen Zeit*, Vol. 12, April 12, 1912.

42 Karl Marx to Jenny Marx, May 13, 1864 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 30, pp. 659–60.

43 For Wilhelm Wolff's will see the documents in the Wolff papers at

the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam). See also F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 6, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 251 and Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 233.

44 For Georg Weerth see his collected works – Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke* (ed. Bruno Kaiser, five volumes, 1956–7) and F. Engels, "Georg Weerth, der erste und bedeutendste Dichter des deutschen Proletariats" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 7, 1883 reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 107–14; Karl Weerth, *Georg Weerth. Der Dichter des Proletariats* (1930); Horst Bunke, *Georg Weerth 1822–1856. Ein Überblick über sein Leben und Wirken* (1956); Marianne Lange, "Das Vermächtnis Georg Weerths – eine grosse Tradition unserer sozialistischen Literatur" in *Einheit. Zeitschrift für Theorie und Praxis des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus*, Vol. 12, 1957, Heft 10, pp. 1288–98; Marianne Lange, *Georg Weerth. Der erste und bedeutendste Dichter des deutschen Proletariats* (1957); Florian Vassen, *Georg Weerth. Ein politischer Dichter des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848–49* (1971).

45 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, January 23, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–1895* (New World Books, 1963), p. 33.

46 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 108.

47 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, March 26, 1842 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 54.

48 George Weerth to Karl Marx, December 18, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 188.

49 George Weerth to Friedrich aus'm Weerth, January 22, 1845: "Having been guilty of a foolish indiscretion in the summer of 1843 I have not dared to write to you since . . ." (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 146). For details of the indiscretion see Georg Weerth to his mother, September 8, 1843 (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 83–9). Weerth had improperly shown someone a private letter from the local burgomaster to his employer.

50 For a short time after leaving the firm Georg Weerth worked for August aus'm Weerth (son of Friedrich aus'm Weerth) and lived in his house. He drew no salary but August aus'm Weerth undertook to pay off Georg Weerth's debts. But when he left Bonn some of Georg Weerth's debts were still unpaid and some tradesmen's accounts were sent to his mother. See Georg Weerth to his mother, September 8, 1843, July 18, 1847 and September 14, 1847 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 83–9, pp. 254–9, and pp. 263–5.

51 Philip Passavant & Co. (worsted yarn merchants of Bradford) was a subsidiary of S. Passavant (Manchester) – Philip being the eldest son of S. Passavant. The offices of the Bradford firm were in Chapel Lane (1842), Tyrrel Street (1845) and Cheapside (1847). In 1845 S. Passavant gave up his business in Manchester and retired to Greenhill Hall, Bingley. See Georg Weerth to his mother, May 29, 1845 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 160. In 1845 Georg Weerth was earning £149 a year. If he had received £150 he would have had to pay £5 in income tax (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 152).

52 Georg Weerth's first letter from Bradford to his mother was dated December 21, 1843 (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 108). On April 18, 1846 Georg Weerth wrote to his mother that he had left Bradford on

April 11 (*ibid.*, p. 202). Weerth was in Brussels in July and August 1845.

53 Georg Weerth to his brother Ferdinand, January 10, 1844 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, 1957, p. 111.

54 Georg Weerth to his mother, January 9, 1846 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 194.

55 Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, *Skizzen aus dem sozialen und politischen Leben der Briten*, p. 165.

56 George Weerth to his brother Ferdinand, January 10, 1844 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 111.

57 Georg Weerth to his mother, January 12, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 144.

58 Georg Weerth to Friedrich aus'm Weerth, January 22, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 147.

59 Georg Weerth to his mother, January 12, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 144. The firm was George Cheetham and Sons, 43 Spring Gardens, Manchester – described in the local directory as "spinners and manufacturers by power". The family resided in Stalybridge.

60 Georg Weerth to his mother, May 29, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 161. Weerth wrote in his novel on Schnapphanski: "May the devil take the idle rich and the West Indian planters. One day the workers will destroy the idle rich and the slaves will destroy their masters" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, p. 313).

61 Georg Weerth to his mother, May 29, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 160.

62 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, April 12, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 157. He wrote: "The principal subject that I am studying at present is economics. I have nearly finished Adam Smith and I will then get down to some other rogues – Malthus, Ricardo and MacCulloch. These rubbishy works are full of lies."

63 Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, p. 7.

64 Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3.

65 Georg Weerth to his mother, November 22, 1844 and May 29, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 138 and p. 160. In 1847 Dr John Little McMichan lived at 23 Thornton Buildings, Bridge Street, Bradford. In an article in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, Vol. 1, 1845 Weerth wrote: "Mac is a Scot who, after studying in Glasgow and Edinburgh, became a ship's doctor on a Greenland whaler. 'I got a great cold there,' he told me, 'and I was glad to come ashore at Liverpool after 2½ years at sea. I settled in York which is a truly ancient aristocratic hole. Some really pretty girls run around there and I actually fell in love with one of them. What folly! I had no money and everything went wrong. I moved to Bradford as a pale castaway and for some time now I have been knocking about among the factory workers.'" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, p. 493).

66 F. Engels, "The Free Trade Congress in Brussels" in the *Northern Star*, No. 520, October 9, 1847 (quoting Weerth's speech).

67 Georg Weerth to his mother, May 22, 1844 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 125.

68 Georg Weerth to his mother, July 6, 1844 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 128.

69 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 109.

70 Georg Weerth to his mother, February 18, 1845 (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 153), for a description of "a railway meeting" and Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, December 25, 1845 (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 191–4) for a description of a "monster meeting" at Wakefield organised by the Anti-Corn Law League.

71 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, April 12, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 156. He wrote: "Private property is the major cause of public misery."

72 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, December 24, 1844 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 140.

73 Georg Weerth to Friedrich aus'm Weerth, January 22, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 149.

74 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, April 12, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 156. Georg Weerth wrote to his mother on January 9, 1846: "It is highly probable that we shall soon have a splendid revolution here and I rejoice in the prospect with all my heart."

75 Georg Weerth to his mother, July 17, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 168.

76 19 au bois Sauvage, Ste Gudule. See Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 165–6. During part of Weerth's stay in Brussels Marx and Engels were away on a visit to Manchester.

77 Georg Weerth to his mother, July 19, 1845 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 170–3.

78 Georg Weerth to his mother, March 23, 1846 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 200.

79 The Hamburg house was run by Wolff and Steinthal, the Bradford house by Rickmann and Schütt.

80 When Weerth visited Paris in March 1847 he met Friedrich Engels. Weerth to his mother, April 18, 1847: "I was in Paris on March 20 and had breakfast with my friend Engels in the rue Rivoli." (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 252).

81 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, November 18, 1846 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 239.

82 Georg Weerth to his mother, November 28, 1847 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 277. Lucien Jottrand was president of this association and Marx was vice-president.

83 See *Congrès des Economistes réunis à Bruxelles par les soins de l'association belge pour le liberté commerciale. Session de 1847. Seánces, 16, 17 et 18 Sept* (Brussels, 1847) – and "Economistes, Congrès de" in Coquelin and Guillaumin, *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique* (two volumes, 1854), Vol. 1, pp. 671–2.

84 F. Engels, "The Free Trade Congress in Brussels" (published anonymously) in the *Northern Star*, No. 520, October 9, 1847; Georg Weerth in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 128–33; and Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, September 26, 1847 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 265–75.

85 F. Engels, "Speech of Dr Marx on Protection, Free Trade and the Working Classes" in the *Northern Echo*, October 9, 1847.

86 According to Engels (in a letter to Marx, September 28, 1847) Weerth's speech appeared in *l'Atelier* as a supplement (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, 1929, p. 75). *The Times* dismissed Weerth's speech as "Chartist commonplace" (*Northern Star*, October 9, 1847).

87 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, September 26, 1847 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 274.
88 *Northern Star*, October 30, 1847 and A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge . . .* (1958), p. 154.
89 Georg Weerth to his mother, November 28, 1847 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 277.
90 F. Engels (in Paris) to Karl Marx (in Brussels), November 23–4, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1 (1929), p. 89.
91 Weerth to his mother, February 25, 1849 in George Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 300.
92 Georg Weerth to his mother, March 11, 1848 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 281.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 281.
94 Imbert had been a former editor of the Marseilles workers' newspaper *Le Peuple Souverain* (1833–4) and a vice-president of the Brussels *Association Démocratique* (1847).
95 Georg Weerth, "Ein Besuch in den Tuilerien" in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, April 1 and 2, 1848 and in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 17–26. See also Georg Weerth to his mother, March 27, 1848. For Julian Harney's visit to the Tuilleries at this time see A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge . . .* (1958), p. 159.
96 Georg Weerth to his mother, March 27, 1848: "There is no business to be done as nobody thinks of buying or selling" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 286.
97 Engels (in Brussels) to Marx (in Paris), March 18, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 99.
98 Georg Weerth (Cologne) to Karl Marx (Paris), March 28, 1848: "Communism is a word that inspires terror here. People would stone anyone who openly admitted that he was a communist. Bürgers and d'Ester are talking about a new newspaper but I think that it is very doubtful whether the necessary capital can be raised. It would be a good idea if you would come here instead of studying in Paris." (Georg Weerth, (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 282). These discussions were also mentioned by Weerth in a letter of March 27, 1848 to his mother (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 284).
99 Editor's note to Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 286–7.
100 F. Engels, "Georg Weerth" in *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 109.
101 Georg Weerth's articles, which appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* between June 1848 and May 1849 have been reprinted in his *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4 (1957), pp. 39–284.
102 Varnhagen von Ense noted in his diary on August 24, 1849 that actual incidents in Lichnowski's career had been reproduced by Weerth in his novel. In 1858 Weerth's friend Eduard Vehnse wrote that the author had told him "that his novel on Schnapphahnski was based upon authentic sources". Engels writing in 1883 stated: "The facts are all true" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, p. 10 and p. 529).
103 For example Weerth wrote articles on political affairs in England which appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on March 7, 1849 (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 173–81) and May 19, 1849 – the last number of the newspaper (*Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 277–80). See also Georg Weerth to his mother, May 18, 1849 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 304–5.

104 Georg Weerth to his mother, February 23–25, 1849 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 296–301.
105 Georg Weerth to his mother, April 11, 1849 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 302–4.
106 Introduction to Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 4, pp. 11–12.
107 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, June 16, 1849 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 309–18.
108 Georg Weerth to his mother, August 12, 1849 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 309–318.
109 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 225.
110 Georg Weerth to his mother, September 16 and November 28, 1849 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 329–32 and pp. 336–9 and George Weerth to his brother Ferdinand, December 15, 1849 (describing his travels from June 13, 1849 to the end of 1849) in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 339–42.
111 Georg Weerth's letters to the president of the Cologne court (*Landesgericht*) July 20, 1849; September 29, 1849; and October 11, 1849 are printed in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 320, 332 and 334.
112 Georg Weerth to his brother Wilhelm, April 16, 1850 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 351.
113 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, May 2, 1850 in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 355.
114 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, June 2, 1850 in Georg Weerth *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 359.
115 Georg Weerth to his mother, August 2, 1850 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 360–2.
116 Georg Weerth to his mother, September 1–3, 1850 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5. p. 364.
117 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, March 3, 1851 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 391.
118 Georg Weerth to Friedrich Engels, March 3, 1851 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 393.
119 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, April 28, 1851, in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 403. Marx wrote to Engels on May 3, 1851: "I have just had a letter from Weerth. He is very discontented. He is bored by long noses and smoked meats. . . . You know friend Weerth. He gets bored most readily when he is enjoying middle class comforts." (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 190).
120 There are several references to meetings between Engels and Weerth at this time in the Marx-Engels correspondence and in Weerth's collected works. For example Engels mentioned Weerth's visits to Manchester in letters to Marx of August 27, 1851 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 251), October 27, 1851 (*ibid.*, p. 283), December 16, 1851 (*ibid.*, p. 300), October 14, 1852 (*ibid.*, p. 408), October 18, 1852 (*ibid.*, p. 413), November 27, 1852 (*ibid.*, p. 437). See also letters from Weerth to Engels on October 20 and 23, 1851, and of January 1852 and October 6 and 9, 1852 (in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5).
121 G. Weerth to F. Engels, November 24, 1851 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 432: F. Engels to K. Marx, October 27, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 284; K. Marx to F. Engels, February 4, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 316.

122 G. Weerth to K. Marx, October 26, 1852 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 454–5. At the Cologne trial of leaders of the Communist League the prosecutor alleged that Weerth was a member of the central committee of the League. A similar statement appeared in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. In fact Weerth was not a member of the League in 1852.

123 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, January 8, 1852; F. Engels to K. Marx, January 22, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 304 and p. 309.

124 Jenny Marx to Adolph Cluss, October 28, 1852 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 456.

125 Georg Weerth to F. Engels, November 26, 1851, January 16, 1852 and August 24 1855 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 433, 437 and 481. Steinthal had formerly been jointly in charge of the Hamburg branch of Emanuel and Son. He is mentioned in the Marx-Engels correspondence: *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 282, 416, 477 and 479.

126 Georg Weerth to Karl Marx, October 11, 1852 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 454. Steinthal & Co were described as commission merchants of 2 Lower Mosley Street in W. Whellan, *Directory of Manchester and Salford* (1853), p. 301.

127 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 28, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 402.

128 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 18, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 413.

129 K. Marx to F. Engels, December 3, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 440.

130 Georg Weerth to his mother, February 2 and June 14, 1853 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 456–9.

131 Georg Weerth to Heinrich Heine, July 17, 1853 from Angostura (Cindad Bolivar) in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 460–4.

132 Georg Weerth to his mother from Tepic, December 14–17, 1853 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 464–8.

133 Georg Weerth to his mother from San Francisco, February 1854 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 468–72.

134 George Weerth to Heinrich Heine from Buenos Ayres, April 1, 1855 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, pp. 472–9.

135 Quoted in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 486.

136 Wilhelm Wolff to Karl Marx, August 28, 1856 (conveying news of Weerth's death) in George Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5, p. 500. Marx wrote: "The news of Weerth's death came as a great shock to me. It is hard to realise what has happened" (K. Marx to F. Engels, September 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 146).

137 For Carl Schorlemmer see articles by A. Spiegel in the *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 25, 1892, p. 1106; by F. Engels in *Vorwärts*, July 3, 1892; by H. E. Roscoe in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, Vol. 7, p. vii and in *Nature*, August 25, 1892; by H. B. Dixon in the *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. 7, 1892, p. 191; by Professor Schuster in the *Manchester Guardian*, June 28, 1892; by P. J. Hartog in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 50, p. 439; by Hans von Liebig in the *Hessische Biographien*, Vol. 1, 1912, p. 439; by S. Unger in the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock*, Vol. 2 (3), 1953; and by H. Grohn in the *Technische Hochschule für*

Chemie Carl Schorlemmer. Festschrift 1954–64 (Merseburg, 1964). See also H. Zimmermann (ed), *Carl Schorlemmer* (1964: collection of essays); Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis; copy in the University of Manchester Library and J. K. Roberts, *The life and work of Carl Schorlemmer* (M.Sc. thesis, Manchester University, 1972).

138 The Thatched House Tavern was in Newmarket Place, Market Street, Manchester: see W. Whellan, *Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1853, p. 424.

139 For Heinrich Caro see *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 45, 1912, pp. 1987–2024: E. Darmstaedter in G. Bugge (ed.), *Buch der grossen Chemiker*, Vol. 2, 1930, pp. 298–309; and *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 3, p. 152. Heinrich Caro (1834–1910) came to England in 1859 and was employed by the firm of Roberts, Dale & Co. (Manchester). He returned to Germany in 1866.

140 For Ludwig Mond see J. M. Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond* (1956) and W. H. Chaloner, *People and Industries* (1963), p. 86–97.

141 For Philipp Pauli see H. Reisenegger, "Zu Dr. Paulis achtzigstem Geburtstag" in the *Chemiker-Zeitung*, February 23, 1916 and information supplied by D. F. Soun, archivist of the Farbewerk Hoechst A. G. The following correspondence is preserved in the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam) – seven letters from Engels to Philipp Pauli, two letters from Engels to Ida Pauli, eleven letters from Ida Pauli to Engels, and one letter from Marx to Ida Pauli.

142 There are references to the Thatched House Tavern in two letters from A. Davisson to F. Engels (February 2 and December 12, 1867 in the Marx-Engels archives (Amsterdam), L.1079 and L.1082.

143 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 6, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 250.

144 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 3, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 393.

145 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 54.

146 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 311.

147 Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis), p. 96.

148 Schorlemmer matriculated at the University of Giessen on May 11, 1859.

149 Engels was mistaken in stating (in *Vorwärts*, July 3, 1892) that Schorlemmer settled in England in 1858, the correct date is 1859.

150 Wilhelm Dittmar (1833–92) worked under Sir Lyon Playfair at Edinburgh University in the 1860s and subsequently became Professor of Chemistry at the Andersonian College at Glasgow. See article on W. Dittmar by A. Crum Brown in *Nature*, March 24, 1892, p. 493.

151 E. Fiddes, *Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University* (1937), p. 47.

152 For the early history of the chemistry department of Manchester University see H. E. Roscoe, *Record of Work done in the Chemical Department of the Owens College 1857–1887* (1887), Colin Campbell, "The Chemistry Department" in *The Journal of the University of Manchester*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1939, and G. N. Burkhardt, "The School of Chemistry in the University of Manchester" in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of Chemistry*, September 1954, p. 450. For H. E.

Roscoe see *The Life and Experiences of Sir H. E. Roscoe written by himself* (1906), T. E. Thorpe, *The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe: a biographical Sketch* (1916), and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement 1912–21.

153 *Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1895.

154 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 9.

155 H. B. Dixon, "Memoir of . . . Carl Schorlemmer" in the *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. 7, 1892, p. 191.

156 The Calendar of Owens College for 1862 – 3 stated that the Professor of Chemistry was "assisted in the instruction of students by Mr. C. Schorlemmer, F.C.S." The salary of an assistant in the chemical laboratory was £80 a year. This was raised to £100 in 1872.

157 F. Engels in *Vorwärts*, July 3, 1892. In a letter to Marx, March 7, 1869 (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 167) Engels stated that Schorlemmer had been injured when a bottle of phosphorus had exploded. Roscoe stated that acid burns left Schorlemmer with a permanent scar on one of his hands (*Nature*, August 25, 1892).

158 *Jahresbericht für Chemie*, Vol. 10, 1866, p. 535 and p. 537.

159 Sir Edward Frankland (1825–99), formerly professor of Chemistry at Owens College, was Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution (1863–8) and at the Royal College of Chemistry (1865). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement II, p. 237.

160 F. Engels to K. Marx, May 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 54. Carl Schorlemmer's papers on "Researches in the Hydro-carbons of the Series Cn H2n+2" appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* in 1865, 1868, 1870 and 1871. In 1870 Schorlemmer was living at 192 Brunswick Street close to the site to which Owens College was to move from the centre of the city in 1873. When he became naturalised in 1879 Schorlemmer's address was 114 Rumford Street, Chorlton on Medlock. At the time of his death in 1892 Schorlemmer was living in Hyde Grove, Chorlton on Medlock.

161 Carl Schorlemmer was elected a corresponding member of the German Chemical Society of Berlin at its meeting on November 11, 1868. He was described as "C. Schorlemmer Dr.phil.Manchester" but he did not have a doctorate at this time.

162 Schorlemmer's membership certificate was signed by J. P. Joule, Schunck, Binney, Gaskell and H. E. Roscoe.

163 In 1864 Schorlemmer received a grant of £30 from the Royal Society to assist him in his research.

164 Carl Schorlemmer to Alexander Mikhaiovich Butlerov, March 24, 1874 in Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin: thesis 1968), p. 173. A. M. Butlerov was born in 1828 and died in 1886. The centenary of his birth was marked by the publication of a collection of essays (in Russian) in his honour (British Museum Library, Ac. 1125/119).

165 H. E. Roscoe's letter of November 1, 1886 is in the records of the University of Manchester.

166 *Glasgow Herald*, April 28, 1888.

167 H. E. Roscoe, *Kurzes Lehrbuch der Chemie* (third edition, 1871).

168 H. B. Dixon stated that this was "the first systematic treatise on modern organic chemistry". For a review of the German translation of this book (*Lehrbuch der Kohlenstoffverbindung*) see the *Chemisches Zentralblatt*, 1895, p. 403.

169 There was a German edition (1889) and a French translation by Claparède. A new English edition of 1894 – twice as long as the first edition – was revised by Schorlemmer's pupil Arthur Smithells. Schorlemmer had presented Engels with a copy of the first edition of *The Rise and Development of Organic Chemistry* (1879) while Smithells sent Engels a copy of the edition of 1894. (See *Ex Libris Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, 1867, p. 182). The book was dedicated by Schorlemmer to his former teacher Hermann Kopp.

170 German edition: *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Chemie* (1877 onwards). Engels declared (in a letter to Bernstein) that it was common knowledge that most of this book had been written by Schorlemmer. Roscoe corresponded with his former teacher Robert Bunsen about this book. The correspondence is preserved in the University Library at Heidelberg.

171 The manuscript of Carl Schorlemmer's history of chemistry (which was not completed) is preserved in the library of the University of Manchester. One section covers the age of alchemy and another deals with the age of medical chemistry. The manuscript has been described by Karl Heinig in H. Zimmermann (ed.), *Carl Schorlemmer* (1964), pp. 77–85 and is mentioned by J. R. Partington in his *A History of Chemistry*, Vol. 4 (1964), p. 774.

172 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 174.

173 H. E. Roscoe in *Nature*, August 25, 1892, p. 395.

174 Carl Schorlemmer to A. M. Butlerov, January 29, 1881 and Butlerov's reply in Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis), pp. 175–6. Karl Heinig also reproduces an undated letter from Carl Schorlemmer to Karl Marx referring to the young Russian scientist.

175 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 7, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 380. J. G. Wehner was for many years the treasurer of the Schiller Anstalt in Manchester. In the advertising columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, August 6, 1870 there was an appeal for funds for the German wounded on behalf of the German Ladies Circle (*Frauenverein*) in Manchester.

176 See the *Manchester Guardian*, August 6, 1870 for a report on the work of the London central committee of the German Association for the Relief of the Wounded.

177 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 328.

178 Carl Schorlemmer (at Bouillon) to F. Engels, September 17, 1970 in Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis), p. 180.

179 In 1867, for example, Carl Schorlemmer attended the natural history conference at Frankfurt am Main.

180 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), p. 147.

181 In the preface to the second edition of *Anti-Dühring* Engels wrote in 1885: "Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealist philosophy and apply it in the materialist conception of nature and history. But a knowledge of mathematics and natural science is essential to a conception of nature which is dialectical and at the same time materialist."

182 See, for example, F. Engels to K. Marx, June 16 and 24, 1867 and K. Marx to F. Engels, January 3, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 394, 398, and Part III, Vol. 4, p. 2.

183 F. Engels to K. Marx, May 30, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 396–8 and English translation in F. Engels, *Selected Writings* (edited by W. O. Henderson, 1967), pp. 393–9.
184 K. Marx to F. Engels, December 7, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 461.
185 *Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1895.
186 Schorlemmer made a will on May 19, 1892 (witnessed by his solicitor G. W. Fox and his doctor E. Gumpert) leaving his property to his mother.
187 Carl Schorlemmer became a naturalised British citizen on May 17, 1879.
188 F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 149–50.
189 Ludwig Schorlemmer to F. Engels, May 30, 1892 in Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), L.5613.
190 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 18, 1890 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 262.
191 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 9, 1892 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 179; F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 11, 1892 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 342–3; H. E. Roscoe to F. Engels, May 27, 1892 and Engels's reply, May 28, 1892 in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), K. 1401.
192 F. Engels to Ludwig Schorlemmer, July 1, 1892 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 364–5 and G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 553.
193 *Manchester Guardian*, June 28, 1892. Arthur Schuster (1851–1934) was professor first of applied mathematics (1881–8) and then of physics (1888–1907) at Owens College.
194 Schorlemmer's modesty may be seen from his reply to a letter from a German correspondent asking for particulars of Schorlemmer's career. He wrote on June 23, 1886:

> Since you wish to know something about my extremely uninteresting career, I beg to inform you that I was born in Darmstadt on September 30, 1834. My chemical studies began there at the Polytechnic School. Then, for a time, I followed the profession of a pharmaceutical chemist but I subsequently continued my studies in Giessen and went to Manchester in 1859 as Roscoe's assistant. There I became lecturer in organic chemistry and in 1874 I was appointed Professor of Organic Chemistry, a post which I still hold.

See Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis), p. 177. Schorlemmer's letter is preserved in the Deutsches Museum in Munich.
195 H. E. Roscoe in *Nature*, August 25, 1892, p. 394.
196 *Manchester Guardian*, June 28, 1892.
197 See *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society*, No. 19, p. 184.
198 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 7, 1892 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 182.
199 Quoted by Karl Heinig in Hans Zimmermann (ed.), *Carl Schorlemmer* (1964), p. 84.
200 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, February 27, 1883 in Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 553.
201 F. Engels to P. Pauli, January 11, 1893, quoted by Karl Heinig in Hans Zimmermann (ed.), *Carl Schorlemmer* (1964).

202 F. Engels to Philipp Pauli, January 11, 1893 in Karl Heinig, *Carl Schorlemmer, der erste marxistische Chemiker* (Humboldt University, Berlin, 1968: typescript thesis), p. 171.
203 *Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1895.
204 Subscribers to the Schorlemmer memorial fund included H. E. Roscoe, H. Simon, W. H. Perkin (and his son), E. Donner, Heinrich Caro, C. P. Scott, Mrs Rylands, the *Badische Anilin Fabrik*; and Messrs Meister, Lucius & Brüning. By September 25, 1893, £2,015 16s had been raised. Later donations brought the fund up to £2,440. See *Schorlemmer Memorial: First List of Subscribers* in the Marx-Engels archives, S.55 (Amsterdam).
205 *Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1895.
206 Hans Zimmermann (ed.), *Carl Schorlemmer* (1964).
207 See *Festschrift: Technische Hochschule für Chemie Carl Schorlemmer 1954–1964* (Merseburg, 1964).
208 For a brief obituary notice of Dr E. Gumpert see the *Manchester Guardian*, April 24, 1893.
209 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 12, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 270.
210 E. W. Jones, *The History of the Manchester Northern Hospital for Women and Children* (Manchester, 1933), p. 52. The name of the hospital was changed in 1902 to the "Manchester Northern Hospital for Women and Children".
211 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 31, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 321.
212 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, January 17, 1870 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 22, p. 507.
213 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 26, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 44 and F. Engels to V. Adler, October 23, 1892 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 56–7.
214 Karl Marx (Harrogate) to F. Engels (London), November 30, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 408. "I visited Gumpert on Thursday. He is quite bald and he has aged a good deal." See also Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, January 19 and May 18, 1874 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 134–5.
215 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 24 and May 1, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 168–9.
216 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 20, 1891 and F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, April 3, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, pp. 39 and 45.
217 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 19, 1892 and F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 9 and July 7, 1892 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, pp. 175–6, 179 and 181–2. See also F. Engels to August Bebel, June 20, 1892 in F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), p. 227.
218 *Manchester Guardian*, April 22 and 24, 1893.
219 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, April 25, 1893 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, pp. 258–9.
220 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 18, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 31.
221 For Carl Siebel (1836–68) see the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 34, pp. 166–7; J. V. Bredt, *Geschichte der Familie Siebel* (1937); G. Werner, "Romantiker Wuppertals: Barmer Dichter Karl Siebel

starb vor hundert Jahren" in *Westdeutsche Rundschau*, May 31, 1968; Klaus Goebel, "Zum hundertsen Todestag Carl Siebel" in *Romerike Berge*, Vol. 18, 1968–9, p. 45 and H. Hirsch's introduction to *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 17–20.

222 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 27, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 359.

223 H. Hirsch's introduction to *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 17.

224 F. Engels to Frau Elise Engels, April 20, 1859 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 162–3.

225 Carl Siebel to F. Engels, May 28, 1859, quoted in H. Hirsch's introduction to *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 18.

226 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, December 22, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 451.

227 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 4, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 432.

228 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 7, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 467.

229 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 13, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 414.

230 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 4, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 465–66.

231 See the programme: *Manchester Schiller Festival, Free Trade Hall, November 11, 1859* (Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., Printers, "Guardian" Office, Manchester). For the Schiller festival see the *Manchester Guardian*, September 17 and 20, October 22, and November 3, 5, and 9, 1859.

232 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 4, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 432.

233 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 17, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 435–6.

234 *Manchester Guardian*, February 6, 1860.

235 F. Engels to Carl Siebel, July 4, 1862 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 250.

236 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 15, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 502.

237 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 5, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 515–16. Engels added: "She will wear the breeches".

238 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 25, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 510–11.

239 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 10, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 22.

240 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 27, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 52.

241 Carl Siebel to F. Engels, December 23, 1861 in H. Hirsch's introduction to *Friedrich Engels; Profile* 1970), p. 20.

242 Karl Marx to Carl Klings, October 4, 1864 and Karl Marx to Carl Siebel, December 22, 1864 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 31, pp. 417–18 and p. 436.

243 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 5, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 227 (postscript).

244 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 7, 1865 and F. Engels to Carl Siebel, February 27, 1865 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 31, p. 94 and p. 456. A review of Engels's pamphlet appeared in the *Barmer Zeitung* (March 9, 1865) and in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung*.

245 Karl Marx to F. Engels August 5, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe* Part III, Vol. 3, p. 282.
246 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe* Part III, Vol. 3, p. 385.
247 Carl Siebel to Karl Marx, May 1, 1867 (H. Hirsch ed.) *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 199.
248 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabc*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 422.
249 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 22, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 438.
250 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 10, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 447–8.
251 The review in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* is reprinted in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 172–3. Reviews also appeared in the *Barmer Zeitung* (F. Engels to Jenny Marx, January 3, 1868 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 32, p. 531), the *Elberfelder Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Börsen Zeitung.*
252 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 15, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, Siebel died on May 9, 1868 and was buried in the cemetery in Barmen in the Bartholasstrasse.
253 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 16, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 56.
254 F. Engels to August Bebel, February 2, 1892 in Friedrich Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), p. 210.
255 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 8, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 129.
256 For Julian Harney see F. G. and R. M. Black (ed.), *The Harney Papers* (1969); A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge* (1958), John Saville's introduction to the facsimile reprint of *The Red Republican* and the *Friend of the People* (two volumes, 1966) and Peter Cadogan, "Harney and Engels" in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 10, Part 1, 1965. Engels's friend Georg Weerth wrote that "Harney, a brilliant orator, was the first Englishman to offer the hand of friendship to Schapper, Bauer, and Moll, the three Germans who ran the German Workers Education Association in London. Harney established that close co-operation between the English and German workers that led to the foundation of the Society of Fraternal Democrats" (Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3, 1957, pp. 373–74).
257 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971), p. 254 and "Das Fest der Nationen in London" in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, 1846 and *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 2, p. 616. For the *Northern Star* see E. L. H. Glasgow, "The Establishment of the *Northern Star* Newspaper" in *History*, February–June, 1954, pp. 54–67.
258 *Northern Star*, December 4, 1848.
259 H. Förder, *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (1960), p. 158 (note 3).
260 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 12, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 96. Harney, Jones and McGrath presented an address from the Chartists and the Fraternal Democrats to the people of Paris.
261 F. Engels to Emil Blank, April 15, 1848 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 27, pp. 476–8.

262 *Democratic Review*, No. 10, March 1850.
263 Julian Harney to F. Engels, December 16, 1850 in F. G. and R. M. Black (ed.), *The Harney Papers* (1969), p. 258.
264 J. Saville in his introduction to the reprint of *The Red Republican* and the *Friend of the People* (1966), p. x. The Chartist programme of March 1851 was printed in the *Friend of the People*, April 12 and 19, 1851 and in the *Northern Star*, June 12, 1851.
265 The *Friend of the People*, March 15, 1851, p. 107.
266 K. Marx to F. Engels, July 31, 1851 (postscript) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 226. In addition to the *Northern Star* Harney was editor of the *Democratic Review* (1849–50), the *Red Republican* (June–November 1850) and *The Friend of the People* (first series – December 7, 1850 to July 26, 1851: second series – February 7 to April 24, 1852). In 1852 *The Friend of the People* and the *Northern Star* were merged. The new journal was called *The Star of Freedom*. Harney also edited the *Vanguard* from January to March 1853.
267 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 19, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 231–2.
268 F. Engels (Boston) to F. A. Sorge, August 28, 1888 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 202.
269 *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, August 17, 1895 and *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 192–3. Edward Aveling was exaggerating somewhat when he referred to Harney as "one of the oldest and closest friends of Engels" (*The Labour Prophet*, Numbers 45 and 46, 1895).
270 R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement* (second edition, 1894: reprinted 1969), p. 211.
271 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), pp. 151–2.
272 *Ibid.*, p. 342 (article in *Das Westfälische Dampfboot*, 1846, p. 21).
273 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 8 and 29, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 128 and p. 135.
274 For Ernest Jones see J. Saville (ed.), *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952).
275 Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 3 (1957), p. 374.
276 *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 154.
277 *Northern Star*, December 4, 1847 and J. Saville, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
278 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 18, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 331.
279 K. Marx to F. Engels, November 24, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 247.
280 F. Engels to K. Marx, October 7, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 340.
281 K. Marx to J. Weydemeyer, February 1, 1859 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 60–61.
282 K. Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 237.
283 K. Marx to F. Engels, May 9, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 268.
284 F. Engels to K. Marx, May 12, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 270.
285 K. Marx to F. Engels, May 13, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 271.

286 F. Engels to K. Marx, September 1, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 88.
287 F. Engels to K. Marx, November 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 126.
288 F. Engels to K. Marx, January 29, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 153.
289 Frank Hall, *A Northern Pioneer. The Story of J. R. Lancashire* (1927), p. 116 and pp. 134–5. Hall refers to him as "Edwin Jones" but his Christian name was "Edward". There are references to Edward Jones's political activities in H. Collins and C. Abramsky, *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement* (1965).
290 The firm of Samuel M. Moore & Son, cotton spinners, 2 Mill Street, Ancoats, is listed in W. Whellan, *Directory of Manchester and Salford* (1853), p. 226.
291 In an address given at Engels's funeral Samuel Moore stated: "I made the acquaintance of Fredrick Engels in the year 1863 in Manchester" (*Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 359).
292 *Documents of the First International* (Moscow and London), Vol. 2: Council Meeting, September 25, 1866, p. 34.
293 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 12, July 15 and August 16, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part 3, Vol. 3, pp. 270, 277 and 287.
294 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 397–8.
295 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 2 and October 22, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 416 and p. 438.
296 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 28, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 453.
297 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 29, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 153.
298 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 2 and September 19, 1883 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 137 and p. 146.
299 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 5, 1884 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 169–70.
300 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, April 18 and May 26, 1884 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 194–6 and 205–7.
301 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, November 24, 1886 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 395–9.
302 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, March 10, 1887 in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans* 1848–95 (1963), p. 177. See also F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, February 23, 1888 in G. Eckert (ed.), *Wilhelm Liebknecht: Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1963), p. 305.
303 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 11, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 276.
304 F. Engels to K. Kautsky, September 18, 1890 and January 7, 1891 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 262 and p. 268.
305 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 4, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 58.
306 F. Engels to K. Kautsky, June 29, 1891 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 305.

307 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 1, 1891 in *F. Engels - Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 148.

308 F. Engels to Julie Bebel, November 29, 1892 in F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), p. 262.

309 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx, November 14, 1894 in *F. Engels - Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 341–2. Copies of Engels's will (July 29, 1893), a codicil and a letter to his executors are preserved in the Marx-Engels archives, M.53 (Amsterdam).

310 *Manchester Guardian*, July 22, 1911. Samuel Moore's name appears in the Colonial Office List for 1898. At his death Samuel Moore's estate was valued at £2,821 (Probate Registry). In the index to *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow) it is stated that Samuel Moore died in 1912. This is a mistake. For letters from Samuel Moore to Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx see the Marx-Engels archives, G.160, G.330, G.331, and G.161 (Amsterdam).

311 F. Engels to Conrad Schmidt, September 12, 1892 in Helmut Hirsch, *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 109.

312 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971), pp. 311–12.

313 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 244.

314 Isaac Hall to F. Engels, May 28, 1869 in the Marx-Engels archives, L.2140–2150 (Amsterdam).

315 For Alfred Knowles see *Gesamtausgabe*, Part II, Vol. 3, pp. 277 and 297 and Vol. 4, pp. 19, 137, 150 and 395. The name of the firm was H. Knowles and Son.

316 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 22, 1857, December 31, 1857 and February 11, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 116, p. 266, and p. 286. See also Karl Marx to his daughter Jenny, January 11, 1865 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 31, p. 442.

317 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 1, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 26.

318 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 13, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 118.

319 E. Belfort Bax, *Reminiscences and Reflections* (1918), quoted in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 305–7.

320 For Dr Louis Borchardt see his obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1883. F. Boase states in his *Modern English Biography*, Vol. 1 (1892: new edition, 1965) that Borchardt was born in 1813. If this is correct he would have been 70 years of age when he died in 1883. But according to Borchardt's obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* he was 67 at the time of his death. For Louis Borchardt see also Dr A. Holzel, "Paediatrics in Manchester a Hundred Years ago" (History of Medicine Lecture, February 25, 1969: typescript).

321 *Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1883.

322 A copy of the first report of the General Hospital for Sick Children (Manchester) is in the Medical Library of the University of Manchester.

323 Dr A. Holzel, *Paediatrics in Manchester a Hundred Years Ago* (History of Medicine Lecture, February 25, 1969) (typescript).

324 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 2, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 477.
325 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 19, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 503–4.
326 F. Engels to K. Marx, March 6 and March 11, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 249 and pp. 251–2.
327 F. Engels to K. Marx, June 6, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 479.
328 F. Engels to K. Marx, May 1, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 170.
329 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 28, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 41.
330 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 10, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 335.
331 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 1, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 169.
332 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 200.
333 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 2, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 19–20.
334 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 18, August 10, August 13, 1859: Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 13 and 26 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 403–15.
335 For John Watts (1818–1887) see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 60, p. 71; The *Bee Hive*, August 14, 1875; an obituary notice in the *Manchester Guardian*, February 6, 1887.
336 F. Engels, "Briefe aus London" in the *Schweizerische Republikaner*, June 9, 1843. See also F. Engels, "Progress of Social Reform on the Continent" in *The New Moral World*, November 4, 1843.
337 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (English edition of 1965), p. 227. Watts was described as a "tailor and doctor of philosophy".
338 F. Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, September 16, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 35.
339 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 17, 1850 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 122.
340 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 5, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 142–3.
341 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 243–4.
342 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. I, pp. 243–4.
343 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 15.
344 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 16, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 331.
345 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 13 and 26, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 118 and p. 121.
346 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10 and 13, and March 2, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 306, p. 309, and p. 312.
347 John Watts, *Trade Societies and Strikes. Machinery and Co-operative Societies* (Manchester, 1865).
348 Karl Marx, *Capitalism* (Everyman Edition, 1930), Vol. 2, p. 600 (footnote 1).

DOCUMENTS

I

TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1845[1]

Working Men,

To you I dedicate a work, in which I have tried to lay before my German countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them. I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner parties, the port-wine and champagne of the middle classes, and devoted my leisure hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain working men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life – many an hour, which else would have been wasted in fashionable talk and tiresome etiquette; proud, because thus I got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men who with all their faults and under all the disadvantages of their situation, yet command the respect of every one but an English money-monger; proud, too, because thus I was placed in a position to save the English people from the growing contempt which on the Continent has been the necessary consequence of the brutally selfish policy and general behaviour of your ruling middle class.

Having, at the same time, ample opportunity to watch the middle

[1] This address appeared (in English) as a preface to the original (1845) German edition of F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958).

classes, your opponents, I soon came to the conclusion that you are right, perfectly right in expecting no support whatever from them. Their interest is diametrically opposed to yours, though they always will try to maintain the contrary and to make you believe in their most hearty sympathy with your fates. Their doings give them the lie. I hope to have collected more than sufficient evidence of the fact that – be their words what they please – the middle class intend in reality nothing else but to enrich themselves by your labour while they can sell its produce, and to abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit by this indirect trade in human flesh. What have they done to prove their professed good-will towards you? Have they ever paid any serious attention to your grievances? Have they done more than paying the expenses of half a dozen commissioners of enquiry, whose voluminous reports are damned to everlasting slumber among heaps of waste paper on the shelves of the Home Office? Have they even done as much as to compile from those rotting blue-books a single readable book from which everybody might easily get some information on the condition of "free born Britons"? Not they indeed, those are things they do not like to speak of – they have left it to a foreigner to inform the civilised world of the degraded situation you have to live in.

A foreigner to *them*, not to *you*, I hope. Though my English may not be pure, yet, I hope you will find it *plain* English. No working man in England – nor in France either, by-the-bye – ever treated me as a foreigner. With the greatest pleasure I observed you to be free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride, which after all means nothing but *wholesale selfishness*. I observed you to sympathise with everyone who earnestly applies his powers to human progress – may he be an Englishman or not – to admire everything great and good, whether nursed on your native soil or not. I found you to be more than mere *Englishmen*, members of a single, isolated nation, I found you to be MEN, members of the great and universal family of mankind, who know their interest and that of all the human race to be the same. And as such, as members of this family of "One and Indivisible" Mankind, as Human Beings in the most emphatical meaning of the word, as such I, and many others on the Continent, hail your progress in every direction and wish you speedy success. Go on then, as you have done hitherto. Much remains to be undergone; be firm, be undaunted – your success is certain, and no step you will have to take on your onward march will be lost to our common cause, the cause of Humanity!

Barmen (Rhenish Prussia) Friedrich Engels
March 15, 1845.

II

REVIEW OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS, *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND*, 1845[1]

No one denies the existence of working class poverty and distress and this is obviously one of the gravest problems to be faced in our present turbulent age. Today every government tries to check the growth and to ameliorate the evil consequences of this distress. If these efforts are to achieve success it is of vital importance that the causes and nature of social distress should be examined, particularly when it occurs in an acute form. England undoubtedly possesses the largest industrial working class and we must examine conditions there in order to appreciate the obstacles to be surmounted if a country is to achieve power and success without suffering the social evils and dangers that have afflicted the British nation. The history of events in England is for us Germans a textbook of practical experience in which we can study the growth of poverty and the degradation of the proletariat. The seeds of these evils – their fundamental causes – already exist in Germany. Fortunately our social structure rests upon a broader basis than that of England and the strong sense of social responsibility of our governments provides a stronger defence against the evil of poverty than exists in England. Nevertheless the danger is there and so the causes of social distress should be thoroughly examined.

One of our contributors recently asserted that because the aristocracy has gained complete control over the state in England it must accept responsibility for the distress that exists among the lower classes. He also argued that – owing to the industrial revolution – the English proletariat, deprived of all landed property, was bound to sink into a condition of poverty. There is a grain of truth in this even though it may be an over-simplification. The growth of the industrial proletariat always appears to be associated with

[1] *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, October 31, November 1 and 7, 1845 reprinted in J. Kuczynski, *Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, Vol. 8, pp. 170–85 and in C. Jantke and D. Hilger, *Die Eigentumlosen* (1965), pp. 406–25.

the progress – still incomplete – of the modern world. The dissolution of the medieval economy and the general changes that have taken place with regard to the possession of land have meant that both the ownership of property and the exercise of a trade are much less restricted now than they were in former times. Not only in England but also on the Continent former serfs have secured their freedom. At the same time, however, they have lost the protection of a feudal lord that they once enjoyed and they have sunk into the position of a working class which owns no land or other property. Where the feudal system has been most completely abolished and where property and labour have been completely freed from all restrictions – that is where the most grievous social evils exist. This is what has happened in England. The English nobles, firmly established as great landlords, have monopolised both the government of the country and the real power in society. They have made it impossible for property to be shared by other classes in society. If one looks at the influence of the economic changes that have occurred in the present century from this point of view it becomes clear that the aristocracy has a responsibility for the distress of the English proletariat since the industrial revolution has taken place within the framework of an aristocratic constitution.

Friedrich Engels, in the book which we are reviewing, considers the main cause of the origin of the English proletariat to be what we regard as only the means by which this class has developed. By adopting this false approach Engels ignores the sound principles of social theory. Engels states that the modern proletariat arose in the second half of the eighteenth century when the invention of the steam engines and new cotton machines gave the impetus to an industrial revolution – a revolution "which at the same time transformed the entire bourgeois society whose importance in world history is only now beginning to be recognised". Thus Engels believes that the origins of the modern proletariat are to be sought in the inventions of new machines. But this was an event which was only important in the history of technology. It could become of social significance only within a certain definite legal framework. Because he starts from a false principle Engels makes erroneous assumptions and reaches erroneous conclusions when he deals with the more fundamental causes of social evils in an industrial society and with the methods that should be adopted to remove those evils. The author appears to be a young man in a hurry and he has used the state of affairs in England – and the future consequences of this state of affairs – to support the well known morbid principles advocated by socialists today. We believe, on the

contrary, that the origins of the distress of the modern workers are to be found in the early beginnings of the development of our present society. We believe that this distress can be removed in a state governed by strong sound monarchical principles. This can be done by exploiting the freedom both of capital and of labour. Consequently we regard Engels's discussion of the origin of the modern proletariat and the methods by which present day social evils should be removed as the least satisfactory part of his book. And in examining Engels's work in more detail we shall not be much concerned with his views on this matter. We shall be dealing with the main part of Engels's book which gives a full account of the gradual growth and the present situation of the English workers. This brief but clear and – above all – comprehensive survey is worthy of praise. We have not seen any other book which gives the reader so clear and so full an account of the subject.

In his historical introduction Engels describes in outline the growth of the modern English factory workers (and their families) and he discusses their present economic and social condition. Formerly the ancestors of most of the factory operatives of today were domestic textile workers who led an uneventful existence in villages which were fairly close to large towns. They combined spinning and weaving with the cultivation of smallholdings. In those days cloth was sold mainly in the home market. As yet there was no cut-throat competition between manufacturers – this being brought about later by the struggle for overseas markets – and there were no drastic reductions in wages. Moreover, as the textile workers lived in isolation in the country districts they did not compete seriously among themselves. These workers were able to rent smallholdings and they enjoyed a standard of life superior to that of the proletariat. The daily routine and the outlook of these early English industrial workers was similar to that of some German workers today. They led a quiet and uneventful existence and they did not experience any drastic changes in their way of life or standard of living.

The stability of this society was first shaken in 1764 when James Hargreaves of Standhill near Blackburn in north Lancashire, invented the jenny which enabled a spinner to operate from 16 to 18 spindles. Before this invention the ratio of spinners to weavers had been three to one and there was normally always a shortage of yarn. But now the weavers were unable to cope with all the available yarn while at the same time there was an increased demand for cloth owing to the fall in its price. So there was a shortage of weavers and their piece-work rates increased substantially. In these circumstances the income of the weavers rose

so that they gradually gave up cultivating their smallholdings. In time the peasant-weavers disappeared and became simply weavers who were dependent upon wages and could therefore be classed as members of the proletariat. Hitherto, as far as possible, spinning and weaving had taken place under one roof. Now, however, it required as much strength to operate a jenny as a loom so that men turned to spinning and supported their families by this work. And sometimes women ceased to use their old obsolete spinning wheels and they and their families lived on the earnings of the weaver. The machine which originated the development of the industrial proletariat also stimulated the growth of the agricultural proletariat. There grew up a class of large tenant farmers who cultivated from 50 to 200 Morgen of land abandoned by the peasant-weavers. These farmers worked the land so efficiently that they forced the yeomen to sell their holdings and to swell the ranks of the new wage-earning industrial and agricultural proletariat. Improvements continued to be made in both industry and agriculture. After the jenny came Arkwright's spinning machine (throstle) of 1767, Samuel Crompton's mule of 1785 (combining the jenny with the throstle), and Cartwright's power loom of 1804 which enabled human energy to be replaced by a natural force. Steam engines now drove more and more machines while new processes were invented which involved linking the operations of various machines. Almost everywhere the machine triumphed over the old domestic craftsman.

Engels describes this continuous triumph of machinery over the domestic craftsman in England in various industries – such as cotton, wool, linen, silk, lace, hosiery, bleaching, calico printing, coal, iron and pottery – and also in agriculture. This led to an incredible growth of population and national wealth as well as a complete transformation of the English countryside. We are told that 60 or 80 years ago England was still a country – like all others – with small towns, a few simple branches of manufacture, and a relatively large but widely dispersed agricultural population. Now England has become a country like no other in the world – a country with a capital of two and a half million inhabitants, with huge factory towns, with an industry which supplies the whole world with manufactured products. It is a country which makes practically everything with the most complex machinery. It is densely populated and its people are industrious and intelligent. Two thirds of the English people are engaged in industrial occupations. And the industrial proletariat is a new social class, which might be described as a new nation with customs and needs of its own. It differs completely from any class which has existed in

the past. Britain's great industrial and commercial cities have arisen as if by magic. At least three quarters of the people who live in them are workers. Only petty traders and a few surviving craftsmen make up the lower middle class in these cities. The new type of industry became important only when machines replaced tools and factories replaced workshops. While the former middle class workers – the domestic craftsmen – became wage earning factory workers, the former great merchants became the owners of great industrial establishments. The lower middle classes were pushed aside so that society came to be divided simply into capitalists and workers. And this occurred not only in large-scale industry but also in the old domestic crafts and in commerce. Master craftsmen and their journeymen and apprentices were replaced by wealthy capitalists and by workers who could not rise out of the class in which they found themselves. Manufactured products were made in factories and not in domestic workshops. The principle of the division of labour was strictly applied. Small master could no longer compete with large factories and they were eventually engulfed by the new proletariat. At the same time the disappearance of domestic crafts and the destruction of the lower middle class made it impossible for the workers to aim at improving their status or to aim at rising into the middle class. Formerly it had always been possible for a craftsman to establish himself as an independent master and eventually to employ journeymen and apprentices himself. But now the master has been displaced by the factory owners. A large amount of capital is needed to establish a factory. Consequently the workers – who once had the chance of rising to middle class status as master craftsmen – have now become virtually imprisoned in the straightjacket of a social class from which there is no escape. From the day of his birth a member of the proletariat has no future except as an industrial worker. And this has led the workers to become united in a single independent social class. It is an important class which defends its economic interests through its own political movement. Engels has set himself the task of describing the present condition of this class.

By equating the growth of the proletariat with the establishment of the factory system Engels is arguing from false premises without appreciating the true state of affairs and so he inevitably reaches erroneous conclusions. We have already tried to indicate the real origins of the modern proletariat. We ask ourselves: Why should industry plunge the workers into poverty and distress and turn them into a proletariat? Certainly not because industry, as such, brings distress in its wake. If that were true then industry would be an evil whereas in fact it benefits humanity. The un-

satisfactory condition of the workers can be explained by the fact that when modern industry began to grow in England the impact of the new type of economy was felt by a society in which it was already inevitable that the workers would fall upon evil days. It is a law of nature that human beings have the right to expect that if they exercise their talents and work hard they should be able to maintain themselves and their families at a decent standard of living. And this is what actually happens in a healthy society. It is true that the new inventions and the new factories provided people with work but the structure of society – and the political constitution which was in force – denied the workers an adequate standard of living. The English worker was "free" in the sense that he was left to his own devices. He owned no property and he enjoyed no aid from the state. His daily wages simply covered his daily needs. But England is a country with a constitution which not only guarantees the most extreme form of personal liberty but also allows the greediest of human passions to flower unchecked. Moreover a small group of wealthy persons has been able to gain control over all effective political power. It is most unfortunate that this autocratic power has not been checked in any way by the higher authority of the monarchy. In a country with such a constitution the worker is in an utterly helpless situation. On gaining his "freedom" by exchanging his smallholding (which had assured him a modest living) for so-called "free" work in the factory the worker lost his former patron (whose interests had always coincided with his own) and now he has no claims and no rights. In the end he has been forced by grim necessity to work for such low wages that he is virtually engaged in forced labour. He has been left to face his troubles by himself and he has become a stranger in his own country. This has been a scandalous denial of the elementary law of nature by which a worker should expect to earn enough for his modest needs by honest toil. Consequently it is quite clear that it would be wrong to condemn industry as such for the present distress of the proletariat. We should condemn the unsound social conditions which existed at the time when the modern proletariat arose as a separate class. Industry should not be regarded as the fundamental cause of the distressed condition of the factory workers. Industry has merely been the means by which distress has been fostered and aggravated.

We have felt it necessary to state clearly our views concerning the fundamental causes of the rise of the proletariat because this enables us to appreciate the results that have followed from the development of this new social class. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that Engels considers that the present distress

of the workers is due entirely to the expansion of modern industries. Not only does he argue that the English middle classes have been responsible for the wretched condition of the proletariat but – because of the enormity of the social evils of the present day – he actually charges them with "social murder". It is obvious from our point of view that no single class can be made responsible for the distress of the workers. The middle classes have simply adopted a logical and inevitable policy with regard to a situation that they themselves have not brought about.

When describing conditions that exist today Engels has adopted a sensible and comprehensive plan. In order to cover the whole ground he has grouped the proletariat into several sub-divisions since different sections of the workers have reached different stages of economic and social development. The textile operatives were the first to feel the impact of the industrial revolution and their way of life has been changed more than that of other workers. The coalminers and the miners of metal ores come next in this respect and they are followed first by the farmworkers and then by the Irish labourers. Since the whole proletariat has been affected by the same economic and social changes Engels has given his readers a general survey of the entire working class before dealing with particular sections of the proletariat. By doing this he has been able to draw attention to certain special features which have characterised particular groups of workers. The first half of his book is devoted to this broad survey while the second half deals with certain sections of the working class.

Engels considers that one factor which has had a significant influence upon the growth and the present condition of the vast mass of the workers has been the rapid concentration of the population in certain new large industrial cities. Every one of these big towns has its slum – or slums – where the workers suffer great hardships in horribly overcrowded conditions. Engels condemns the "barbarous indifference and selfish harshness" of the capitalists who have allowed the workers to sink into a condition of incredible wretchedness. Throughout England – except for some parts of London – the workers live in the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns. Their houses are generally constructed in long terraces. The houses are built of brick and are two or three storeys high. The streets in the slums are generally unpaved, bumpy, dirty, full of animal and vegetable refuse, and covered with stagnant pools, yet lacking in sewers or gutters. There is an absence of fresh air owing to the lack of any planned housing developments in urban working class districts. Here people live in hopelessly overcrowded conditions. Sickness is rife owing to the foul air. We cannot follow

Engels through all the slums that he has visited. He first saw the London districts of St Giles, Whitechapel and Bethnal Green where several families are nearly always to be found packed in a single room without furniture or bedding. Then he describes Nottingham, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford and the wealthy Lancashire towns. Finally he gives an account of Manchester. Woodcuts and a town plan illustrate his detailed description of the greatest centre of manufactures in industrial Britain. Engels tells us about the way of life of the workers – their dwellings, clothes and food – and he paints a dramatic and shattering picture of their physical and moral degradation.

We will give some extracts from his account of Manchester to illustrate Engels's description of the manufacturing districts of Britain. These quotations show how the author – wrongly in our opinion – accuses industry itself of being the root cause of social evils. In fact industry is simply the channel through which social evils are brought to light. Engels paints a grim picture of the badly constructed houses, the filth and the foul air of the Old Town of Manchester. He writes:

> "This, then, is the Old Town of Manchester. On re-reading my description of the Old Town I must admit that, far from having exaggerated anything, I have not written vividly enough to impress the reader with the filth and dilapidation of a district which is quite unfit for human habitation. The shameful lay-out of the Old Town has made it impossible for the wretched inhabitants to enjoy cleanliness, fresh air, and good health. And such a district of at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants lies in the very centre of the second city in England, the most important factory town in the world! It is here that one can see how little space human beings need to move about in, how little air – and what air! – they need to breathe in order to exist, and how few of the decencies of civilisation are really necessary in order to survive. It is true that this is the *Old Town* and Manchester people stress this when their attention is drawn to the revolting character of this hell upon earth. But that is no defence. Everything in this district that arouses our disgust and just indignation is of relatively recent origin and belongs to the industrial age. The two or three hundred houses which survive from the earliest period of Manchester's history have long ago been deserted by their original inhabitants. It is only industry which has crammed them full of the hordes of workers who now live there. It is only the modern age which has built over every scrap of ground between these old houses to provide accommodation for the masses who have migrated from the country districts and from Ireland. It is only the industrial age which has made it possible for the owners of these shacks, fit only for the accommodation of cattle, to let them at high rents for human habitations. It is only

modern industry which permits these owners to take advantage of the poverty of the workers to undermine the health of thousands to enrich themselves. Only industry has made it possible for workers who have barely emerged from a state of serfdom to be again treated as chattels and not as human beings. The workers have been caged in dwellings which are so wretched that no one else will live in them, and they actually pay good money for the privilege of seeing these dilapidated hovels fall to pieces about their ears. Industry alone has been responsible for all this and yet this same industry could not flourish except by degrading and exploiting the workers. It is true that this quarter of the town was originally built on a poor site, which offered few prospects for satisfactory development. But have either the landowners or the authorities done anything to improve matters when new buildings were erected? Far from adopting any such policy those responsible for recent developments have built houses in every conceivable nook and cranny. Even small passages which were not absolutely necessary have been built over and stopped up. The value of the land rose with the expansion of industry. The more the land rose in value the more furious became the search for new building sites. The health and comfort of the inhabitants were totally ignored, as a result of the determination of landlords to pocket the maximum profit. No hovel is so wretched but it will find a worker to rent it because he is too poor to pay for better accommodation."[2]

Engels concludes his chapter on the working class districts of the industrial towns with the following observations:

"The working classes of the great cities exhibit a variety of standards of living. In favourable circumstances some of them enjoy, at least temporarily, a modest prosperity. Sometimes high wages can be earned, particularly for the hardest kinds of physical labour, and this provides reasonable living accommodation and a respite from the consumption of poor quality food. This standard of living, poor it may seem to the middle classes, is prized by the worker, who has almost certainly known the real meaning of want. In bad times, however, the unlucky worker may sink into the deepest poverty, actually culminating in homelessness and death from starvation. On the average the condition of the worker approximates much more closely to the worst we have described than to the best. The various standards of living cannot be equated with any particular group of workers. It is never possible to single out any particular group of workers as permanently enjoying a satisfactory standard of living. While it is true that particular groups of workers have an advantage over their fellows and are relatively well off, nevertheless the condition of all workers is liable to fluctuate so violently that every single worker is faced with the possibility of

[2] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), pp. 63–4.

passing through the stages that lead from relative comfort to extreme poverty and even death from starvation. Practically every English worker can recall considerable vicissitudes in his own personal fortunes. . . ."[3]

In a separate chapter Engels suggests that competition is both the immediate cause of this state of affairs and the most powerful factor influencing its development. He argues that in a modern middle class society there is a "war of all against all" – a struggle between different social classes and also a struggle between individuals in the same social group. The workers compete one against the other. Similarly the members of the middle classes also compete one against the other. The weaver operating a power loom competes with the weaver operating a hand loom. The hand loom weavers compete among themselves, the badly paid or unemployed endeavouring to oust their better paid employed rivals. The conflict between the workers themselves is the darkest aspect of the present condition of the proletariat and it is the sharpest weapon which the middle classes can wield against the working class. "This explains the rise of trade unions, which represent an attempt to eliminate such fratricidal conflict between the workers themselves. It explains, too, the fury of the middle classes against trade unions, and their ill-concealed delight at any setback which the unions suffer." If we examine the nature of this competition more closely we shall see that Engels is right when he criticises competition as the immediate cause of the present distress of the workers. This is because such competition – in the form in which it operates in England – has deprived the propertyless and unprotected worker of his status as a human being and has degraded him to the level of an inanimate object, the price of which rises and falls according to the law of supply and demand. It is, however, a mistake to assume that this sort of competition – the competition that completely abolishes freedom of property and freedom of labour – is a necessary condition of industry everywhere in the world. It is true that this has happened in England but it has happened only because of the nature of industrialisation in that country. We repeat our view that in England it is not industry as such but it is the political framework and the social structure of the country which has allowed industrialisation to develop in association with completely unrestricted competition.

By failing to discover the fundamental cause of the conditions that he describes the author has sketched a false background for his account of the English workers. On the other hand Engels gives

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–7.

a very detailed description of the situation as it exists today. He carefully describes the actual consequences of unbridled competition and of the deep moral degradation of the English workers. And he shows how this situation conforms to the doctrines enunciated by the well known economist Adam Smith. There is much that is new and interesting in Engels's discussion of the failure to establish a balance between the competition among the workers themselves and the competition (among the employers) to secure the services of workers. The first (competition among the workers) has always been stronger than the second (competition among the employers for labour) and this has happened despite the continual expansion of industry and the ever increasing demand for labour. Consequently the surplus population of unemployed has sunk into the deepest poverty. Engels believes that this is due to the commercial crises which are an essential feature of modern industry. His arguments on this aspect of the problem suffer, from time to time, by being advanced in a somewhat exaggerated fashion. Engels says that at the present time the production and consumption of goods occurs in an utterly haphazard manner and is undertaken not with the object of satisfying ascertained wants but simply to make a profit. Such a system – with everybody concentrating his attention on making money – inevitably leads to the existence of surpluses on the markets of the world. Thus England supplies many countries with a vast variety of manufactured products. Even though the manufacturer may know what quantities of each product are annually consumed in every country he cannot possibly know what stocks of goods are being held in warehouses and shops abroad. Still less can he be expected to know what quantities of goods his competitors are sending to particular foreign markets. All that he can do is to observe the continual fluctuations in the price of goods and from that he can make an uncertain guess as to the demand for his products abroad and as to the volume of goods held in warehouses abroad. So he sends his goods abroad blindly without really knowing whether they will be sold or not. His exports go out into the blue and what happens then depends more or less upon chance. In the light of even moderately optimistic reports everybody exports what he can and before long the market is glutted. And then sales decline and cash returns fall so that before long the English workers are thrown out of employment.

In the early days of industrialisation these crises were confined to particular branches of trade and to particular markets but as time went on competition exercised a unifying influence so that workers in one branch of manufacture who were unemployed, moved into other branches of industry where the necessary skills

could most easily be learned. Similarly goods which were superfluous in one market were ruthlessly thrown onto another market. Gradually these crises, which occurred with considerable regularity, came to merge together and now a universal crisis happens every five years – following upon a brief period of boom and general prosperity. When there is a crisis the home market and all the foreign markets are full of English manufactured products which are only being consumed quite slowly. An industrial depression casts its shadow upon all branches of trade. The small manufacturers and merchants – those who cannot manage without quick cash payments for their goods – go bankrupt. The larger manufacturers and traders stop making goods when the crisis is at its height. They close their factories or they work "short time" – that is to say their factories are open only for half a day instead of a full day. The wages of the factory workers fall because of the lack of profitable business, the reduction in hours of work, and the competition from those workers who are unemployed. The whole proletariat suffers severe distress. Small savings are quickly spent. Welfare organisations are overwhelmed with applications for help. The poor rates are doubled – even trebled – without solving the problem. The number of workers who are actually starving increases and all of sudden a terrifying number of the "surplus population" appear on the scene.

This situation lasts for a time and people survive as best they can – or they fail to survive. And then gradually there is an improvement. The goods which have been stored are consumed. Owing to the depression some time elapses before the gaps can be filled. Eventually rising prices and optimistic reports on the state of the market encourage a resumption of industrial production. The markets are generally far distant from the factories and while the first new supplies are on their way the demand continues to grow. The first goods to arrive are snapped up quickly since traders anticipate still higher prices for their next consignments. Then speculators step in and buy up particular types of goods, expecting to make large profits when they eventually unload them onto the market. This speculation drives prices up still further so that other traders are encouraged to place fresh orders. When news of these events reaches England the manufacturers begin to expand their output. New factories are built and everything is done to take full advantage of favourable trading conditions. Once more the speculators take a hand – with the same results as those which occurred in the foreign markets. Prices rise and goods are stored in the hope that prices will rise still further in the future. The industrial economy is working to full capacity. Then the fly by night

speculators who trade with fictitious capital and survive by living on credit, appear on the scene. They are ruined if they cannot sell their goods at once. These speculators fling themselves into the universal rush for quick profits. Their unbridled passion for money increases the feverish pace of trade. There is a mad increase in prices and output and a wild race for profits in which even the coolest and most experienced traders are involved. In the factories the workers are hammering, spinning and weaving as if every man, woman and child in the world needed more goods – as if thousands of millions of new consumers had been discovered on the moon. A time comes when the fly by night speculators in the consuming countries – who need cash urgently – begin to sell goods at less than the prevailing market price. Other traders follow suit. Then prices topple and the speculators throw all their goods onto the market. Now the market is in disorder; credit collapses; one trading house after another stops payment; one bankruptcy follows another. People realise that there are three times as many goods chasing customers as are required. The news reaches England where, in the meantime, production has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. Here too there is a panic. Bankruptcies abroad lead to bankruptcies in England. There is a slump and many trading houses take fright and throw all their goods onto the market. This simply makes matters worse. And now the crisis goes through the same phases as the one before until eventually the slump is followed by another boom. That is the trade cycle – boom, slump, boom, slump – which goes on for ever (every five years) as far as English industry is concerned.

Engels describes the crisis of 1842 from the point of view of its effects upon the condition and growth of the "surplus population". He shows how – in Stockport for example – whole streets stood empty because the poor rates levied on the houses amounted to an addition of forty per cent to the rents paid by householders. In Bolton the rateable value sank from an average of £86,000 to £36,000 in 1842 while 14,000 persons – twenty per cent of the entire population – were on poor relief. Engels also draws attention to another aspect of the competition among the workers themselves in England. This is the "Irish immigration" which has had deleterious consequences for the English workers. Engels examines the social consequences of the commercial crisis from the evidence of official reports. He shows how they affect the physical and moral condition of the workers. This topic has been discussed so often that it will not be necessary for us to go over the same ground again here.

Having given a general account of the condition of the English

workers Engels goes on to describe the particular branches of industry. In this section he again examines the factors which he regards as causes of distress among the industrial workers. We have seen that Engels has ascribed the social evils of modern industrial society to the invention of new machines and we have made clear our own view that it is only because of the existence of certain social and political circumstances in England that the new machines – and other factors – have had the results which they have had. But in this part of his book Engels himself has to admit that "the improvement of machinery would have had happy results if an orderly state of society had existed". But he immediately adds that at present "owing to the war of all against all it is particular individuals who secure for themselves the advantages of new machinery and at the same time deprive the vast majority of the people of the opportunity to maintain a decent standard of living." Here Engels appears to imply that the capitalists – those who possess property – have quite deliberately oppressed the workers. He assumes that only the fall of the capitalists can release the workers from their servitude. If Engels had examined the facts calmly he would surely have seen that fundamental social and political factors have inevitably led to the distress of the workers – and not the personal desires and deliberate policy of a particular group of individuals. This neglect of a wider point of view is in fact the most serious criticism to be made of Engels's book. It is a weakness which has led Engels to attack the whole English bourgeoisie class with unrestrained violence. Since Engels is blind to the real causes of the present state of affairs, he is even more blind to the developments that are likely to occur in the future. Engels is dealing in pure fantasy when he paints a grim picture of the none too distant future and dreams of a frightful revolution of the English workers. We refrain from discussing this matter in detail. It is not given to man to look into the future and in any case Engels's prophecies rest upon an insecure foundation. We turn instead to Engels's detailed description of various branches of English industry.

The most important branches of manufacture which Engels examines are those which are organised on a factory basis and are covered by the Factory Acts. This law regulates the hours of work in all establishments in which wool, silk, cotton and flax are spun and woven by power – water or steam – machinery. This includes the most important parts of English industry. The textile workers have the longest history. They are the most numerous, the most intelligent, the most energetic – but also the most restless – of the English workers. They are at the head of the trade union movement while their employers are at the head of the "bourgeois

agitation" – the Anti-Corn Law League. Owing to the growth of the factory system and the invention of new machines the textile workers have been torn from their former way of life. Of all the English workers they are the ones who have been most affected by the factory system. In Manchester, for example, in 35 factories only 1,060 additional mule spinners have secured jobs since 1841 although in the same period the number of spindles has increased by 99,239. In five factories there are no more spinners because so-called self-actors have been introduced. The improvements in machinery which have occurred since 1841 – particularly the doubling of the rows of spindles – have reduced the number of spinners in employment by half and even more than half. In one factory, which until recently employed 80 spinners, there are now only 20 at work. The others have either lost their jobs or have to perform children's tasks at children's pay. In Stockport the number of spinners has declined from 800 in 1835 to 140 in 1843 although in this period there was a considerable expansion in cotton spinning in this town. Engels exaggerates somewhat the evil consequences for the workers of this expansion of industry. It should be remembered that improvements in the factories lead to reduced prices and increased consumption – followed by new opportunities for employment by the workers. Nevertheless some of Engels's conclusions are correct as when he draws attention to a general decline in conditions of work in the factories and to the very serious condition of the female operatives. In the spinning mills the throstles are operated only by women and children while the mules have only one adult male spinner – and even he is not needed if self actors are installed. The tying up of the threads is done by piecers who are generally women and children, occasionally by youths aged between eighteen and twenty, and very occasionally by an old spinner who has lost his former job. Here improvements in machinery has made it possible to replace men by women and children. The wage structure has completely changed. According to Horner, a Factory Inspector, there are hundreds of young men aged from twenty to thirty years who are employed as piecers (or who do other work) and who earn no more than eight or nine shillings a week. In the same factory children aged 13 earn 5s and young girls aged between 16 and 20 earn from 10s to 12s a week. The power looms are generally operated by weavers aged between 15 and 20 and a few older men are also employed. In general, however, these weavers lose their jobs when they reach the age of 21. In 1839 there were 419,560 factory workers in Britain and 129,887 – or nearly half of them – were under the age of 18. There were 242,296 female workers of whom 112,191 were under the age

of 18. Adult males therefore represented only 23 per cent – or less than one quarter – of the total labour force.

The drawbacks of such a system are to be seen in the dissolution of the family, the degradation of the female sex, and the physical weakening of children owing to overwork. Engels produces ample evidence to prove these three aspects of industrialisation in England. With regard to the first point – the dissolution of the family – Engels shows that factory work gives a married woman no time to look after her children or to attend to her household duties. The children grow up like wild creatures. They may be looked after by other women who get a shilling or sixpence a week for doing so or they may be left in an empty house and suffer the most grievous harm from accidents. The records of the Manchester coroners show that in nine months there were 69 fatal accidents from burning, 56 cases of drowning, 23 deaths from falls, and 77 other fatal accidents in the home. It is obvious that the high infantile mortality rate is due to the fact that mothers of infants and young children go out to work. It often happens that a woman returns to work only three or four days after giving birth to a child and of course the baby is left at home. Engels rightly indicates the cause of this evil but he does not show that there is a remedy for this state of affairs. He argues that female labour necessarily causes the family to break up. And in the present state of society – which is based upon family life – this dissolution of the family demoralises both the parents and the children. A woman who has no time to look after her child, a woman who does not give her infant the normal loving attention that one expects from a mother, a woman who hardly ever sees her child – such a woman cannot be a real mother to her child. Inevitably she adopts an attitude of indifference towards the child; she does not look after the child or treat it with affection; she treats it as if it were a strange child. And children who are brought up in this way are later incapable of appreciating family life. When they themselves have children they cannot bring them up properly because they have known only an isolated sort of existence. All this leads to a universal decline in family life among the workers. Another factor influencing the decline of the family is child labour, especially when children earn more than is required to keep them. In such cases the children feel emancipated at an early age and treat their parent's home as if it were a lodging house which – and this is no infrequent occurrence – they can exchange for another if they feel like it. Female labour frequently not merely destroys family life but it turns family life upside down. The wife supports the family while the husband stays at home to look after the children and to do the cooking and

cleaning. In Manchester alone there are several hundred men who are condemned to domestic duties.

The second disadvantage of this system of work is that it ruins the female sex. The next generation of women is ignorant of domestic work but soon learns all sorts of undesirable accomplishments. A witness from Leicester stated that he would rather see his daughters begging in the streets than working in a factory. Most Leicester prostitutes have learned their trade in a factory. A witness from Manchester went so far as to allege that three quarters of the factory girls aged between 14 and 20 were not virgins.

By overworking children in factories the physical condition of the next generation of workers is being endangered. This has been shown in various official enquiries. The Apprentices Bill of 1802 was the first of various enactments which have somewhat curbed the worst abuses of child labour. Children now do not start to work until they are 8 or 9 years of age but a day's work of 14 to 16 hours is a scandalous cruelty to inflict upon children of such tender years. The great parliamentary enquiry of 1833 showed that children who had worked long hours in factories were physically weakened and suffered from injuries to the spine and limbs. Factory workers are considered to be old men when they reach the age of 40 or – at the most – 45 and they are then not considered to be capable of doing a normal day's work. They look 10 or 15 years older than they really are. Engels states that women who work in factories suffer from many maladies and find child-bearing very difficult. He examines various factory occupations – and the illnesses associated with them – and he shows that very little has been done to remedy the situation. The author ends this chapter with a bitter attack upon the English factory owners.

The facts that Engels gives are taken from the official report of 1834 – an enquiry set up by the factory owners themselves. Long before this date the evils of the factory system had been enumerated and discussed. But the factory owners and their supporters had denied the existence of these evils. Then in 1831 Michael Sadler, supported by the Tories, secured the appointment of a parliamentary committee to look into the factory system. Its report in the following year led to a great public outcry. In view of this report the factory owners themselves pressed for a more thorough enquiry and this led to the production of a new report in 1834 which was followed by the passing of a new Factory Act in the same year. This Act forbade the employment of children under the age of nine in factories. Children aged between 9 and 13 were not allowed to work for more than 9 hours per day and 48 hours per week. Young persons aged between 14 and 18 were not allowed to work

for more than 12 hours per day or 68 hours per week. A minimum break for meals – one and a half hours per day – was laid down. Night work was again forbidden for all young people under the age of 18. At the same time it was laid down that all factory children under the age of 14 were to attend school for two hours a day. A factory owner was liable to be punished if he employed children without a certificate of age from the factory doctor or without a school attendance certificate from a schoolteacher. Factory doctors or factory inspectors were appointed who had the right to enter a factory at any time. They could take evidence from workers on oath and could enforce the law by applying to the magistrates. This legislation led to the virtual disappearance of at any rate some of the worst social evils in the factories. Only weak workers were now likely to be crippled by factory work and there was less obvious evidence of the evil physical effects of factory labour. But later factory reports show that some evils remain – swollen foot-joints, weaknesses in the legs, hips and spine, varicose veins, ulcers, sickness, loss of appetite, digestive complaints, hypochondria and so forth. To some extent the factory owners have evaded the law. As early as 1839 an agitation in favour of a Ten Hour Day was started among the factory workers and since 1841 the present Tory government has again turned its attention to the question of factory legislation. But the middle classes who are in a very strong position from a political point of view, have (with the support of the Church) checked any further factory legislation. Sir James Graham's Bill of 1843 attempted to improve the situation with regard to the education of factory children. But his Bill had to be dropped owing to opposition from the Whigs (the factory owners' party) and from the Dissenters who were jealous of the influence of the Established Church and launched a great campaign against the Bill. On March 19, 1844 a ten hours clause was accepted by the House of Commons but this decision was reversed when the ministry threatened to resign. As Engels observes, this has led the workers to criticise the existing system of parliamentary representation.

It would take too long for us to examine the other branches of manufacture and to follow Engels in his description of the evils from which many workers suffer – such as stocking knitters, lace workers, calico printers, velvet cutters, silk weavers, metal workers, machine builders, glass makers, artisans and finally the London milliners and seamstresses. We refer our readers to Engels's description of the condition of these workers. Engels also discusses two other evils – the truck system and the cottage system both of which have led to discontent among the workers. The truck system forces the worker to accept wages in the form of goods instead of cash while

the cottage system forces him to rent a house from his employer. Engels next examines the trade union and the Chartist movements, the conditions under which miners and farm labourers work, and – finally – the relations between the middle classes and the proletariat. These topics are discussed less thoroughly and his examination of them is marred by his peculiar socialist views. This part of the book is less interesting than the earlier chapters. So we will pass them by. We conclude by quoting an interesting – if biased – comparison which the author makes between the English proletariat of the present day and the English serf of 1145:

"Let us compare the situation of the free-born Englishman in 1845 with that of the Saxon serf under the whip of the Norman baron in 1145. The serf was *adscriptus gebae*, that is, he was bound to the soil. The free factory worker is tied in the same way by the cottage system. The medieval lord of the manor exacted the *jus primae noctis* from his serfs. The modern factory owner goes much further and demands the right on any night. The serf was unable to acquire any property of his own. His lord could seize anything which he had acquired. The free factory worker also owns no property. He is not in a position to acquire property owing to the pressure of competition. The factory owner goes further than the Norman baron. By means of the truck system, he actually controls so personal a part of the life of the worker as his daily housekeeping. In medieval times the relations between lord and serf were regulated by traditions and by laws which were observed because they conformed with the customs of the time. Today, on the other hand, although the relations between master and man are on a legal basis, the law is in fact not carried out because it does not conform either to the interests or the traditions of the masters. In medieval times the lord of the manor could not eject the serf from his holding. Serf and land were indissolubly linked. The lord could not sell the serf because in practice he could not sell the land, since he held his land not in freehold tenure, but as a fief from the Crown. Today the middle classes force the worker to sell himself. The medieval serf was tied to the land on which he was born, while the modern worker is tied to the money that he must have to acquire the necessaries of life. Both are the slaves of material objects. The serf's livelihood was guaranteed by the existence of feudalism, in which everyone had his allotted place in society. The modern free worker has no similar guarantee because he is only certain of a place in society when the middle classes require his services. On the other hand, when the bourgeoisie has no use for the worker they simply ignore him and pretend that he does not exist. The serf risked his life in the service of his master in time of war, while the modern factory worker risks his life for his master in times of peace. The feudal lord was a barbarian who treated his serfs as beasts of burden. The modern civilised factory owner treats his workers as

if they were machines. In short there is little to choose between the position of the medieval serf and the free worker of the present day. If anything, the situation of the factory operative is less enviable than that of the medieval serf. Slavery has been the lot of both the serf and the factory worker. While in medieval times serfdom was an honourable status, undisguised and openly admitted, the slavery of the working classes today is hypocritically and cunningly disguised from themselves and the public. It is a far worse type of slavery than medieval serfdom. The Tory humanitarians were justified in referring to the factory operatives as 'white slaves'."[4]

[4] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958), pp. 207–8.

III

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMUNIST CIRCULAR AGAINST HERMANN KRIEGE, MAY 11, 1846[1]

A meeting was held which was attended by the communists Engels, Gigot, Heilberg, Marx, Seiler, Weitling, von Westphalen and Wolf. The policy of the *Volkstribun*, a German language newspaper edited in New York by Hermann Kriege was discussed and certain resolutions were passed, only Weitling voting against their adoption. The reasons why the resolutions were passed are given in the Circular. The resolutions are as follows:

1. The policy advocated by editor Hermann Kriege in the *Volkstribun* is not a communist policy.
2. The childish and pompous way in which Kriege advocates this policy seriously compromises the communist party not only in the United States but in Europe as well inasmuch as Kriege is regarded as the literary representative of German communism in New York.
3. If the fantastic soulful raptures in which Kriege indulges in New York and calls "communism" were accepted by the workers there it would lead to their complete demoralisation.
4. These resolutions and the justification for them will be circularised among communists in Germany, France and England.
5. A copy of the resolutions and the justification for them will be sent to the *Volkstribun* with the demand that they should be published in the next number of the journal.

Brussels	Engels, Philippe Gigot, Louis Heilberg,
May 11, 1846	K. Marx, Seiler, von Westphalen, Wolf

[1] G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), p. 70.

IV

LETTER TO G. A. KÖTTGEN OF ELBERFELD[1]

Brussels, June 15, 1846

To G. A. Köttgen for wider circulation.

We hasten to reply to your letter which we received a few days ago.

We entirely agree with your opinion that the German communists should emerge from isolation and should be united by a regular mutual exchange of ideas. We too appreciate the value of reading circles and discussion groups. The communists should clearly understand that their progress will be limited unless they meet regularly to discuss communist principles. We also agree that cheap, readable leaflets and pamphlets putting forward the communist point of view should be published. The organisation of study groups and the printing of pamphlets should be regarded as matters of immediate urgency. You will also appreciate the need to secure regular financial contributions from supporters of the communist movement. But we do not agree with your suggestion that your contributions should be used to finance communist writers and enable them to enjoy lives of easy comfort. We think that the contributions should be used only to print cheap communist leaflets and pamphlets and to defray the cost of correspondence within Germany and abroad. It will be necessary to fix a minimum monthly contribution so that the organisers will always know exactly how much money they can afford to spend in promoting the objects of the communist movement. Please send us a list of the names of the members of your communist group so that we may know – as you know from us – with whom we are dealing. Please let us know the rate of your monthly subscriptions (designated for general expenditure) since it is desirable to decide speedily on the publication of some popular pamphlets.

You really have some odd ideas about the Bundestag, the King of Prussia, the estates and so on. A memorandum would achieve

[1] G. Winkler (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 67–9.

its purpose only if Germany had a strong, well organised communist party but this is not the case. A petition would be effective only if it were a threat supported by a mass of compact organised public support. All that you can do – provided that the circumstances in your district are favourable – is to organise an imposing petition signed by *a great many* workers.

We do not think that the time is ripe for holding a communist conference. Only when Germany is covered with a network of communist groups with adequate financial reserves would it be possible for representatives from these groups to hold a congress with any chance of success. This will not be possible before next year. Until it is possible to hold a conference the only means by which communists can keep in touch with each other will be by regular correspondence.

We are already in correspondence from time to time with communists in England and France and also with German communists living abroad. Whenever we receive any news about the communists movements in England and France we will pass on the information to you. All other news will also be forwarded to you.

Please give us a *safe* address to which we can write. Do not put the full name (G. A. Köttgen for example) on the seal. Indicate both the writer and the recipient. When you write to us please use the following absolutely safe address – Monsieur Philippe Gigot, 8 rue de Bodembroek, Brussels.

K. Marx, F. Engels, Philippe Gigot, F. Wolf(f)

Postscript

Weerth sends his greetings. He is in Amiens just now.

If you do go ahead with your proposed petition it would simply mean that the communist party would openly proclaim how weak it is at the moment. And it would let the government know the names of the people whom it should keep an eye on in the future. Unless you can get up a workers' petition with at least 500 signatures it would be better to follow the example of the middle classes in Trier and petition in favour of a graduated tax on property. If the bourgeoisie in your district refuse to support you then you should support them – for the time being – in their public demonstrations. You should act like jesuits and give up your ideas of German honour, candour and respectability. You should support the middle class petitions in favour of freedom of the press, a constitution and so on. When these middle class aims have been achieved the ground will have been prepared for communist propaganda. Then we shall have greater opportunities to advance our cause since the antagonism between the middle classes and the workers will have been accentuated. From a party point of view you should

support anything which will be to our advantage eventually and you must not be deterred by any boring moral scruples.

In addition you should appoint a permanent committee to carry out your correspondence. This committee should meet regularly and should draft and discuss all letters to be sent to us. You should choose the person whom you consider best fitted for the task to draft the letters. Avoid personal considerations when doing this for that would ruin everything. You must of course let us know the names of the members of the committee responsible for your correspondence.

Greetings from the signatories overleaf.

V

ADDRESS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNISTS OF BRUSSELS TO MR FEARGUS O'CONNOR, 1846[1]

Sir,

We embrace the occasion of your splendid success at the Nottingham election to congratulate you and through you the English Chartists on this signal victory. We consider that the defeat of a Free Trade minister at the show of hands by an enormous Chartist majority, and at the very time, too, when Free Trade principles are triumphant in the Legislature, we consider this, Sir, as a sign that the working classes in England are very well aware of the position they have to take after the triumph of Free Trade. We conclude from this fact that they know very well that now, when the middle classes have carried their chief measure, when they have only to replace the present weak go-between ministry, in order to be the acknowledged ruling class of your country, that now the great struggle of capital and labour, of bourgeois and proletarian, must come to a decision. The ground is now cleared by the retreat of the landed aristocracy from the contest; middle class and working class are the only classes betwixt whom there can be a possible struggle. The contending parties have their respective battle cries forced upon them by their interests and mutual position – the middle classes: "extension of commerce by any means whatsoever, and a ministry of Lancashire cotton lords to carry this out"; the working class: "a democratic reconstruction of the Constitution upon the basis of the People's Charter" by which the working class will become the ruling class of England. We rejoice to see the English working men fully aware of this altered state of affairs; of the new period Chartist agitation has entered of late; with the final defeat of the third party (the aristocracy); of the prominent position which Chartism henceforth will and must occupy, in spite of the "conspiracy of silence" of the middle class press; and finally of the new task, which by these new circumstances has

[1] *Northern Star*, July 25, 1846.

devolved upon them. That they are quite aware of this task is proved by their intention to go to the poll at the next general election.

We have to congratulate you, Sir, in particular upon your brilliant speech at the Nottingham election, and the striking delineation given in it of the contrast between working class democracy and middle class liberalism.

We congratulate you besides on the unanimous vote of confidence in you, spontaneously passed by the whole Chartist body on the occasion of Thomas Cooper, the would-be respectable's calumnies. The Chartist party cannot but profit by the exclusion of such disguised bourgeois, who, while they show off with the name of Chartist for popularity's sake, strive to insinuate themselves into the favour of the middle classes by personal flattery of their literary representatives (such as the Countess of Blessington, Charles Dickens, D. Jerrold and other "friends" of Cooper) and by propounding such base and infamous old women's doctrines as that of "non-resistance".

Lastly, Sir, we have to thank you and your coadjutors for the noble and enlightened manner in which the *Northern Star* is conducted. We hesitate not a moment in declaring that the *Star* is the only English newspaper (save perhaps the *People's Journal* which we know from the *Star* only) which knows the real state of parties in England; which is really and essentially democratic; which is free from national and religious prejudices; which sympathises with the democrats and working men (now-a-days the two are about the same) all over the world; which in all these points speaks the mind of the English working class, and therefore is the only English paper worth reading for the continental democrats. We hereby declare that we shall do everything in our power to extend the circulation of the *Northern Star* on the Continent and to have extracts from it translated in as many continental papers as possible.

We beg to express these sentiments, Sir, as the acknowledged representatives of many of the German communists in Germany, for all their relations with foreign democrats.

For the German Democratic Communists of Brussels
The Committee
Engels, Ph. Gigot, Marx

VI

THE *STATUS QUO* IN GERMANY, 1847[1]

Month by month there is a decline in the standard of socialist writing in Germany. It is becoming more and more restricted to the pathetic effusions of those so-called "true socialists" the sum of whose knowledge is simply a mixture of German philosophy and German bourgeois sentimentality served up with a few poor communist catch-phrases. These scribblers flaunt their ineffectual policy in so obvious a manner that they are able to spout forth their innermost thoughts in spite of the censorship. The fact that the German censor finds virtually nothing objectionable in their effusions is proof enough that the authors belong to the stolid reactionary wing of German literature and have no connection with the progressive and revolutionary wing. These "true Socialists" include not only those who call themselves "socialists" but also most German writers who have adopted the "communist" party label. The latter are, if anything, more miserable specimens than the former.

In these circumstances it goes without saying that these so-called "communists" in no way represent the German Communist Party and do not further its aims. And of course they are not recognised by the Communist Party as its literary representatives. On the contrary these literary hacks represent quite different interests. They defend quite different principles and those are principles to which the Communist Party is utterly opposed.

The "true socialists" – to whom must be added most so-called German "communist" writers – have learned from the French communists that the transition from absolute monarchy to a modern parliamentary system in no way ameliorates the misery of the masses but merely brings to power a new social class – the middle class. Our "true socialists" have also learned from the French communists that this very middle class – because of its control over

[1] Translation from an incomplete manuscript (written in March–April 1847) printed in Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels, Vol. 4, *Geschichte und Politik*, 2 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 17–33 and in *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. VI, 1932.

capital – is mainly responsible for the oppression of the workers and is therefore naturally regarded by genuine communists and socialists – the true representatives of the masses – as their deadliest enemy. But the "true socialists" have not taken the trouble to compare the political development of Germany with that of France. Nor have they studied the conditions that actually exist in Germany today – conditions which must influence all future developments in the country. They have simply transferred their very limited knowledge (of France) to Germany without giving the matter very serious consideration. If they had been genuine party members they would have aimed at achieving real practical results and they would have represented the common interest of a definite and united social class. In those circumstances they would at least have seen – as the French opponents of the bourgeoisie from the editors of the *Réforme* newspaper to the ultra-communists have seen – how old Cabet, the acknowledged spokesman of the vast mass of the French workers, attacked the middle classes. And they would have observed that real party members are not content to spend their time writing for the newspapers but actively support political reforms – like proposals for a wider franchise – which are often of *immediate* direct interest to the workers. Real communists do not disdain such political activity. But our "true socialists" are not active party members: they are merely German doctrinaires. They are not interested in practical affairs and real achievements; they only seek eternal truths. The interests which they try to represent are those of "humanity" while the aims which they pursue are limited to the discovery of profound philosophical "truths". Consequently all that they have to do is to bring their new enlightenment into line with their own philosophical consciences and then announce at the top of their voices to all Germany that political progress – that all political activity – is to be condemned. They argue that the middle classes – the most dangerous enemies of society as a whole – should be allowed no respite and that to allow them to have representative parliamentary government would simply permit them to achieve a position of supremacy in society.

For the last seventeen years[2] the French middle class has enjoyed greater power than the bourgeoisie of any other country. Consequently the attacks of the French workers – and of their party leaders and writers – on the bourgeoisie have been attacks upon the ruling class in society. They have been definitely revolutionary attacks upon the existing political system. The extent to which the

[2] Since the July revolution of 1830 when Louis Philippe came to the throne of France.

French middle class realised what was happening has been proved by the countless prosecutions against the press and against all combinations. It has been proved by the banning of meetings and banquets and by the hundreds of shameful actions of the police directed against reformers and communists.

In Germany the situation is quite different. There the middle class, far from having attained power, is the most dangerous enemy of the existing governments. The diversion mounted by the "true socialists" has come at just the right moment for the German governments. Our "true socialists" have not followed the example of the French communists who have suffered imprisonment and exile for fighting the middle classes. In the lukewarm breasts of our German doctrinaires the revolutionary fervour of the French attacks upon the middle classes has dwindled into puny criticisms written in such a way as actually to pass the scrutiny of the censor. So long as our "true socialists" pursue so harmless and lifeless a policy they receive a positive welcome from the German governments as allies against the importunate bourgeoisie. The "true socialists" have actually managed to adapt their revolutionary war-cries so that they can be used to defend the political morass of modern Germany.

The middle classes have long been aware of this reactionary policy of our "true socialists". They have pretended that the attitude of "true socialist" writers reflects the views of German communists as well. Publicly and privately the middle classes have actually accused communists of working hand in glove with governments, civil servants and nobles because the "true socialists" have criticised representative institutions, trial by jury and freedom of the press and have lost no opportunity of denouncing the bourgeoisie.

It is high time that the German communists at long last should repudiate decisively any sort of responsibility for the reactionary policy and activities of the "true socialists". It is high time that the German communists – who clearly support the true aims of the German proletariat – should in no uncertain manner break off relations with this literary clique (for the "true socialists" are no more than a literary clique) which does not know whom it represents. And since they do not know this the "true socialists" are being embraced by the German governments. The "true socialists" aspire to serve "humanity" but actually they glorify the miserable German bourgeoisie. In fact we communists have nothing in common with the "true socialists". We are not concerned with the conscientious scruples of their disordered minds. Our attacks upon the bourgeoisie are quite different from those of the "true

socialists" just as they are quite different from those of the reactionary nobles such as the Legitimists in France and Young England in Britain. The supporters of the *status quo* in Germany cannot exploit our attacks which are directed much more against them than against the bourgeoisie. It is true that the bourgeoisie is our *natural* enemy and the fall of the bourgeoisie will eventually bring us to power. But it is still more true that the German *status quo* is at this moment a much greater enemy from our point of view. This is because the *status quo* stands between us and the middle classes and prevents us from throwing off the shackles of the middle class. Consequently we are not prepared to give up our place among the great mass of the opponents of the *status quo* in Germany. We are simply the advance guard of the opposition. And because of our genuine detestation of everything that the middle class stands for we are able to take up a very special position among the opponents of the middle class.

The struggle against the German *status quo* has now entered a new phase with the calling of the Prussian United Diet. The question of the survival or fall of the *status quo* depends upon the decisions which it takes. At the moment the German political groups are divided by uncertain policies and ideological trivialities. Now they must make up their minds what interests they represent and what tactics they propose to adopt. They must sort themselves out into definite parties each supporting a practical policy. And the Communist Party – the newest of them all – faces the same problem. This party, too, must make up its mind and adopt a definite policy and a definite plan of campaign. This party, like the others, must assess the actual means at its disposal to achieve its aims. And its first decision must surely be to wash its hands of any connection with the reactionary "true socialists". This will be a simple matter for the Communist Party because it is quite strong enough to stand on its own feet without the help of associates who might compromise the future success of its policy.

II. The *Status Quo* and the Middle Classes

The present situation in Germany is as follows. In England and France the middle classes have gained sufficient power to overthrow the nobility and to become the ruling class in society. In Germany, on the other hand, the middle classes have not secured power. They have indeed gained some influence over the various governments but they always have to give way if their interests clash with those of the noble landlords. In England and France the towns rule the countryside but in Germany the countryside rules the

towns while the agrarian interests are more powerful than those of industry or commerce. And this applies not only to German states which are ruled by absolute monarchs – such as Austria and Prussia – but also to states ruled by constitutional monarchs such as Saxony, Württemberg and Baden.

The explanation for this state of affairs lies in the fact that Germany is a backward country compared with England or France. In those countries the needs of the vast majority of the inhabitants are supplied by industry and commerce while in Germany agriculture is still of paramount importance. England exports no agricultural products whatever and in fact always has to import foodstuffs. France imports at least as much agricultural produce as she exports. Germany on the other hand exports few manufactured goods but she does export large quantities of grain, wool, cattle and so forth. The overwhelming importance in our economy was even greater than it is today at the time when Germany's constitutional affairs were settled. And it should be remembered that in 1815 the significance of agriculture was increased by the fact that the agrarian parts of Germany had contributed most to bring about the fall of Napoleon.

In Germany, as in most European states, the nobles – the owners of great estates – are representatives of agrarian interests from a political point of view. When the nobles completely dominate society their interests are reflected in the nature of the political institutions known as the feudal system. And this system has fallen into decay to the same extent that agriculture has ceased to be the dominant sector of a country's economy. As an industrial class has begun to rival the farming community and as the towns have expanded at the expense of the villages, so feudalism has declined.

Thus a new social class is in the process of formation in Germany and it is beginning to threaten the power of the owners of great feudal estates and the peasants who are more or less dependent upon the nobility. But this new class is by no means the equivalent of the middle class which exercises power today in advanced countries like England and France. This new German social class is the *petty* bourgeoisie, not the fully fledged bourgeoisie.

Germany's present constitution is simply a compromise which has handed over administration to a third social group – the bureaucracy. Both the nobles and the petty bourgeoisie have contributed to the formation of this third group. Since the nobles represent the agricultural interest which is the most powerful economic force in the country it is they who hold the highest posts in the civil service while the petty bourgeoisie has to be satisfied with the lower posts. It is only in exceptional circumstances that a member of the petty

bourgeoisie secures a senior post in the administration. In the German states which have constitutions civil servants come under a measure of direct parliamentary control. Here, too, the landed aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie share the real power. It is easy to appreciate that the nobles enjoy the lion's share of influence in the affairs of state. The petty bourgeoisie will never be able to share power on an equal basis with the nobles. And the petty bourgeoisie will certainly never be able to overthrow the landed aristocracy. To do this the petty bourgeoisie will need the help of the fully fledged bourgeoisie which is a different social class. The fully fledged bourgeoisie have wider interests, more property and greater courage than the petty bourgeoisie.

The fully fledged bourgeoisie have evolved from the petty bourgeoisie in all countries which share in world trade and in which modern industries have developed with the introduction of free competition and the concentration of property in fewer hands. The petty bourgeoisie represent internal and coastal trade as well as handicraft industry. These sectors of the economy operate in a restricted area and with a limited turnover. They require only a relatively modest amount of capital and have to face only insignificant local competition. The fully fledged bourgeoisie, on the other hand, are concerned with universal commerce, a well developed money economy, the exchange of products between all parts of the world, and the factory system of making manufactured goods. This type of industrial economy operates over the largest possible area, requires really large amounts of capital, depends upon a very rapid turnover, and generates a universal and violent competition. The petty bourgeoisie may be identified with local interests. The fully fledged bourgeoisie with universal interests. A member of the petty bourgeoisie considers that his future is fully safeguarded if he has an *indirect* influence upon the parliament of his country and if he has a *direct* influence upon the provincial government, and if he can *control* the local municipal authorities. On the other hand a member of the fully fledged bourgeoisie feels that his interests are fully safeguarded only if he is able to exercise a *direct* and continuous control over the central administration and parliament and the foreign policy of his country. The old Imperial Cities of Germany represent the classical creation of the petty bourgeoisie while parliamentary democracy in France represents the classical achievement of the fully fledged bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie are conservative as soon as they have secured a few concessions from the ruling class in society. But the fully fledged bourgeoisie follow revolutionary aims until they themselves have siezed power.

What are the relations today between the German middle classes – the nobles and the petty bourgeoisie – who now share effective power in the country?

The seventeenth century in England and the eighteenth century in France saw the origin of the middle class which has subsequently grown in importance. In Germany, however, it was not until the nineteenth century that this class began to develop. There had previously existed in Germany a few great shipowners in the Hansa towns and a few wealthy financiers in the commercial centres in the interior of the country. But no class of powerful capitalists, and there were certainly no great *industrial* capitalists in existence in Germany. The German middle class was created by Napoleon. He introduced the continental system which fostered the growth of industry and mining in Germany. The introduction of industrial freedom into Prussia, for which Napoleon was indirectly responsible, also stimulated Germany's industrial expansion. The new – or expanding – industries developed with great rapidity and within a few years a middle class had begun to appear as a result of this extension of modern manufactures. As early as 1818 the new middle class was sufficiently powerful to force the Prussian government to grant it a measure of protection in the new (Maassen) tariff. The enactment of this tariff was the first occasion on which the Prussian government publicly recognised the existence of the middle class. Prussia – with a heavy heart and with much hesitation – accepted the fact that a fully fledged bourgeoisie had become a class which was essential for the economic welfare of the country. It is true that only fiscal and political considerations originally brought about the adhesion of most other German states to the Prussian customs system. But in the long run it was only the German – and above all the Prussian – middle class which profited from the existence of the *Zollverein*. Of course the nobles and the petty bourgeoisie have, from time to time, derived some minor benefits from the customs union but, on the whole, the interests of these two groups have suffered from the founding of the customs union. They have suffered because the *Zollverein* has fostered the continued growth of a fully fledged bourgeoisie, has promoted competition on a much greater scale than before, and has stimulated the introduction of modern techniques for producing manufactured goods. Since those days the middle class has grown fairly quickly in Germany, particularly in Prussia. Although the middle classes have not grown as rapidly in Germany as in England and France in the last thirty years, they have introduced most branches of modern industry into the country. In some parts of Germany the middle classes have made an end of the patriarchal

structure of society associated with either the petty or the fully fledged bourgeoisie. They have concentrated capital to some extent, they have created a proletariat, and they have built a network of railways. The extent of their achievements may be judged from the fact that a situation has now arisen in which the middle class must either go ahead and become the dominant class in society or it must retreat and surrender its former conquests. Moreover the middle class is at the moment the only class in Germany which is making political progress and which could, if necessary, rule the country for a time. The future existence of the middle class depends upon its ability to establish not only actual power but also legal authority over the whole country.

The rise of the middle class and the extension of its power goes hand in hand with the decline of those classes which have wielded political authority in the past. Ever since the Napoleonic wars the economic position of the nobles has declined and they have sunk deeper and deeper in debt. They have lost the feudal services rendered by the serfs and this has increased the cost of producing grain. At the same time they have had to face unwelcome competition from a new class of free smallholders. These circumstances were not appreciated by the nobles when the serfs were emancipated. When their grain comes on the market it has to compete with Russian and American grain. The wool produced by the nobles has to compete with wool from Australia and – in certain years – from southern Russia. The more the costs of production rise and the effects of foreign competition become more serious the more obvious does it become that the German nobles are no longer capable of farming their estates at a profit. They have failed to make use of the most modern farming techniques. The German nobles of the present day – like the English and French nobles a hundred years ago – are simply squandering their capital in the great cities and are enjoying a higher standard of living than ever before. Nobles and bourgeoisie are competing for social status, for intellectual leadership, for material wealth. And they compete in the outward display of wealth. Such rivalry always occurs just before the bourgeoisie gains political power and – like any other kind of rivalry – it is the wealthier class which gains the victory. By becoming mere flunkies at court the owners of great estates have paved the way for their own rapid and certain downfall. The three per cent incomes of the nobles have been defeated by the five per cent profit of the bourgeoisie. The capital of the nobles has taken flight to land mortgage banks in the hope of securing the funds necessary to maintain an ever increasing standard of living but this policy only has the effect of hastening the doom

of the nobility. The few owners of great estates who have had the sense to avoid bankruptcy are amalgamating with the rising class of townsmen who have purchased estates in the country. In this way a new class of *industrial landed gentry* has been created. This class is engaged in farming on a business footing and it uses bourgeois capital, technical knowledge and standards of efficiency. This class has no feudal illusions about agriculture and these new farmers do not regard their business as a leisurely occupation suited to gentlemen farmers. In France this class of industrial landed gentry has placed no obstacles in the advance of the middle class to power. Indeed the industrial landed gentry and the urban bourgeoisie exist peacefully side by side. And – in proportion to its wealth – the industrial landed gentry is able to share power with the urban middle class. The industrial landed gentry may be regarded as that section of the bourgeoisie which lives in the country and is engaged in farming on strictly commercial lines. In this way the power of the nobles has declined and they have to some extent already been absorbed by the middle class.

The petty bourgeoisie – always weak in relation to the feudal nobility – has been even less able to resist the rise of the new middle class. The petty bourgeoisie is, next to the peasants, the most miserable social class that has ever tried to act a part on the stage of history. Its finest hour was in the later middle ages. Even then it was interested only in petty local affairs, in petty local struggles, and in petty local advances towards improved conditions. It survived *on sufferance* side by side with the nobility and it never aspired to exercise any wider political influence. Once the fully fledged bourgeoisie began to develop, the petty bourgeoisie lost even the *outward appearance* of a class with a historic mission in world affairs. The petty bourgeoisie is being ground between the nobles on the one hand and the fully fledged bourgeoisie on the other. It has been overwhelmed by the political power of the nobles and the economic power of the large capital controlled by the middle class. Under the impact of these pressures the petty bourgeoisie has split into two sections. The richer urban petty bourgeoisie has – with some hesitation – thrown in its lot with the revolutionary fully fledged bourgeoisie. The poor petty bourgeoisie – especially those living in small towns – tend to cling to the existing social order and to support the feudal nobles. But every step forward taken by the middle class denotes a decline in the power of the petty bourgeoisie. Eventually the poorer section of the petty bourgeoisie must recognise that it will certainly be ruined if it persists in supporting the *status quo*. It can see that once the middle class gains political power there is a bare *possibility* that the poorer

members of the petty bourgeois class may become rich enough to attain middle class status. Yet it is very *probable* that the poorer section of the petty bourgeois class will be ruined. When their destruction becomes inevitable the members of the petty bourgeois class must fall under the domination of the powerful middle class. As soon as the fully fledged bourgeoisie has gained a position of supremacy in the state, the petty bourgeoisie again splits into two sections. One provides recruits for the middle class while the other acts as a link between the middle class and the proletariat which now emerges as a class which has demands of its own to make. This link includes several more or less radical and socialist groups. They can be seen in action in the lower houses of both the French and the English parliaments and their activities are chronicled in the daily press. The middle class with its heavy cannon of capital and its closed ranks of joint stock companies can bring overwhelming pressure to bear upon the ill armed and undisciplined ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. As the middle class steps up its pressure so the petty bourgeoisie loses heart and retreats in disorderly flight. In the end the members of the petty bourgeois class have the choice of being absorbed in the mass of the proletariat or of surrendering unconditionally to the middle class. This edifying drama is unfolded in England every time that a slump occurs. And in France it is being enacted at this very moment. In Germany we have so far only reached the point at which the petty bourgeoisie – now in a desperate state of financial difficulty – has taken the heroic decision to abandon its support of the nobility and to throw in its lot with the middle class.

It is obvious that the German petty bourgeoisie is in a less favourable position than the owners of great landed estates to become the leading social class in the country. It is equally obvious that the petty bourgeoisie is falling every day more and more under the thumb of the middle class.

Finally we shall consider the position of the peasants and the social class which owns no property.

The "peasants" with whom we are concerned may be owners of farms or tenants but they all have quite small plots of land. Our definition excludes farm labourers who are wage earners. The peasants are just as helpless a social class as the petty bourgeoisie but differ from them by being more courageous. But they have no historical tradition behind them. Even their emancipation from the status of serfdom was achieved only under the aegis of the middle class. In the alpine cantons of Switzerland and in Norway the peasants have been able to hold power because of the absence of either an aristocracy or a middle class. Peasants are honest and

reliable but they have a narrow-minded mentality and when they are the dominant social class in society conditions of barbaric feudalism and fanatical bigotry prevail. In Germany the peasants and the nobility exist side by side and the peasants – like the petty bourgeoisie – are caught between the nobles and the middle class. From one point of view – in order to safeguard their farming interests – one would expect them to throw in their lot with the feudal nobility. From another point of view – to protect themselves from the overwhelming competition of the nobles, particularly the new industrial estate owners – one would expect them to support the middle class. The size of the smallholding is the decisive factor in the peasant's decision which of these two classes to support. In eastern Germany some peasants have large farms and they exercise feudal rights over their labourers. These peasants have interests similar to those of the nobles and they tend to ally themselves with the nobles. In western Germany, on the other hand, where large estates have been split into very small farms, the peasants support the middle class because their interests clash with those of the nobles. Similarly the smallholders of the east who are under the jurisdiction of their manorial lords – and sometimes render feudal services to them – are oppressed by the nobles and they too support the middle class. Evidence for this can be found by examining the proceedings of the Prussian provincial diets.

Fortunately there can be no question of the German peasants ever becoming the dominant class in our society. Such a thing has never occurred to them and most of them are already allied to the middle classes.

And what about the class that has no property, the group which is called the "working class"? We propose to discuss the position of the workers at greater length later on. For the present it is sufficient to point out that this class is split into several groups. The "workers" include farm labourers, day labourers, apprentices to a craft, factory workers, and unskilled casual labourers. These workers are scattered over a large thinly populated region which has only a few focal points of urban settlement. In the circumstances it is impossible for the workers to realise that they have interests in common. It is not possible for them to organise themselves into a coherent social class. All that they can do is to fight for things that affect their daily lives. The struggle for higher wages is the limit of their ambitions. The workers believe that their interests coincide with those of their employers. And so each section of the workers becomes a tool in the hands of the middle class. The farm labourers and the day labourers support the nobles or farmers for whom they work. The factory workers support the

manufacturers when they demand the imposition of protective tariffs. Gangs of casual labourers and tramps can be hired for a few shillings to fight the battles between the middle class, the nobles and the police. And when the interests of two rival groups of employers clash, the struggle between them is reflected in another struggle between their workers. in the circumstances it would be ridiculous to suppose that the proletariat would be capable of playing a leading rôle in public affairs in Germany.

We may sum up the present situation by saying that the nobles, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, and the workers cannot hope to dominate German society. The nobles are too impoverished, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants are too humble, and the workers are not ready to aspire to such a position. Only the middle class remains.

The main cause of Germany's wretched condition today is that so far no social class has been strong enough to raise its economic activity to one of such overwhelming national importance that it can come forward as the undisputed leader of the whole country. All classes that have arisen in Germany since the tenth century have existed side by side and not one of them has attained a position of leadership. This applies equally to nobles, serfs, free peasants, petty bourgeoisie, apprentices, craftsmen, middle classes and the proletariat. Some of these classes – the nobles, the free peasants, the middle class – have owned sufficient property to dominate particular sectors of the economy. They have had a share of political power in proportion to their numbers, their property and their share of the national wealth. The division of power has been such that the lion's share has fallen to the nobles, and a much smaller share to the petty bourgeoisie. The middle class and the peasants have *officially* enjoyed no power at all though in practice the middle class has had a certain influence through the nobles. The fact that at present effective authority is wielded by the civil servants is a reflection of the shocking decline of political life in Germany. German society has sunk to such a position of weakness, insensibility and degradation that it is universally despised. Germany is a mere ragbag of thirty-eight states which are no more than regions and localities except for Prussia and Austria and they are divided into independent provinces. It is a disgrace that Germany should be so weak that she can be exploited and trampled upon by foreign countries. The cause of this wretched state of affairs is poverty – that is to say lack of capital. Every single social class in poverty-stricken Germany has, from the very first, carried the mark of bourgeois mediocrity and pauperism in comparison

with similar classes in other countries. Since the twelfth century both the upper and the lower sections of the German nobility have been but pale shadows of the wealthy, carefree and imperious English and French nobles. Similarly the middle classes of the Imperial Cities and the Hansa towns have been but a poor reflection of the turbulent citizens of Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the Puritans of London of the seventeenth century. What minnows are our leading industrialists, financiers and shipowners when compared with the merchant princes who frequent the stock exchanges of Paris, Lyons, London, Liverpool and Manchester. Even the German workers behave like members of the petty bourgeois class. The petty bourgeoisie may be oppressed both from a social and a political point of view but at least it has the consolation of knowing that it is the typical German social class and that it has impressed upon all other classes its own brand of mediocrity.

How are we to get out of this wretched state of affairs? There is only one remedy. One class must become strong enough so that its progress will lead to the progress of the whole country. And the growth of the economic strength of all other classes must be a reflection of the growth of the wealth of this dominant class. The interests of this single class must be the national interest and – for the time being – this class must become truly representative of the country as a whole. As soon as this happens the new dominant class – and indeed the majority of the population – must clash with the existing *status quo*. At present the *status quo* is appropriate to circumstances which no longer exist. It is appropriate to a state of affairs in which there is a balance of power as between different social classes. The new economic interests find that their style is cramped and even some sections of the class for whose benefit the *status quo* was established find that the present state of affairs does not reflect their economic needs. The abolition of the *status quo* whether by peaceful means or by force must inevitably follow from this state of affairs. The *status quo* will be replaced by the domination of a social class which – for the moment – can represent the interests of the entire nation. And from that point a new phase in the development of the nation can begin.

It has been seen that the present situation in Germany – the poverty and the weakness of the country – has been brought about by lack of adequate capital. That situation can be ended only when capital is concentrated in the hands of *one* class which by that means achieves a dominant position in the country.

Does such a class – capable of ending the *status quo* – exist in Germany? It does exist although in a somewhat miniature form

when compared with the corresponding classes in England and France. It exists in the form of the middle class.

The bourgeoisie is the class which has taken over authority wherever a bureaucratic monarchy has existed and has represented a balance of power between the nobles and the petty bourgeoisie.

This is the only class in Germany whose interests can be shared by a substantial part of the "industrial" owners of landed estates, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, the workers and even a minority of the nobles. These classes already march – for practical purposes – under the banner of the middle class.

The middle class party is the only one in Germany which knows exactly what it wants to put in the place of the *status quo*. It is the only party which does not have a policy based upon abstract principles and historical deductions. Its platform has definite and clearly formulated aims capable of immediate realisation. It is the only party which – at any rate on a local or provincial basis – has some sort of organisation and some sort of plan of action. In short it is the party which has taken the lead in fighting the *status quo* and is directly concerned with bringing it to a speedy end. The middle class party is therefore the only party which has any serious chance of success in the struggle against the *status quo*.

The next question to be answered is this. Has the middle class been put in a position in which it must take over power if the *status quo* is brought to an end? Is the middle class strong enough to overthrow the *status quo* by its own resources and because of the weakness of its opponents?

Let us examine this question. The most powerful members of the German middle class are the factory owners. The manufacturers are running an expanding industry which is responsible for the growth of internal trade, for the overseas commerce of Hamburg, Bremen and (to some extent) Stettin, for the activities of the banks and the railways, and also for the most significant aspects of the activities of the stock exchanges. The only economic activities that are independent of industry are the export trades in grain and wool of the Baltic ports and the relatively unimportant commerce in imported manufactured goods. So the interests of the factory owners represent the interests of the whole middle class and of those classes which – for the moment – are dependent upon the middle class.

The factory owners may be divided into two sections. There are those manufacturers who turn raw materials into semi-manufactured products and there are those who turn semi-manufactured products into finished goods. The owners of spinning mills belong to the

first group and the owners of weaving sheds belong to the second group. In Germany the ironmasters belong to the first group.

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The existence of a fully developed industrial system implies the use of new inventions and modern techniques, good transport facilities, cheap machinery and raw materials, and the presence of a skilled labour force. It is necessary that the activities of all branches of industry should be completely co-ordinated. It is also necessary to have ports which dominate the industrial hinterland and are engaged in a flourishing overseas commerce. All this has been laid down by economists long ago. A fully developed industrial society also requires a comprehensive tariff to protect all those branches of industry which are threatened by foreign competition. And the tariff should always be adjusted to meet changing circumstances. At present only England has no reason to fear competition from abroad. Neither the existing *Zollverein* states nor the present government is capable of giving German industry this protection. Such a tariff can be introduced and carried through only by governments controlled by the middle class. This is why the middle class cannot do without political power any longer.

A protective tariff is particularly necessary in Germany because domestic industry is dying. Unless its interests are safeguarded it will be overwhelmed by the competition of English machines and this will lead to the collapse of all sections of the community whose livelihood depends upon domestic industry. The middle class might as well kill off what is left of the domestic industries with German rather than with English machines! The German middle class therefore needs protective duties and no one can introduce them except the middle class itself. For that reason alone the middle class must secure control of political authority.

The factory owners suffer not only from lack of adequate fiscal protection but also from the effects of bureaucratic administration. In the matter of protection against foreign competition the factory owners face government indifference but as far as bureaucratic administration is concerned they face active government hostility.

The bureaucracy has been created to wield authority over the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants. These social classes are scattered in little towns and villages and their interests are entirely local in character. Their attitude to life is correspondingly limited in outlook. They are quite incapable of running the government of a great state themselves. They have neither the knowledge nor the breadth of vision to co-ordinate the diverse rival interests that exist in a modern state. And this class has just reached the level

of culture that corresponds to a flourishing petty bourgeois society. In such a society conflicting interests are most complex. This has been shown in the past by the internecine conflicts of the various gilds. Consequently the affairs of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants must be administered by an efficient and numerous bureaucracy. They have to accept civil service tutelage in order to prevent social confusion and a great spate of lawsuits.

The bureaucracy which is a necessity for the petty bourgeoisie soon becomes an insupportable burden for the middle class. In the age of domestic industry official inspection and meddling was bad enough but a fully fledged factory system really cannot operate under such official oversight. In the past German manufacturers have bribed officials to keep the bureaucratic wolf at bay and they can hardly be blamed for doing so. But the use of bribery has only shifted a small part of the burden from the backs of the factory owners. It is obviously impossible to bribe *all* the officials with whom a manufacturer may come into contact. And bribery does not help the factory owner to pay fees to lawyers, architects, engineers, and other consultants who have to be engaged because of the existence of a system of bureaucratic control. It may be added that officialdom also imposes much extra work upon the manufacturers and this consumes a great deal of time. As industry expands the more active do the "conscientious officials" become. They plague the unfortunate factory owner either out of sheer cussedness or because they detest the manufacturers.

The middle class has therefore been put into a position which makes it imperative for the pompous dishonest civil servants to be overthrown. The power of the bureaucracy will collapse as soon as the middle class has gained control over the legislature and the machinery of government. When that happens the civil servants who have plagued the middle class in the past will become the humble servants of the middle class in the future. The rules and regulations which have been devised by civil servants to lighten their own labours at the expense of the factory owners will be replaced by new enactments which will lighten the work of the manufacturers at the expense of the bureaucracy.

It is urgently necessary for the middle class to take such action promptly because, as we have seen, all sections of the bourgeoisie are directly involved in the rapid expansion of the factory system and this type of economy cannot develop if it is hamstrung by the bureaucracy.

The middle class is most directly interested in securing two major reforms. They are to gain control over the tariff and over the bureaucracy. But this by no means exhausts the legitimate demands

of the middle class. In nearly all German states the middle class will have to undertake a drastic reform of the legislature, the administration, and the legal system. At present our parliaments, civil servants, and judicial systems operate within a social structure which the middle class is pledged to overthrow. The circumstances which make it possible for nobility and petty bourgeoisie to exist side by side are radically different from the circumstances under which the middle class can exercise real power. At present the German states officially recognise only the *status quo* which operates entirely to the advantage of the nobles and the petty bourgeoisie. Let us take the present situation in Prussia as an example. A sleepy "independent" group of magistrates and judges hold in their hands the personal liberty and the property rights of the petty bourgeoisie and both the administrative and the legal bureaucracy. In return the petty bourgeoisie have received some protection from the arbitrary actions of the feudal nobles and sometimes also from the civil servants. The middle class cannot allow this state of affairs to continue. In disputes concerning property which come before the courts the middle class must insist that the hearings are held in public. In criminal cases the middle class also demand the introduction of the jury system and the permanent control of judicial procedure by an independent, impartial, middle class commission.

The petty bourgeois can accept the fact that nobles and civil servants are exempt from ordinary processes of law because this is a natural consequence of the low social status of the petty bourgeoisie. The middle class cannot accept this state of affairs. It must either gain control over society and the state or face the complete collapse of all its ambitions. The petty bourgeoisie, living a peaceful life in some rural backwater, can accept the fact that the nobles dispense justice on their own estates. The petty bourgeoisie can hardly do otherwise since it is fully occupied in defending its own parochial interests in little urban communities from the encroachments of the landed aristocracy. The middle class, on the other hand, cannot allow the nobles to enjoy complete power in the countryside. In its own interests the middle class must press forward with plans to "industrialise" farming, to put all agricultural land to effective use, and to introduce a system whereby land can be freely bought and sold. The great landowners require mortgages and this has given the middle class an opportunity to play a part in the development of agriculture. The nobles have had to give the middle class some say in the passing of laws concerning mortgages and landed property.

The wretched old commercial code has not greatly inconvenienced the petty bourgeoisie for they trade on only a limited scale; they

have only a very modest turnover; and their customers are concentrated in a small region. Indeed they might be thankful that their interests have enjoyed some trifling protection under the law. The middle class on the other hand cannot be expected to put up with the commercial code. The business transactions of the petty bourgeoisie are of the simplest kind. These transactions are not between wholesalers and merchants but between retailers and the general public. One seldom hears of bankruptcies among the petty bourgeoisie and consequently there are few complaints about the bankruptcy laws. Under these laws bills of exchange take priority over other debts – though generally the lawyers devour all the assets while the creditors get little or nothing. The bankruptcy laws have been divised for the benefit of the judicial bureaucrats and for all social classes other than the middle class. The nobles benefit the most from the bankruptcy laws because bills of exchange on the purchaser or his agent are used in their dealings in grain. In fact the law favours those whose business activities are limited to one transaction in the year which is accomplished by means of a bill of exchange. Among those whose business transactions are on a large scale it is the wholesalers and the bankers who receive most protection under the law while the interests of the factory owners are neglected. The commercial transactions of the middle classes are entirely transactions between one merchant and another. Their bills of exchange come from all over the world and their transactions are of a highly complex nature. They can find themselves involved in somebody's bankruptcy at any time. In the circumstances the middle classes can easily be ruined by these absurd laws.

The only interest that the petty bourgeoisie has in politics is the preservation of peace. The restricted circle within which he moves makes it impossible for him to take a serious interest in international affairs. The middle classes are engaged in trade with the most distant foreign countries and compete with manufacturers in far off lands. They cannot make progress unless they have a direct say in foreign policy. The petty bourgeoisie accept taxes imposed upon them by the bureaucracy and the nobles for the same reason that it accepts the leadership of the civil servants. The middle classes are directly interested in securing the establishment of a system of taxation which places as light a burden as possible upon *their* businesses.

In short the petty bourgeoisie is prepared to achieve a measure of political influence simply by massing its stolid members in opposition to the nobles and the bureaucracy. The middle class cannot do this. It must become the ruling class. Its interests must

take priority in the making of laws, in the administration, in the functioning of the judiciary, in the fixing of taxes, and in the conduct of foreign policy. The middle class must expand, must put its capital to full use, must extend its commercial contacts and markets every day, and must improve its transport facilities. And it must do these things in order to avoid annihilation itself. It is forced to do so by fierce competition in world markets. In order to be able to expand its interests without hindrance to the fullest extent the middle class must strive for political supremacy and must make all other interests subordinate to its own interests.

At this very moment it is essential that the middle class should gain political supremacy in Germany if it is not to be destroyed. We have already shown why the middle class must do this in our discussions of the tariff question and of the relationship between the middle class and the bureaucracy. The proof of this statement lies in the present position of the market both with regard to money and to commodities.

During the year 1845 there was a trade boom in England accompanied by speculation in railway shares. This boom has had greater repercussions upon France and Germany than any previous period of prosperity. German manufacturers did good business and the German economy as a whole was in a flourishing state. The German agricultural districts did good business by exporting their wheat to England. Universal prosperity promoted great activity in the money market and made it easier to obtain credit. Small savings, which are normally half dormant in Germany, appeared on the market. In Germany – as in England and France, only a little later and in. . .[3]

[3] The manuscript breaks off at this point.

VII

THE FREE TRADE CONGRESS IN BRUSSELS[1]

On the 16th, 17th and 18th of September there was held here [Brussels] a congress of political economists, manufacturers, tradesmen etc. to discuss the question of Free Trade. There were present about 100 members of all nations. There assisted on the part of the English Free Traders Dr Bowring M.P., Colonel Thompson M.P., Mr Ewart M.P., Mr Brown M.P., James Wilson Esq., editor of the *Economist* etc.; from France had arrived M. Wolowski, professor of jurisprudence, M. Blanqui, deputy professor of political economy, author of a history of that science and other works, M. Horace Say, son of the celebrated economist, M. Charles Dunoyer, member of the Privy Council, author of several works upon politics and economy, and others. From Germany there was no Free Trader present[2] but Holland, Denmark, Italy etc. had sent representatives. Senor Ramon de la Sagra of Madrid intended to come but came too late. The assistance of a whole host of Belgian Free Traders need hardly be mentioned as being a matter of course.

Thus the celebrities of the science had met to discuss the important question – whether Free Trade would benefit the world? You will think the discussions of such a splendid assembly – discussions carried on by economical stars of the first magnitude – must have been interesting to the highest degree. You will say that men like Dr Bowring, Colonel Thompson, Blanqui and Dunoyer must have pronounced speeches the most striking, must have produced arguments the most convincing, must have represented all questions under a light the most novel and surprising imaginable. Alas, Sir, if you had been present you would have been piteously undeceived. Your glorious expectations, your fond illusions, would have vanished within less than an hour. I have assisted at innumerable public meetings and discussions. I have heard the

[1] *Northern Star*, No. 520, October 9, 1847 (by F. Engels).

[2] Nine German delegates, led by Prince Smith and Dr C. W. Asher attended the congress. Only one of them (Rittinghausen) was a protectionist. See Julius Becker, *Das Deutsche Manchestertum* (1907), p. 31.

League pour forth their Anti-Corn Law arguments more than a hundred times, while I was in England but never, I can assure you, did I hear such dull tedious trivial stuff, brought forward with such a degree of self complacency. I was never before so disappointed. What was carried on did not merit the name of a discussion – it was mere pot house talk. The great scientific luminaries never ventured themselves upon the field of political economy in the strict sense of the word. I shall not repeat to you all the worn-out stuff which was brought forward on the first two days. Read two or three numbers of the *League* or the *Manchester Guardian*, and you will find all that was said, except perhaps a few specious sentences brought forward by M. Wolowski, which he, however, had stolen from M. Bastiat's (chief of the French Free Traders) pamphlet of *Sophismes Economiques*. Free Traders did not expect to meet with any opposition but that of M. Rittinghausen, a German Protectionist, and generally an insipid fellow. But up got M. Duchateau, a French manufacturer and Protectionist – a man who spoke for his purse, just as Mr Ewart or Mr Brown spoke for theirs, and gave them such a terrible opposition, that on the second day of the discussion a great number, even of Free Traders, avowed that they had been beaten in argument. They took, however, their revenge at the vote – the resolutions passed, of course, almost unanimously.

On the third day a question was discussed which interests your readers. It was this: "Will the carrying out of universal Free Trade benefit the working classes?" The affirmative was supported by Mr Brown, the South Lancashire Free Trader, in a lengthy speech in English; he and Mr Wilson were the only ones to speak that language, the remainder all spoke French – Dr Bowring very well, Colonel Thompson tolerable, Mr Ewart dreadfully. He repeated a part of the old League documents, in a whining tone, very much like a Church of England parson. After him got up Mr Weerth of Rhenish Prussia. You know, I believe, this gentleman – a young tradesman whose poetry is well known and very much liked throughout Germany, and who during several years' stay in Yorkshire, was an eye-witness to the condition of the working people. He has a great many friends among them there, who will be glad to see that he has not forgotten them. As his speech will be to your readers the most interesting feature of the whole Congress I shall report it at some length. He spoke as follows –

> "Gentlemen – You are discussing the influence of Free Trade upon the condition of the working classes. You profess the greatest possible sympathy for those classes. I am very glad of it, but yet I am

astonished not to see a representative of the working classes amongst you! The monied classes of France are represented by a peer – those of England by several M.P.s – those of Belgium by an ex-Minister – and even those of Germany by a gentleman who gave us a faithful description of the state of that country. But where, I ask you, are the representatives of the working men? I see them nowhere; therefore gentlemen, allow me to take up the defence of their interests. I beg to speak to you on behalf of the working people, and principally on behalf of those five millions of English working men, amongst whom I spent several of the most pleasant years of my life, whom I know and whom I cherish [cheers]. Indeed, gentlemen, the working people stand in need of some generosity. Hitherto they have not been treated like men, but like beasts of burden, nay – like merchandise, like machines; the English manufacturers know this so well, that they never say we employ so many workmen, but so many hands. The monied classes, acting upon this principle have never hesitated a moment to profit by their services and then turn them out upon the streets as soon as there is no longer any profit to be squeezed out of them. Thus the condition of these outcasts of modern society has become such that it cannot be made worse. Look wherever you like – to the banks of the Rhône, into the dirty and pestilential lanes of Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, or the hills of Saxony and Silesia, or the plains of Westphalia – everywhere you will meet with the same pale starvation, the same gloomy despair, in the eyes of men who in vain claim their rights and their position in civilised society" [great sensation].

Mr Weerth then declared his opinion to be, that the protective system in reality did not protect the working people, but that Free Trade – and he told them plainly and distinctly although he himself was a Free Trader – that Free Trade would never change their miserable condition. He did not at all join in the delusions of the Free Traders as to the beneficial effects of the carrying out of their system upon the working classes. On the contrary, Free Trade, the full realisation of free competition, would force the working people as much into a keener competition amongst themselves as it would make capitalists compete selfishly against each other. The perfect freedom of competition would inevitably give an enormous impulse to the invention of new machinery, and thus supersede more workmen than even now were daily superseded. It would stimulate production in every way, but for this very reason it would stimulate overproduction, overstocking of markets and commercial revulsions, just in the same measure. The Free Traders pretended that these terrible revulsions would cease under a system of commercial freedom; why just the contrary would be the case, they would increase and multiply more than ever. Possibly, nay

certainly, it was that at first the greater cheapness of provisions would benefit the work people – that a lessened cost of production would increase consumption and the demand for labour, but that advantage would very soon be turned into misery. The competition of the workpeople amongst themselves would soon reduce them to the former level of misery and starvation.

After these and other arguments (which appeared to be quite novel to the meeting for they were listened to with the greatest attention, although *The Times* reporter deigns to rid himself of them with the impudent but significant sneer – "Chartist commonplace"), Mr Weerth concluded as follows:

> And do not think gentlemen that these are but my individual opinions; they are the opinions too of the English working men, a class whom I cherish and respect, because they are intelligent and energetic men [cheers]. Indeed I shall prove that by a few facts. During full six years the gentlemen of the League whom we see here, courted the support of the working people, but in vain. The working men never forgot that the capitalists were their natural enemies; they recollected the League riots of 1842, and the masters opposition against the Ten Hours Bill. It was only towards the end of 1843, that the Chartists, the elite of the working classes, associated for a moment with the League, in order to crush their common enemy, the landed aristocracy. But it was for a moment only and never were they deceived by the delusive promises of Cobden, Bright & Co, nor did they hope the fulfilment of cheap bread, high wages, and plenty to do. No, not for a moment did they cease to trust in their own exertions only; to form a distinct party, led on by distinct chiefs, by the indefatigable Duncombe, and by Feargus O'Connor who, in spite of all calumnies [here Mr Weerth looked at Dr Bowring who made a quick convulsive movement] within a few weeks will sit upon the same bench with you in the House of Commons. In the name then of those millions who do not believe that Free Trade will do wonders for them, I call upon you to seek for some other means to effectively better their condition. Gentlemen, I call upon you for your own interests. You have no longer to fear the Emperor of all the Russians; you dread not an invasion of Cossacks; but if you do not take care you will have to fear an irruption of your own workmen, and they will be more terrible to you than all the Cossacks in the world. Gentlemen, the workpeople want no more words from you, they want deeds. And you have no reason to be astonished at that. They recollect very well that in 1830 and 1831 when they conquered the Reform Bill for you in London, when they fought for you in the streets of Paris and Brussels, that then they were courted, shaken hands with, and highly praised; but that when a few years after they demanded bread, then they were received with grapeshot and the bayonet [Oh!

No, no! Yes, yes, Bazançais, Lyons]. I repeat therefore to you, carry your Free Trade. It will be well, but think at the same time about other measures for the working classes or you will regret it [loud cheers].

Immediately after Mr Weerth, up got Dr Bowring to reply. "Gentlemen", said he, "I can tell you that the hon. member who has just sat down has not been elected by the English working people to represent them in this Congress. On the contrary, the English people generally have given us their suffrages for this purpose, and, we claim our places as their true representatives." He then went on to show the beneficial effects of Free Trade, as proved by the increased importation of articles of food into England since the introduction of last year's tariff. So many eggs, so many cwt of butter, cheese, ham, bacon, as many heads of cattle etc. etc.; who could have eaten that if not the working people of England? He quite forgot, however, telling us what quantities of the same articles have been produced less in England since foreign competition has been admitted. He took it for granted that increased importation was a decisive proof of increased consumption. He never mentioned wherefrom the working people of Manchester, Bradford and Leeds, who now walk the streets and cannot get work, wherefrom these men get the money to pay for this supposed increase of consumption and Free Trade comforts – for we never heard of the masters making them presents of eggs, butter, cheese, ham and meat, for not working at all! He never said a word about the present depressed state of the trade, which in every public paper is represented as really unexampled. He seemed not to know that all the predictions of the Free Traders since the carrying of the measures have proved just the reverse of reality. He had not a word of sympathy for the sufferings of the working classes but, on the contrary, represented their present gloomy condition as the brightest happiest and most comfortable they could reasonably desire.

The English working people, now, may choose betwixt their two representatives. A host of others followed, who spoke about every imaginable subject upon earth, except upon the one under discussion. Mr McAdam, M.P. for Belfast spun an eternally long yarn upon flax spinning in Ireland, and almost killed the meeting with statistics. Mr Ackersdijk, a Dutch professor, spoke about Old Holland and Young Holland, the University of Liège, Walpole and De Witt. M. van de Casteele spoke about France, Belgium and the ministry, M. Asher of Berlin about German patriotism and some new article he called spiritual manufacture. M. den Tex

a Dutchman about God knows what. At last, the whole meeting being half asleep, was awakened by M. Wolowski, who returned to the question and replied to M. Weerth. His speech, like all speeches delivered by Frenchmen, proved how much the French capitalists dread the fulfilment of Mr Weerth's prophecies. They speak with such pretended sympathy, such canting and whining of the sufferings of the working classes, that one might take it all for good earnest, were it not too flagrantly contradicted by the roundness of their bellies, by the stamp of hypocrisy deeply imprinted upon their faces, by the pitiful remedies they propose, and by the unmistakeably striking contrast between their words and their deeds. Nor have they ever succeeded in deceiving one single working man. Then up got the Duc d'Harcourt, peer of France, and claimed, too, for the French capitalists, deputies etc. present the right of representing the French working people. They do so in the same way as Dr Bowring represent(s) the English Chartists. Then spoke Mr James Wilson repeating most brazenfacedly the most worn out League argument, in the drowsy tone of a Philadelphia Quaker.

You will see from this what a nice discussion it was. Dr Marx of Brussels, whom you know as by far the most talented representative of German Democracy, had also claimed his turn to speak. He had prepared a speech, which, if it had been delivered would have made it impossible for the congressional "gents" to vote upon the question. But Mr Weerth's opposition had made them shy. They resolved to let none speak of whose orthodoxy they were not quite sure. Thus Messrs Wolowski, Wilson and the whole precious lot spoke against time, and when it was four o'clock, there were still six or seven gentlemen who wanted to speak, but the chairman closed the discussion abruptly, and the whole set of fools, ignorants, and knaves called a Congress of Political Economists, voted all votes against one (the poor German fool of a Protectionist aforementioned) – the Democrats did not vote at all – that Free Trade is extremely beneficial to the working people, and will free them from all misery and distress.

As Dr Marx's speech, although not delivered, contains the very best and most striking reputation of this barefaced lie, which can be imagined, and as its contents – in spite of so many hundred pages having been written pro and con the subject – will yet read quite novel in England, I enclose you some extracts from it.[3]

[3] Engels's article on "The Free Trade Congress at Brussels" was followed by the "Speech of Dr Marx on Protection, Free Trade and the Working Classes" (*Northern Star*, October 9, 1847).

VIII

PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM, NOVEMBER 1847[1]

1. What is Communism?
   Communism is the doctrine which explains how the proletariat can throw off its chains and gain its freedom.

2. What is the proletariat?
   The proletariat is the social group which exists simply by selling its labour and which draws no profit from any kind of capital. The entire existence of the proletariat – its prosperity and hardships, its living and dying – depends upon the existence of a demand for its labour, and the demand for the labour of the proletariat is influenced by the booms and slumps in the economy and by trade fluctuations which are brought about by the existence of unrestricted competition. In a word the proletariat is the working class of the nineteenth century.

3. But has there not always been a proletariat?
   No. It is true that both the poor and the workers have always existed. It is true also that the workers have generally been poor. What is new is the sort of poverty and the type of workers which are typical of the economic system that we have described. Moreover competition has by no means always been free and unrestricted in earlier periods of history.

4. How has the modern proletariat arisen?
   The proletariat has been created by the industrial revolution which began in England in the second half of the eighteenth century and has subsequently spread to all civilised parts of the world. The industrial revolution was brought about by the invention of the steam engine, various spinning machines, the power loom, and many other mechanical appliances. Since

[1] Written by Engels in 1847 and submitted to Marx. Translated from *Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels*, Band III, *Geschichte und Politik* I (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 42–58.

these machines were very expensive they were monopolised by rich capitalists. The new machines completely revolutionised the old methods of producing goods and put the domestic workers out of business. Manufactured articles could now be made more efficiently and more cheaply by the new machines than by the relatively inefficient spinning wheels and hand-looms used by domestic craftsmen. The new machines delivered industrial production into the hands of wealthy capitalists and rendered quite valueless the modest property of the craftsmen – their tools, looms and so forth. Before long the capitalists owned everything and the workers owned nothing. In this way the factory system was introduced in the textile industries to produce various types of cloth.

Although the system of production in factories by machinery began in the textile trades it soon spread to all other branches of manufacture, particularly to printing, pottery and metal-working. Industrial processes became more specialised than before so that a worker who formerly made an article by himself now made only a part of an article. By means of this division of labour it became possible to manufacture products more quickly and more cheaply than before. Under the new system of organising industrial production the worker performed only simple repetitive actions which could eventually be performed more efficiently by the machines themselves. One after another of the industries that we have mentioned came – like spinning and weaving – to be dominated by factories and power-driven machinery. And when this happened, these industries too fell into the hands of big capitalists and the workers lost the last vestiges of their independence. Gradually even those industries which had not been mechanised fell under the domination of the factory system and big capitalists established large workshops to employ formerly independent craftsmen. Once more substantial reductions in costs of production were achieved and the master craftsmen were ruthlessly pushed on one side. These developments have now gone so far that in all civilised countries nearly all manufactured articles are made in factories. Everywhere the domestic system of production has been replaced by the capitalist method of production in large factories. The former middle classes, especially the master craftsmen who operated on a large scale, have been ruined and the former position of the workers has been entirely changed. Two new classes have developed in society and they have swallowed up all the other classes.

(*a*) The class of large capitalists which in all civilised

countries already monopolises all the necessities of life and all the raw materials, factories and machinery required to produce them. This is the bourgeois class.

(*b*) The class which has no property at all and is forced to sell its labour to the bourgeoisie in order to secure the necessities of life. This class is called the proletariat.

5. Under what circumstances does the proletariat sell its labour to the bourgeoisie?

Human labour is a commodity and the price at which it is bought and sold obeys exactly the same laws as those governing the price of any other commodity. In a society dominated by capitalist industry and free competition – and we shall see that these two amount to the same thing – the average price of an article always equals the cost of producing it. The cost of labour amounts to the minimum quantity of the necessities of life that are needed to keep the worker alive and to prevent the working class from dying out. The worker, therefore, receives wages which are just sufficient for this purpose. The price of labour – or the rate of wages – is the absolute minimum necessary to maintain life. Since periods of prosperity alternate with periods of depression the wages of the workers fluctuate just as the income which the capitalist derives from the sale of his goods fluctuates. And just as the manufacturer on the average – taking both good times and bad times into consideration – secures for his goods no more and no less than his costs of production so the worker secures for his labour no more than the minimum required for the purchase of the necessities of life. This law of wages is applied with greater strictness as large-scale capitalist methods of production dominate an ever increasing number of branches of manufacture.

6. What types of workers existed before the industrial revolution?

In the past the relation of the workers to the ruling class and to the owners of property has varied according to the stage of development reached by society at any particular time. In the ancient world the workers were the slaves of the property owners. Slavery survives today in many backward countries and even in the southern parts of the United States. In the middle ages the workers were the serfs of the landowning aristocracy and this system of serfdom still survives in Russia, Hungary, and Poland. In addition – from the middle ages to the industrial revolution – the urban workers were in the service of bourgeois master craftsmen. And as large-scale manufactures

developed (even without power-driven machinery) some workers came to be employed by large capitalists.

7. What is the difference between proletariat and slaves?

The slave is sold once and for all. The member of the proletariat has to sell himself daily – even hourly. The individual slave, however wretched his condition may be, belongs to a single master who has an interest in keeping him alive and fit. But the individual member of the proletariat belongs, as it were, to the whole bourgeois class. He can sell his labour only if someone wants to buy it and consequently he enjoys no security whatever. Only the proletariat as a whole enjoys a certain measure of security. While the slave stands outside the world of competition, the member of the proletariat is inside the world of competition and feels the effects of its fluctuations. The slave is regarded as a piece of property and is not accepted as a member of society. The member of the proletariat is recognised as a member of society. Slaves can enjoy a better standard of life than the proletariat. But the proletariat is part of a more highly developed form of society. The slave can secure his freedom if his property relationship with his master is ended. But all other rights of property in society survive and the status of the slave is changed into that of a member of the proletariat. On the other hand the proletariat can gain its freedom only if the whole conception of private property comes to an end.

8. What is the difference between proletariat and serfs?

The serf owns and uses an instrument of production – namely a piece of land – in return either for giving up part of the produce or for working for his lord. The member of the proletariat works with instruments of production that belong to somebody else and receives a part of the product in return. The serf gives up something but the worker has something taken off him. The serg enjoys security. The worker does not. The serf stands outside the competitive system while the member of the proletariat is part of this system. The serf can secure his freedom in various ways. He can escape to a town and become a craft worker. He can become a tenant by paying his lord a cash rent instead of rendering labour services or handing over farm produce. He can drive his lord away and become a freeholder. Whichever method the serf uses he secures his freedom by entering the property owning class and by entering the system of competition. The member of the proletariat

can free himself only by ending all private property and all class distinctions.

9. What is the difference between the proletariat and the craft workers?

[There is a gap in the manuscript here.]

10. What is the difference between the modern proletariat and the craft workers (of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)?

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries virtually all the craft workers owned some instrument of production such as a loom and some spinning wheels for his family as well as an allotment or garden that he could cultivate in his spare time. The member of the proletariat has none of these things. The craft worker nearly always lived in the country and enjoyed a more or less patriarchal relationship with his lord of the manor or his employer. A member of the proletariat generally lives in a big city and has a purely monetary relationship with his employer. The coming of large-scale capitalist industry has deprived the craft worker of his former patriarchal relationship with his employer. It has deprived him of his property. It has turned him into a member of the proletariat.

11. What were the immediate consequences of the industrial revolution and of the division of society into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat?

First, the domestic system of manufacture in its various forms was everywhere totally destroyed by the ever cheaper industrial products turned out by machinery. Underdeveloped countries more or less untouched by this great historical process and still in the age of domestic industry, were dramatically forced out of their backward state. They bought cheap English manufactured goods and allowed their own domestic industries to disappear. Countries like India which have made no progress for thousands of years have been revolutionised from top to bottom. Even China faces a revolution. Things have gone so far that a new machine, invented in England today, can deprive thousands of Chinese of their daily bread within a year. In this way modern machine industry has linked all the countries of the world together. All little local markets have

been thrown together into a single world market and the way has been paved for civilisation and progress. Everything that happens in the civilised countries must have its consequences upon all other countries. If the workers in England or France secure their freedom then revolutions will occur in all other countries and the workers there too will gain their liberty.

Secondly, wherever modern machine industry has replaced the former domestic system the bourgeoisie has enormously increased its wealth and power and has become the dominant class in society. Consequently whenever this happened the bourgeoisie gained political power and pushed on one side the former ruling classes – the aristocracy on the land, the gild masters in the towns, and the absolute monarchy which represented the interests of those two sections of society. The bourgeoisie crushed the power of the nobility by abolishing all the former legal privileges of the landed aristocracy. The bourgeoisie also destroyed the master craftsmen by abolishing the privileges of the gilds. The former rights of the aristocrats and the gild masters were replaced by the system of free competition – that is to say the state of society in which every individual has the right to engage in any branch of industry that he pleases so long as he possesses the necessary capital. The introduction of free competition is a public declaration that in future the only inequalities in society will be those brought about by lack of capital. And since capital has now become the decisive force it is the capitalists – i.e. the bourgeoisie – who have become the foremost class in society. Free competition is essential when great industries start to develop because this is the only system within which modern manufactures can grow. Having crushed the social domination of the landed aristocracy and the gild masters the bourgeoisie proceeded to abolish their political power. And so the bourgeoisie became the leading class both socially and politically. Political power was gained through the introduction of the parliamentary system, equality before the law and the legal recognition of free competition. In Europe this has been done by the introduction of constitutional monarchies. In such monarchical states the franchise is limited to voters who have a certain amount of capital. In practice only the bourgeois class has the right to vote. The bourgeois voters elect the deputies and these bourgeois deputies have the power to fix the taxes and consequently are in a position to appoint a bourgeois government.

Thirdly, the proletariat develops in proportion to the

bourgeoisie. The growth in the number of the proletariat bears a direct relationship to the growth of the wealth of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat can be set to work only if adequate capital is available. Capital can increase only through the employment of labour. Consequently the expansion of the working class goes precisely hand in hand with the extension of capital. Both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat congregate simultaneously in great cities for it is there that large-scale industry can most successfully operate. Because they are concentrated together in large cities the working classes recognise their own strength. Moreover as this process continues – as more new machines are invented which drive the domestic craftsmen out of business – so the wages of the industrial workers are reduced. It has been seen that wages tend to sink to a minimum so that the situation of the proletariat becomes more and more unbearable. Social revolution is brought closer by the growing misery and by the growing sense of power of the industrial workers.

12. What were the further consequences of the industrial revolution?

The steam engine and the other new machines have provided modern industry with the means to achieve a limitless increase in the volume of production in a very short time. Free competition, an inevitable consequence of the new industrial system, has been greatly intensified because of this rapid expansion of production. A number of capitalists threw themselves into industry with the result that in a short time more goods were produced than could be consumed. The inability to dispose of manufactured products led to a so-called commercial crisis. The factories had to cease production, the manufacturers went bankrupt, and the workers had nothing to eat. There was universal distress. After a time the surplus goods were sold, the factories started to work again, and wages went up. Gradually business was better than ever. But before long too many goods were again produced and there was a new crisis which took exactly the same course as the previous crisis. In fact since the beginning of the nineteenth century the fortunes of industry have continually fluctuated between periods of prosperity and periods of slump. There has been a crisis every five or seven years and every time this state of affairs has been marked by great distress among the workers, by a general revolutionary fever, and by the most serious threat to the existing social order.

13. What are the consequences of these regularly recurring commercial crises?

First, although modern industry itself originally gave birth to free competition it has now developed to a stage when it no longer needs free competition. The position now is that competition – indeed the whole conception of rivalry between individual manufacturing firms – has become a restriction from which industry must and will free itself. So long as industry continues as it is at present it faces a new universal crisis every seven years which not only threatens the whole social structure but plunges the workers into deep distress and ruins a number of the bourgeoisie. Either modern industry must be given up – and that is utterly impossible – or society must be organised in a new way so that instead of individual manufacturers competing against each other, society as a whole becomes responsible for all industrial production in accordance with a predetermined plan.

Secondly, modern industry – and the illimitable expansion of output which it can achieve – has made possible the emergence of an economy in which such a volume of the necessities of life can be produced that every member of society could develop his potentialities to the full. The very feature of modern industry which at present results in commercial crises and social distress – under a different organisation of society – cause panics and distress to disappear. So it has been clearly proved

(i) that all these evils are due to the fact that the present organisation of society is no longer suited to the modern industrial economy,

(ii) that the means are at hand to abolish these evils completely through the creation of a new organisation of society.

14. How will society have to be organised in the future?

In the new society it will be essential to take the control of all branches of manufacture out of the hands of competing individuals. Industry will have to be run by society as a whole for everybody's benefit. It must be operated by all members of society in accordance with a common plan. Co-operation must take the place of competition. It has been seen that the present system of private property follows logically from the control of industry by private individuals. Again competition is simply the way in which industry is run under a system of private ownership of the means of production. Consequently the private

ownership of individual industrial plants and the system of competition cannot logically be separated. So private property will also have to be abolished and it must be replaced by the sharing of all products in accordance with an agreed plan. This is the so-called "community of goods". Indeed the "abolition of private property" is the shortest and most striking way of summing up the way in which society as a whole will have to be recast in view of recent developments in the organisation of industry. Communists have every justification in making the abolition of private property the main demand on their political platform.

15. Is it true that the abolition of private property was formerly impossible?

All changes in the structure of society and all revolutions in the control over property are the necessary consequence of the creation of new forces of production to which the old system of property ownership cannot adapt themselves. Private property itself grew up in this way. Private property did not always exist. Towards the end of the middle ages a new method of producing goods developed which could not fit in with the existing system of feudalism and gilds. Private property replaced feudalism as the social organisation best adapted to the needs of the new type of economy. The domestic system and the early stages of modern industrialisation could survive only under a social system of private property. At that time it was impossible to produce, not merely a sufficient quantity of goods for everybody to be supplied, but also enough goods to provide a surplus that could be used to expand the social capital and to increase further the means of production. In those circumstances there were always bound to be two classes in society – a ruling class which controlled the means of production and a poor, oppressed class of wage-earners. The structure of these two classes depends upon the stage of economic development that has been attained. In the agrarian economy of the middle ages we had the baron and his serfs. In the cities of the later middle ages we had the gild master and his journeymen and apprentices. In the seventeenth century we had the early "factories" and their craftsmen. In the nineteenth century we have the large industrial establishments and the proletariat. It is clear that in the past the economy has not had the power to produce enough goods to satisfy everybody's demands. And the system of private property checked the expansion of the productive forces of society. But now three things have hap-

pened as the result of the development of modern large scale industries –

(i) Capital and productive powers have enormously increased and there is every prospect that this expansion will continue quickly and indefinitely.

(ii) These productive powers are concentrated in the hands of a small number of the bourgeoisie. At the same time the vast mass of the population is sinking to the level of the proletariat. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increases in exact proportion to the poverty of the working classes.

(iii) The enormously increased powers of production – which are capable of still further rapid expansion – can no longer be controlled by private property and by the bourgeoisie. They have led to serious disturbances in the structure of society. Consequently the abolition of private property is now not only possible but absolutely necessary.

16. Will it be possible to abolish private property by peaceful means?

It is highly desirable that private property should be abolished by peaceful means and the communists are the strongest advocates of this course of action. Communists are all too well aware of the fact that revolutions are both useless and harmful. They know very well that revolutions are not made on purpose but that they have always inevitably been brought about by circumstances which are quite beyond the control of particular political parties or social classes. Communists are also aware of the fact that in almost all civilised countries the growth of the proletariat has been followed by the forcible suppression of the proletariat and that it is the opponents of communism who have been evoking with all their might and main to bring about a revolution. If the oppressed proletariat is driven to revolt we communists will support the workers with deeds as vigorously as we now support them with words.

17. Will it be possible to abolish private property with one blow?

No, this will not be possible – just as it would not be possible *immediately* to expand the existing forces of production to such an extent that enough goods could be made to satisfy all the needs of the community. Consequently it is very likely that – after the revolution of the proletariat – the present structure of society will only change gradually. Private property

can be abolished only when the economy is capable of producing the volume of goods needed to satisfy everybody's requirements.

18. How will this revolution progress?

Above all the revolution will lead to the promulgation of a democratic constitution and so – directly or indirectly – the political supremacy of the proletariat will be established. In England the power of the proletariat will be established directly because the majority of the population already consists of the working classes. In France and Germany the supremacy of the proletariat will be established indirectly because there the majority of the people is composed not only of workers but of peasants and the urban bourgeoisie – groups which are only now becoming part of the proletariat – and will, from a political point of view, become more and more dependent upon the proletariat whose demands they will have to accept.

Democracy is quite useless to the proletariat unless it can immediately be used as a means by which the proletariat can secure the adoption of laws which attack private property and ensure the future prosperity of the workers. The most important of such measures – already clearly necessary in the light of existing circumstances – are:

(i) Restriction of private property through progressive taxation, high death duties, abolition of the right of brothers and nephews to inherit property, and forced loans.

(ii) Gradual expropriation of landowners, factory owners and owners of railways and shipping lines – partly by the competition of nationalised industries and partly by expropriation (with compensation in the form of government bonds).

(iii) Confiscation of the property of all emigrés and all those who fight against the majority of the people.

(iv) The organisation of work – that is the employment of workers on state farms and nationalised factories and workshops. This would remove competition as between workers. In so far as private factory owners were allowed to survive they would be forced to pay the higher wages earned by workers in nationalised enterprises.

(v) All members of society to be under an equal obligation to work – until private property is completely abolished. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

(vi) Centralisation of the system of credit and of dealing in money in the hands of the state through the establishment

of a nationalised bank with state capital and the abolition of all private banks and bankers.

(vii) Increase in the number of nationalised factories, workshops, railways and ships. All farm land to be cultivated. Land already under cultivation to be further improved as the capital and manpower available for the purpose increases.

(viii) Education of all children (as soon as they can leave their mothers) in state schools at public expense. Education and factory work to go hand in hand.

(ix) Erection of large buildings on state farms as common dwelling houses for groups of citizens who would be engaged both in agriculture and industry. In this way the advantages of town life and country life could be united without having to put up with the drawbacks of either.

(x) Destruction of all unhealthy and badly built dwellings and parts of towns.

(xi) Legitimate and illegitimate children to have equal rights of inheritance.

(xii) Concentration of all means of communication in the hands of the state.

All these measures cannot of course be introduced at once. But every one of these measures that is introduced will automatically lead to the introduction of another. Once the first radical attack has been made upon the institution of private property the proletariat will be forced to go further and to concentrate in the hands of the state all capital, all land, all industry, all transport, and all commerce. The measures that have been mentioned will all tend to achieve this object. They can be carried out – and they bring about the centralised control of all the means of production – in direct proportion to the extent to which the productivity of the country expands through the labours of the workers. Finally when all capital, all industrial and agricultural production, and all the means of exchange are concentrated in the hands of the state, then private property will automatically disappear, money will become superfluous, production will have increased to such an extent and human beings will have changed so much that the old society will have disappeared.

19. Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in a single country?

No, this will not be possible. Modern industry has already created a world market. All countries in the world – certainly

the civilised ones – are so closely linked together that every country is influenced by what happens elsewhere. Moreover all civilised states now have the same social structure. In all of them the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have become the two main classes in society and in all of them the struggle between them has become the decisive struggle of our time. Consequently the communist revolution will not be a national revolution in one country. It will take place simultaneously in all the civilised countries – certainly in England, America, France and Germany. The speed with which the revolution will take place in these countries will depend upon which state has the most developed industry, the greatest wealth, and the largest forces of production. So in Germany the revolution will take place more slowly and will be achieved with the greatest difficulty while in England it will take place most rapidly and with the greatest ease. The revolution will have significant repercussions in the other countries in the world and will change and speed up developments that have occurred so far. It will be a universal revolution and its effects will be felt everywhere.

20. What will be the consequences of the final abolition of private property?

Society will take all means of production, all transport facilities, and all means of exchange out of private hands. The distribution of the available output will be planned by society in accordance with the needs of the community. In this way the evil consequences of modern industrial expansion will be removed and commercial crises will disappear. The expansion of output – which in society as it is now constructed leads to overproduction and is a major cause of social distress – will in future be insufficient for the needs of the community and will have to be still further increased. Overproduction will no longer lead to social distress. It will not only meet immediate needs but will give a new impetus to further progress. And this progress will not, as in the past, bring the social order into a state of confusion. Modern industry, freed from the incubus of private property, will expand at such a rate that the present rate of expansion will appear as insignificant as the output of the old domestic system appeared to be in relation to the output of industry today. The new rate of industrial growth will produce enough goods to satisfy all the demands of society. At present farming is restricted by the pressure of private property and the system of dividing land into very small holdings. In

future farming will be able to make full use of new scientific methods and will expand to such an extent that its output will be sufficient to meet all the requirements of society. By these means society will achieve an output which will be sufficient for the needs of all its members and will be fairly divided among them. The division of society into rival classes opposed to each other will be superfluous. It will not only be superfluous but it will not be possible in the new society of the future. It is the division of labour which has split society into classes and in future the division of labour as we now know it will disappear completely. Mechanical and chemical aids are not in themselves sufficient to achieve the volume of output that is needed. It will be necessary to secure an appropriate increase in the skill of the people who will use these machines and chemical processes. Just as the peasants and craftsmen of the eighteenth century had to alter their way of life and actually became quite different people when they were swallowed up by modern industry so the new method of production and society as a whole will require the services of a new type of person and will in fact itself be responsible for creating such a new type. Production by society as a whole cannot be accomplished by people as they are today. At present every individual is subordinated to a particular branch of industry to which he is chained and by which he is exploited. At present every individual has developed one skill at the expense of all others. He is familiar with only one branch – or a part of a branch – of production. Even now modern industry has less and less use for such people. A society which plans and operates all industries requires people with a variety of skills who are in a position to appreciate the whole manufacturing process. At present machinery has led to the division of labour and has turned one man into a peasant, a second into a shoemaker, a third into a factory worker, and a fourth into a speculator on the stock exchange. All this will be swept away. Education in the future will enable young people to appreciate the whole process of production and will give them the training necessary to exercise one skill after another according to the varying needs of society and their own inclinations. They will not be one-sided human beings of the type now created by the division of labour. In this way society organised on communist lines will give its members the opportunity to use to the full all the varied skills of which they are capable. The existing social class will of course disappear. Social classes cannot in principle exist side by side with a communist society. And the creation

of a communist society provides the means by which class rivalry can be abolished.

Similarly in a communist society there can be no clash of interests between town and country. It is an elementary principle of communism that farming and industrial work should be carried out by the same people and not by two different classes. The contrast between the scattering of the rural population over the countryside and the concentration of the urban population in the towns represents the existence of both an undeveloped system of agriculture and an underdeveloped system of industry. This is a barrier to progress the effects of which are already very much in evidence.

The main results of the abolition of private property will be the joint and planned exploitation of the forces of production by society as a whole; the expansion of output to such an extent that it will satisfy everybody's needs; the ending of the system by which one man's requirements can be satisfied only at the expense of someone else; the complete destruction of social classes and the conflicts to which they give rise; and the universal development of the skills of all members of society by industrial training, by periodic changing of jobs, by the universal sharing of all products, and by the union of town and countryside.

21. What influence will a communist society have upon family life?

Under communism the relationship between the two sexes will be a purely private matter which affects only the persons concerned and with which society has nothing to do. This will be possible because communism will abolish private property and will bring up all children together and by these means the foundations of marriage as it now exists – the dependence of wives upon their husbands and the dependence of children upon their parents – will be abolished. This is the answer to the outcry of highly moral members of the bourgeoisie against the communist "community of women". In fact the 'community of women' is a feature of bourgeois society and can be seen clearly in operation today in the institution of prostitution. Prostitution depends upon private property and will disappear when private property disappears. Far from introducing the "community of women" communism will abolish it.

22. What will be the relationship between communism and existing nationalities?

No change.

23. What will be the relationship between communism and the existing religions?

No change.

24. What is the difference between communism and socialism?

The so-called socialists may be divided into three groups.

The *first* group consists of members of the old feudal and patriarchal society which is in the process of being destroyed by modern industry, by world trade and by the bourgeois society which has arisen as a result of these developments. This group believes that the evils of modern society can be abolished by re-establishing the feudal and patriarchal society in which such evils did not exist. In one way or another all their suggestions really have this end in view. Communists will always attack these reactionary socialists however many tears they shed over the sorrows of the proletariat. This is because

(i) They are supporting a policy which is absolutely impossible to carry out.

(ii) They are trying to restore the authority of the nobles, the gild masters and the owners of great workshops – with their associated absolute or feudal monarchs, officials, soldiers and priests. Their society it is true was free from the evils of the present society. On the other hand their society had plenty of evils of its own and the oppressed workers of those days did not have a communist organisation to work for their freedom.

(iii) They show themselves in their true colours by immediately uniting with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat whenever the proletariat shows signs of adopting communist or revolutionary principles.

The *second* group consists of members of the existing society who are afraid that this society will collapse if nothing is done about the evils for which society is responsible. So they advocate the maintainance of the existing society while endeavouring to remove the evils associated with it. To achieve this some of them recommend the adoption of more welfare schemes while others advocate schemes which pretend to re-organise society but in fact would retain the fundamental principles upon which society is organised. Communists will always attack these *bourgeois* socialists because they are the allies of the enemies of communism and they defend a society which communists wish to overthrow.

The *third* group consists of *democratic* socialists who advocate some of the changes that communists advocate. But

they advocate these changes not as a means of establishing a communist society but simply as measures which they regard as adequate to cope with the evils that exist in modern society. Some of these democratic socialists are working men who have not yet fully understood what has to be done to free the proletariat. Others are craftsmen and shopkeepers – a class which in many ways has the same interests as the proletariat, particularly during the period when democracy is being achieved and the first socialist measures are being introduced. The communists will be prepared to come to an understanding with these socialists and to make common cause with them – in so far as these socialists do not serve the ends of the ruling bourgeoisie class and attack the communists. It is clear that communists must be prepared to enter into discussions with those socialists so as to try to remove differences that may divide them.

25. What is the relationship between the communists and the other political parties of our time?

The relationship differs in various countries. In England, France and Belgium, where the bourgeoisie is in power, the communists have an interest in co-operating with the various democratic parties that exist in those states. The co-operation will become closer the more the democratic parties advocate socialist measures which approach the goal to which the communists are striving. The communist co-operation with the democratic parties will become closer the more clearly and the more definitely those parties represent the interests of the working classes and seek support from the working classes. In England, for example, the working class Chartists are much closer to the communists than the democratic bourgeoisie or so-called radicals.

In America, where a democratic constitution is in force, the communists must work with the party that is prepared to use this constitution against the bourgeois in the interests of the workers. This party is the agrarian National Reform Party.

In Switzerland the Radicals – though a very mixed party – are the only people with whom the communists could co-operate. The Radicals of Waadtland and Geneva are the most progressive.

Finally, in Germany the decisive struggle between the bourgeoisie and the absolute monarchy has only just begun. The decisive struggle between the communists and the bourgeoisie cannot be undertaken until the bourgeoisie is the ruling class

in society. In the circumstances it is in the interest of the communists that the bourgeoisie should be helped to attain power as quickly as possible – so that the communists can then turn them out again. Consequently the communists must support the liberal bourgeois party against the governments. But the communists must be careful that they do not deceive themselves in the way that the bourgeois party deceives itself. The communists must not be under any illusions concerning the promises of the bourgeoisie that a victory of the bourgeoisie would be followed by reforms which would benefit the proletariat. The only advantages that the communist would derive from a victory of the bourgeoisie would be

(i) the granting of various concessions which would make it easier for the communists to defend, discuss and propogate their principles and so unite the proletariat into a single, well organised, militant class,

(ii) the knowledge that on the day when the absolute governments fall, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working classes can begin. From that day onwards in Germany the policy of the communists will be exactly the same as it now is in those countries in which the bourgeoisie has already achieved power.

IX

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE, 1847[1]

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Part I

The League (*Bund*)

Article 1

The purpose of the League is to destroy the power of the middle classes and to secure power for the proletariat. The League aims at abolishing the existing bourgeois society which is based upon the opposition of one class to another and at establishing a new classless society in which private property will cease to exist.

Article 2

The conditions of membership are

(*a*) to adopt a way of life in conformity with the aims of the League and to work for the achievement of those aims.

(*b*) to engage in communist propaganda with revolutionary energy and zeal.

(*c*) to accept the doctrines of communism.

(*d*) to refuse to support any political or national party which opposes communism; to refuse to belong to any association registered with the local authorities and opposed to communism.

(*e*) to accept the decisions of the League.

(*f*) to keep secret the existence and the decisions of the League.

(*g*) to be admitted into a communist cell by unanimous vote.

Anyone who fails to meet the conditions of membership will be excluded from membership (see Part VIII).

Article 3

All members are equal and are brothers and as such should be helped in every way.

[1] See Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (two volumes, 1853–4; new edition 1969), Vol. 1, Appendix 10, pp. 239–43; G. Winkler, *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (1957), pp. 106–11.

Article 4

All members will be given special names.

Article 5

The League is organised in cells, groups, senior groups, the executive committee, and the congress.

Part II

The Cell (*die Gemeinde*)

Article 6

The minimum membership of a cell is three and the maximum is twenty.

Article 7

Every cell elects a chairman and a vice-chairman. The chairman presides over meetings. The vice-chairman acts as treasurer and presides over meetings in the absence of the chairman.

Article 8

New members are admitted by the chairman if the cell has previously given its approval.

Article 9

Cells are unknown to each other and do not correspond with each other.

Article 10

Cells are named so that they can be distinguished from one another.

Article 11

Any member who changes his residence must notify the chairman of his cell.

Part III

The Group (*der Kreis*)

Article 12

A group includes at least two and not more than ten cells.

Article 13

The chairmen and vice-chairmen of the cells together form the committee to administer the affairs of the group. The group com-

mittee elects one of its members to act as group chairman. The group corresponds with its constituent cells and with the senior group.

Article 14

The administration of the group is responsible for all cells within the group.

Article 15

New cells must either join an existing group or link up with established cells to form a new group.

Part IV

The Senior Group (*der leitende Kreis*)

Article 16

The various groups in a country or province come under the oversight of a senior group.

Article 17

The congress of the League, on the recommendation of the executive committee of the League, is responsible for organising the groups and for deciding which of them shall be the senior group.

Article 18

The senior group has authority over all its constituent groups. It corresponds with its constituent groups and with the central executive committee of the League.

Article 19

Newly established groups are allocated to the nearest senior group.

Article 20

Senior groups are responsible in the first instance to the executive committee but they are ultimately responsible to the congress of the League.

Part V

The Central Executive Committee

Article 21

The central executive committee administers the affairs of the League and is responsible to the congress.

Article 22

The central executive committee consists of at least five members and is elected by the group committee of the place at which the congress is held.

Article 23

The central executive committee corresponds with the committees of senior groups. It makes a report every three months on the affairs of the whole League.

Part VI

Common Regulations

Article 24

The cells, committees of the groups, and the central executive committee meet at least once a fortnight.

Article 25

The members of the central executive committee and the group committees serve for one year and are eligible for re-election. But they can be dismissed at any time by those who elected them.

Article 26

Elections take place in the month of September.

Article 27

The group committees are responsible for arranging discussions in the cells concerning the policy and the aims of the League. If the executive committee considers that certain matters are of immediate interest it should urge all groups and cells to organise discussions on these questions.

Article 28

Individual members of the League should submit a written report to their group committee at least once every three months. Each cell should report to the committee of its group at least once a month. Each group must send a report to its senior group every two months. Every senior group should submit a report on the activities of its constituent groups to the central executive committee once every three months.

Article 29

Every committee should take steps to ensure the security and the effective working of the League. It is responsible for taking

all necessary measures – within the authority given to it by the Statutes of the League – to bring this about. It should report immediately to the next higher authority when it has been necessary to take such measures.

Part VII

The Congress

Article 30

The congress is the legislative organ of the whole League. All suggestions for the alteration or amendment of the Statutes should be sent to the central executive committee through a senior group. Such suggestions will be submitted to the congress of the League by the central executive committee.

Article 31

Every group may send one representative to the congress.

Article 32

Every group with a membership of under thirty is entitled to send one representative to the congress. For each further thirty members an additional representative may be sent to the congress. A group may be represented by a member of the League who is a member of another group. In such a case, however, the representative must bring with him to the congress a certificate which proves that he is entitled to represent the group in question.

Article 33

The congress will meet every year in the month of August. In exceptional circumstances the central executive committee may call an extraordinary meeting of the congress.

Article 34

At each meeting the congress will decide at which place the central executive committee will sit for the next year. The congress will also decide where the next annual meeting of the congress will be held.

Article 35

Members of the central executive committee are entitled to attend the congress of the League but their votes will carry the same weight as those of normal representatives.

Article 36

At the conclusion of each of its meetings the congress will issue

in the name of the party a circular to its groups and a manifesto to the public.

Part VIII

Activities Harmful to the League

Article 37

Anyone who fails to observe the conditions of membership (Article 2) will – according to circumstances – be given an opportunity to resign or will be expelled. Anyone who has resigned may be readmitted to the League but anyone who has been expelled is not eligible for readmission.

Article 38

Only the congress of the League has the authority to expel members.

Article 39

A group or a cell which is not attached to a group has the power to ask a member to resign. Such action must be immediately reported to higher authority. The final decision will be taken by the congress of the League.

Article 40

The readmission of a member who has been asked to resign is in the hands of the central executive committee acting on the recommendation of the former member's group.

Article 41

A group committee is responsible for dealing with offences against the League and for carrying out the sentence.

Article 42

The conduct of persons who have been asked to resign or who have been expelled should – in the interests of the League – be watched so as to render them harmless. Any action taken by such individuals (which appears likely to harm the League) should be reported to the cell which is likely to be affected by such conduct.

Part IX

Finance

Article 43

The congress fixes a minimum individual subscription for each country.

Article 44

Half of this subscription is allocated to the central executive committee and half is allocated to the group or to the cell (if the cell is not attached to a group).

Article 45

The funds of the central executive committee will be used

(i) to cover the cost of administration and correspondence
(ii) to print and distribute propaganda leaflets
(iii) to defray the travelling expenses of emisaries appointed by the central executive committee for specific purposes.

Article 46

The funds of local groups or cells will be used

(i) to defray the cost of correspondence
(ii) to print and distribute propaganda leaflets
(iii) to defray the expenses of appropriate emisaries.

Article 47

Groups or cells which are six months in arrears with their subscriptions to the central executive committee will be recommended by the executive committee for expulsion from the League.

Article 48

Group committees will lay their accounts before their cells for audit at least every three months. The central executive committee will inform the congress of the financial position of the League giving information concerning income, expenditure and the balance in hand. Any misappropriation of funds belonging to the League will be severely punished.

Article 49

Extraordinary expenses and the cost of running the congress will be covered by special levies.

Part X
Admission

Article 50

The chairman of the cell will read Articles 1 to 49 of the Statutes to the candidate for admission. He will explain their meaning and he will make a brief speech emphasising the responsibilities which the candidate will accept as a member of the League. Then the chairman will ask the candidate: "Do you now

wish to join the League?" If the candidate answers "Yes" the chairman will accept his word of honour that he will faithfully carry out his obligations as a member of the League. Then the chairman will declare that the candidate is now a member of the League and he will introduce him to the next meeting of the cell.

London, December 8, 1847
In the name of the second congress held in the autumn of 1847
(signed): Engels (secretary) Karl Schapper (president).

X

DEMANDS OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY, 1848[1]

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

1. The whole of Germany is declared to be a united indivisible republic.
2. Every German over the age of twenty-one is entitled to the vote and may stand for election provided that he does not have a criminal record.
3. Deputies will be paid so that workers can sit in the German parliament.
4. Popular militia. The armies of the future will be armies of workers (as well as armies of soldiers) so that they can earn their keep instead of being a burden on the taxpayer. This will also serve as a method by which work can be planned and organised.
5. Justice is free.
6. All feudal dues and services with which people living in country districts are at present burdened will be abolished. No compensation will be paid to the owners.
7. Landed estates and mines, owned by royalty and feudal nobles, will be nationalised. Such estates will in future be operated on a large scale with the aid of the most modern technical knowledge for the benefit of the whole community.
8. Farm mortgages will be nationalised. In future farmers and peasants will pay interest on mortgages to the state.
9. In those districts where farms are leased to tenants the ground rent will in future be paid to the state.

The measures listed in paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 are aimed at reducing the public and private financial burdens of farmers and smallholders without reducing the revenues required by the state and without endangering agricultural output.

The landowner who is neither a tenant farmer nor a smallholder

[1] Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4, new edition, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 68–9.

takes no part whatever in the output of agricultural products. What he consumes, therefore, is wasted and is to be condemned.

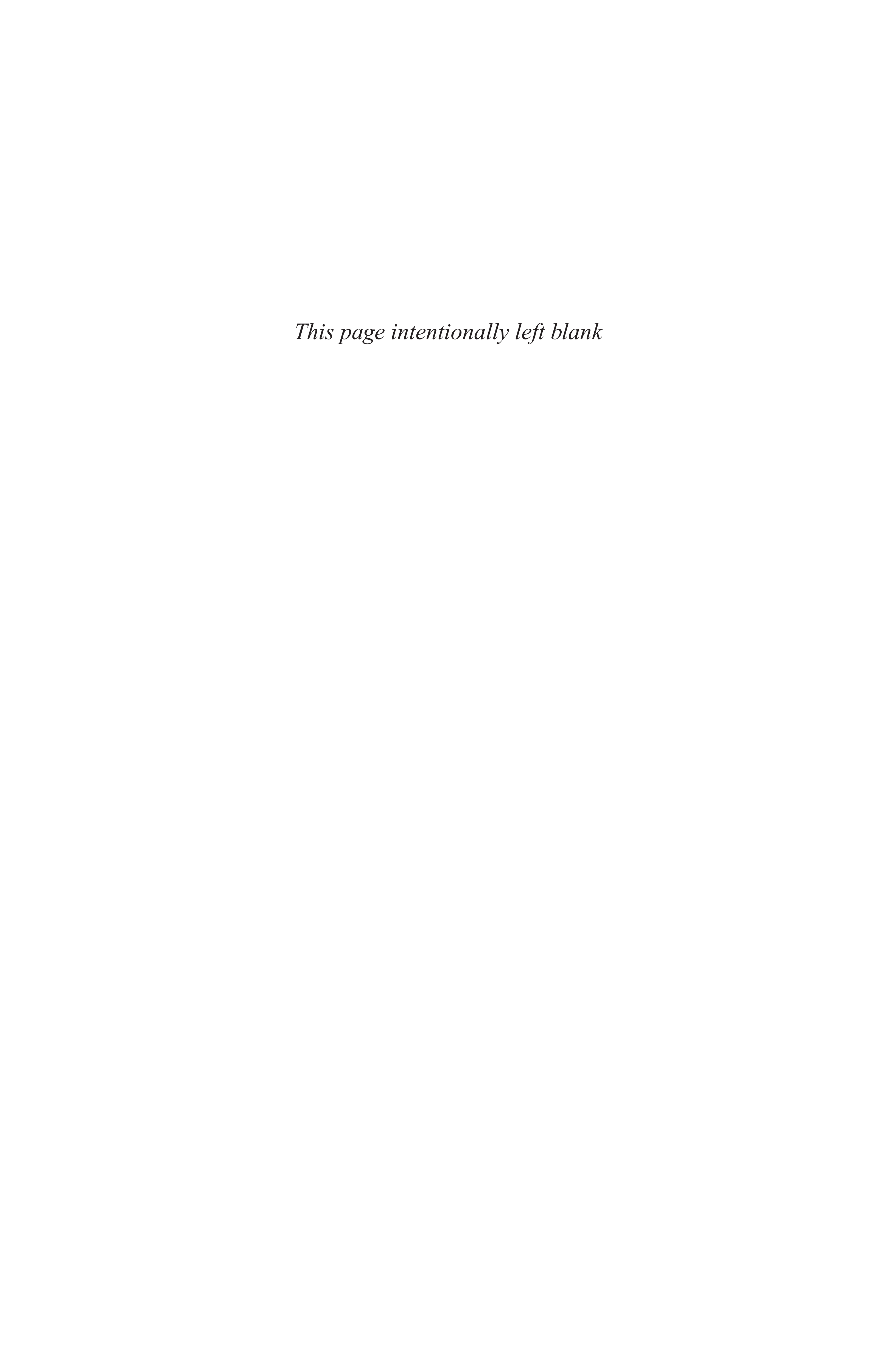
10. A single state bank – with notes of legal tender – will replace all private banks.

This measure will make it possible to regulate credit in the interest of the *whole* community and will undermine the power of the great financiers. The state bank will gradually replace gold and silver by paper money and will thereby cheapen the essential means by which citizens exchange goods and service. The expansion of the universal means of exchange at home will enable gold and silver to be used for foreign transactions. This measure is also necessary to secure the support of the conservative middle classes for the revolution.

11. All communications – railways, canals, steamships, highways, post office etc. – will be taken over by the state and nationalised. Transport service will be made available without charge to poor people.
12. The salaries of all civil servants will be equalised except that those with families – and therefore with heavier responsibilities – will draw higher salaries than the others.
13. Church and state will be completely separated. Priests of all churches will be paid by their congregations.
14. Restriction of the right to inherit property.
15. Introduction of highly progressive system of direct taxation and abolition of indirect taxes.
16. Erection of national workshops. The state guarantees full employment and takes responsibility for looking after workers who are incapable of earning a living.
17. Universal free education.

It is in the interest of the German proletariat, the peasants and the lower middle classes to work energetically for the adoption of these measures. Only if this programme is achieved will it be possible to save the millions of people in Germany who are exploited by a handful of oppressors and who will continue to be held in subjection. Only if this programme is achieved will the oppressed receive justice and enjoy the power that they ought to have since they are the people who generate all the wealth that society enjoys.

The Committee: Karl Marx, Karl Schapper, H. Bauer, F. Engels, J. Moll, W. Wolff.



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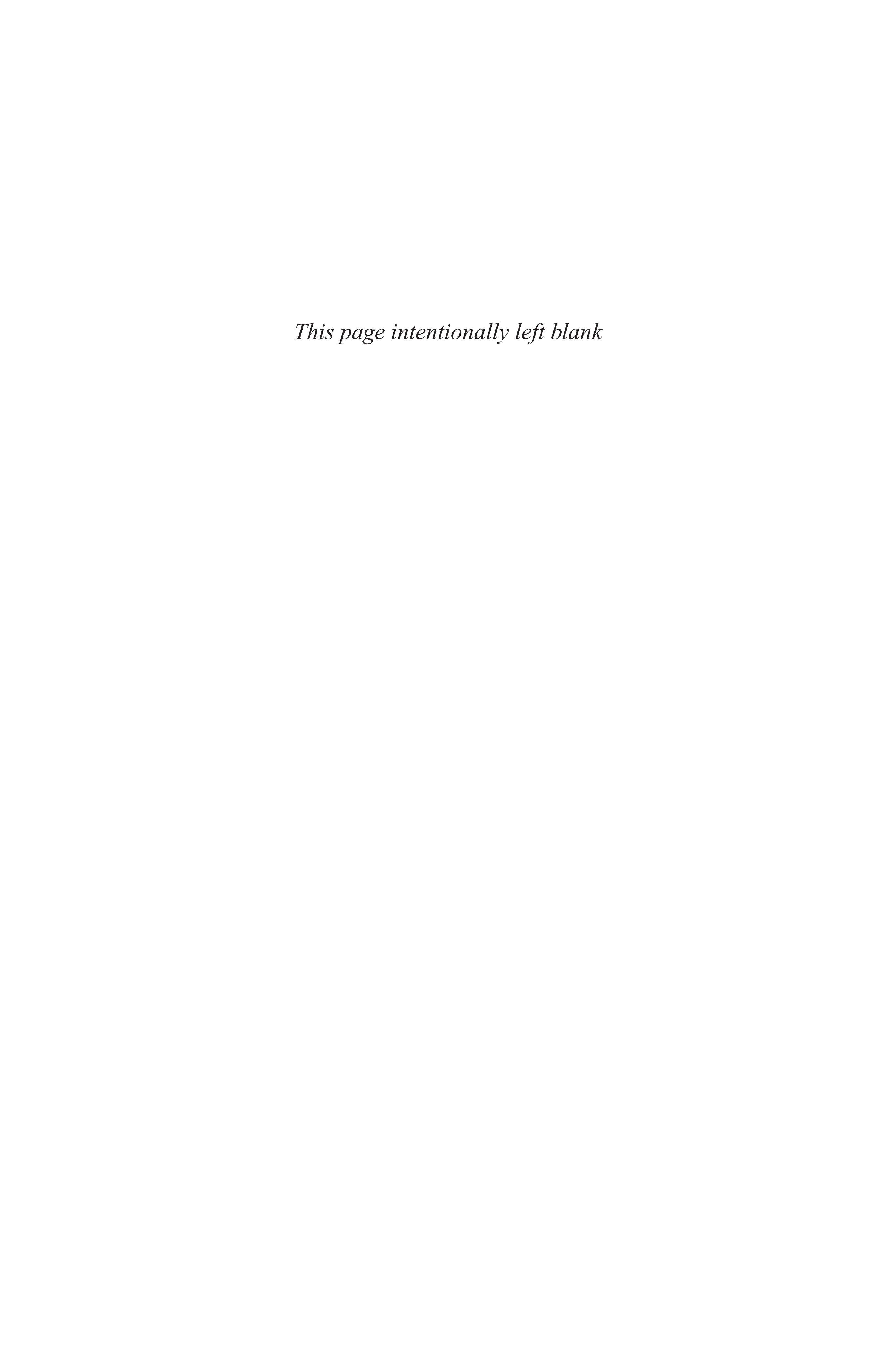
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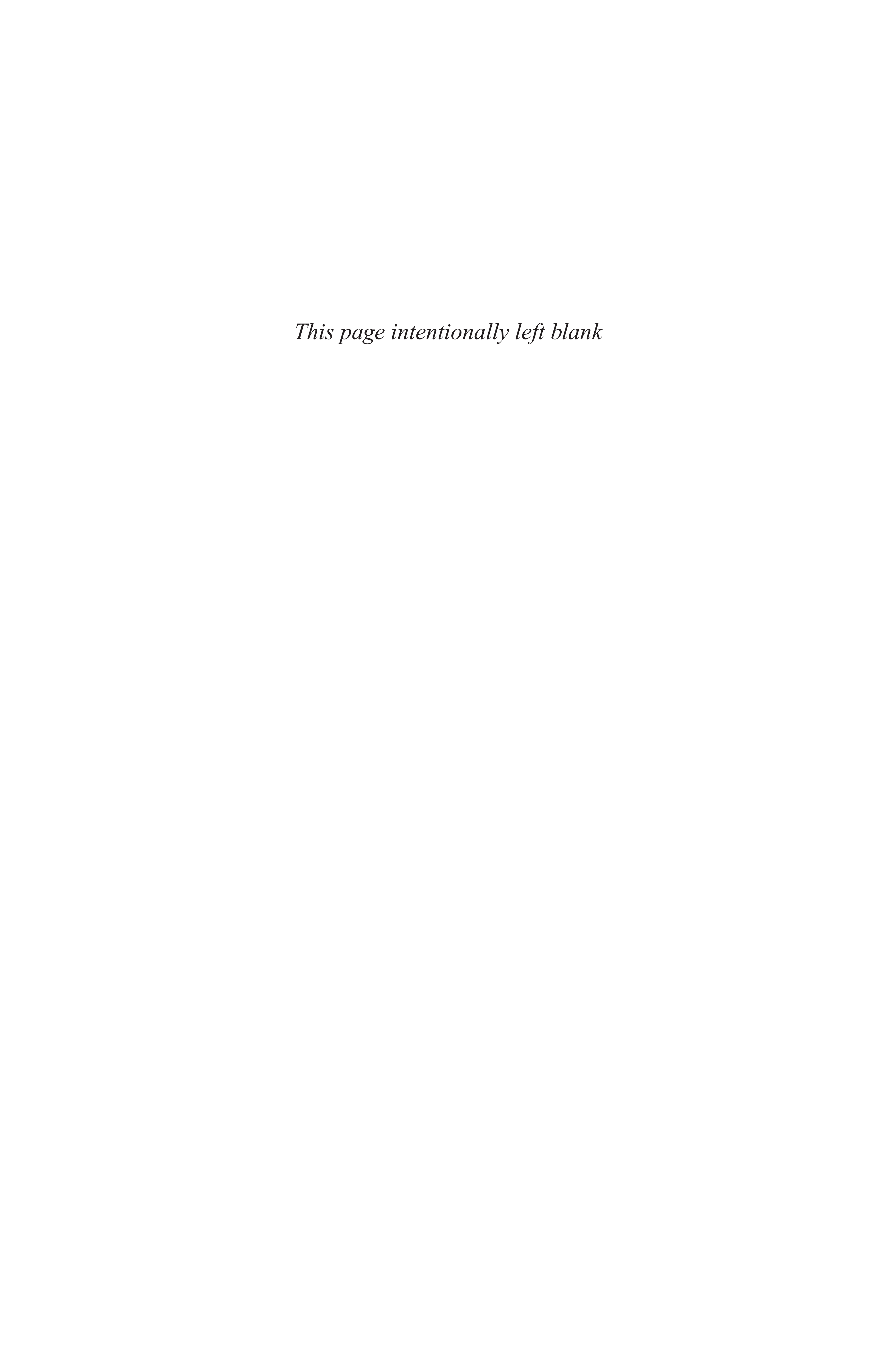
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Illustrations

* From *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.


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6

ENGELS AND *DAS KAPITAL*

In whatever literary projects they were engaged Marx and Engels were accustomed to work in close co-operation. Engels gave his friend every possible assistance when he was writing his major work on the capitalist system.[1] Marx often consulted Engels on theoretical and practical problems. Engels had studied economics and had written an essay on "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in 1844.[2] His wide reading and practical knowledge of business enabled him to offer valuable comments upon Marx's criticisms of the classical economists as well as upon Marx's own economic doctrines. Engels also gave Marx considerable help by supplying him with information concerning the cotton industry. Marx had no experience of the business world and he relied upon Engels for information concerning the running of an office or a factory. Sometimes Engels passed Marx's queries on to others. On Engels's advice Marx wrote to Henry Ermen for data concerning cotton spinning as practised in the Bridgewater Mill at Pendlebury.[3] The information that he received appeared in Marx's discussion of the rate of surplus value in the third part of the first volume of *Das Kapital*.[4]

In January 1851 Engels discussed Ricardo's theory of rent with Marx. Ricardo held that farm rents represented the difference between the value of the produce of a piece of land and the costs of production on that land. Rent also represented the difference between the yields of a fertile piece of land and of the least fertile land worth cultivating. Rent could be increased only in conjunction with a rise in the price of the produce of the land. Marx declared that Ricardo's theory was "everywhere contradicted by history". He argued that if – by scientific farming – the yield of land rose, the general level of rents might rise even if the price of particular products (such as cereals) fell. Engels reminded Marx that in his article of 1844 he had shown that improved agricultural techniques would counteract the decline in the fertility of farm land which had been brought about by excessive cultivation. Engels accepted Marx's theory of rent as "correct in every respect".[5] Eleven years later Marx returned to the problem. In June 1862 he claimed that he had at last solved the problem of the "swindle" of Ricardo's

"ground rent shit".[6] On August 2, 1862 he discussed his new theory of rent at some length[7] and a few days later he argued that "even if one accepts the possibility of establishing the existence of an 'absolute' theory of ground rent, it certainly does not follow that in all circumstances the least fertile land or the least productive mine must pay rent".[8]

In February 1851 Marx and Engels examined the theory of the "currency school" that the economy should be protected against inflation (through the overissue of banknotes) by making paper money behave in the same way as a metallic currency. Marx argued that the volume, the expansion, or the contraction of the supply of money - coins or banknotes - were not affected by the import or export of bullion, or by the balance of trade, or by foreign exchange rates. Engels congratulated Marx on having elucidated satisfactorily "the simple, clear, fundamental facts of the mad theory of monetary circulation".[9] Subsequently Marx sent Engels a copy of Proudhon's latest work[10] with a vigorous criticism of the writer's views. He asked Engels for his comments. After reading half of the book Engels replied that he agreed with Marx's criticisms.[11]

In 1853 Marx and Engels corresponded on the question of landownership in the Orient. Engels declared that the absence of landed property there was "the key to whole history" of the region and he argued that this could be explained by such factors as the climate and the poor soil.[12] In January 1858 Marx wrote to Engels that his studies had reached a stage at which he wanted some practical information on matters about which the writers of books on the theory of economics were silent. In particular he asked for details of the circulation of capital and its effects upon profits and prices.[13] Shortly afterwards Marx asked how often the firm of Ermen & Engels renewed its machinery. He thought that Babbage had been "not quite trustworthy" when he wrote that machinery in Manchester was replaced after five years.[14] Engels agreed that Babbage had been "quite wrong". Lancashire manufacturers generally wrote off 7½ per cent of the value of their machinery every year to cover repairs and depreciation. This meant that machinery was expected to last for 13 years and four months. But Engels added that one could find cotton mills in Manchester operating machinery that was twenty - even thirty - years old.[15] Marx returned to the problem some years later when he argued that the profits from the sale of goods made by machinery was "a progressive return on fixed capital, enabling a manufacturer to build up what is in effect a fund on which he can draw to replace his machinery when it has worn out."[16]

On another occasion Marx asked Engels what proportion of a manufacturer's circulating capital was normally laid out in raw materials and wages and what proportion was kept in a bank. He considered that the theoretical laws on the subject were self-evident "but it is useful to know what happens in practice".[17] In March 1862 Marx asked Engels to let him have a description of "feeders on circular frames" and to suggest a German translation for the word "gigs".[18] He also enquired as to the structure of the labour force employed by the firm of Ermen & Engels. He wanted information concerning the nature of the tasks performed by various types of operatives. "I need an example for my book to show that the division of labour, as described by Adam Smith as the basis of manufacturing (in workshops without power-driven machinery) does not exist (in modern factories). Andrew Ure has already drawn attention to this fact. All I want is an example."[19]

In January 1863 Marx asked Engels about self-acting spinning machines. "My question is: What rôle did the so-called spinning operative play in machine spinning *before* the self-actor was invented? I can understand the self-actor but I cannot understand the situation as it existed before the self-actor was introduced."[20] In 1865 Marx wrote to Engels asking him to obtain from the manufacturer Alfred Knowles some information concerning the wages of cotton spinners in Lancashire and the price of raw cotton and yarn.[21]

In 1868 when Marx was working on the second volume of *Das Kapital* he asked Engels to find out from Carl Schorlemmer the title of "the most recent and best German book on agricultural chemistry". "I should also like to know the present state of the controversy between the supporters of mineral and nitrogen fertilisers." "And does Schorlemmer know anything about German scholars who have criticised Liebig's theory of the exhaustion of the soil? I must at least know, to some extent, the most recent state of the question when I am working on my chapter on ground rent."[22] In April 1868 Marx asked Engels for his opinion on the theory of the rate of profit that he had worked out. Marx was trying to explain "how it can happen that when the value of money (or gold) declines, the rate of profit rises and vice versa". Engels replied that Marx's theory was very clear.[23] In 1868 Marx asked Engels to describe the financial transactions between the firm of Ermen & Engels and its bankers. He wanted to know "the monetary way of doing things" when buying raw cotton. He also wished to know "your relationship with your customers with regard to bills of exchange".[24]

There were occasions when Marx asked for help of a different

kind in his researches. In 1858 he needed a copy of J. Maclaren's recently published *A Sketch of the History of the Currency* which cost 9/6d. This was more money than he had in the house and so he asked Engels to send him a postal order. Engels did so.[25] In 1866 Marx wrote: "At this moment I have not got a farthing to spend on books." So he asked Engels to buy for him a copy of Thorold Rogers's *A History of Agriculture*.[26]

Since Engels spent some of the best years of his life in a far from congenial office in Manchester to earn enough money to enable Marx to write his book on the capitalist system it was natural that he should anxiously await the appearance of his friend's major work. Engels believed that it was essential for the future triumph of Marxian socialism that a full account of Marx's doctrines should be written by Marx himself. But Engels had to wait for many years before even the first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared and his patience was sometimes sorely tried. He repeatedly appealed to Marx to hasten the publication of the results of his researches. Marx, however, refused to be hurried and it took him over twenty years to produce the first volume of *Das Kapital*.

The saga of the writing of *Das Kapital* began in 1844 when Marx began to study economics and compiled some notes to form the basis of a draft of a book on *Criticism of Politics and National Economy*. In the following year Engels urged Marx to produce the book quickly. "Strike while the iron is hot," he wrote. The situation was favourable since – in his view – communist ideas were spreading rapidly in Germany at that time.[27] In August 1846 Marx assured the publisher Leske – who had paid him an advance on royalties – that the first part would be ready in November and the second would follow soon afterwards.[28] But at the end of 1846 Marx told Annenkov that he could not publish his book in Germany because of censorship difficulties.[29] The book was not published in Marx's lifetime. Eventually some of his notes were published under the title: *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.[30]

Marx suspended his studies on economics in 1847 to write a pamphlet on *Misère de la Philosophie* – an attack upon Proudhon – and to engage in political activities which culminated in the production of the Communist Manifesto (1848). Then his editorial work on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* kept him busy in 1848 and the early months of 1849. His only writings on economics in those years were five leading articles on wages and capital which appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in April 1849. Engels declared that these articles were "a clear indication of the social aspects of our policy".[31]

In exile in London in 1850, after the failure of the revolution,

Marx returned to his researches in economics and embarked upon a study of Ricardo's theory of rent and the doctrine of the "currency school". In January 1851 Engels congratulated Marx on his new theory of rent and urged him to complete his book on economics as soon as possible.[32] Two months passed and then Marx told Engels that he hoped "to finish the whole economic shit" in five weeks.[33] Engels replied: "I am delighted that you have at last finished your book on economics. The whole business has taken too long."[34] Another two months passed and then Marx wrote to Weydemeyer: "I am usually at the British Museum from 9 o'clock in the morning to 7 o'clock at night. My subject has so many damned ramifications that I will not be able to finish it for another six to eight weeks, in spite of all my efforts. Then there are always practical interruptions, unavoidable in the miserable conditions under which one vegetates here. Nevertheless the job is rapidly approaching completion. One must break off somewhere or other by main force."[35] In August Marx wrote that his time was fully occupied with his book.[36] In October Marx declared that he was still working on his book but that much of his time was taken up with the study of technology and agricultural science.[37] Marx's notes and comments upon Ricardo's *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, compiled in the spring of 1851, show how conscientiously he was studying the works of the classical economists at this time.[38]

Marx does not seem to have made much progress with his book on economics in 1852 or in 1853. Much of his time was devoted to writing a pamphlet denouncing the methods used by the Prussian police and judicial authorities to secure the conviction of the German communists who had been brought to trial at Cologne.[39] In December 1852 Marx told his friend Adolph Cluss that the Cologne trial had "totally estranged the German booksellers with whom I had hoped to sign a contract for my *Political Economy*"[40] Nearly a year later, in a letter to Cluss, Marx confidently predicted that there would be a commercial crisis in the following spring. "I still hope that – before this occurs – I shall be able to retire quietly for a few months to finish my *Political Economy*. But I doubt if I shall be able to manage it."[41] For the next four years Marx appears to have done little work on his collection of notebooks on economics. He was too busy writing articles for the press and composing a brilliant denunciation of Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851,[42] which Engels described as "a work of genius".[43]

It was only towards the end of 1857 that Karl Marx resumed his researches on economics. He told Lassalle that he had been "spurred

on by the present commercial crisis to turn again seriously to my work on the *Principles of Economics*". "I have to work throughout the day to earn a living and so only the nights are left for *real* work. And I am also delayed by illness."[44] To Engels he wrote that he was working until four in the morning – and consuming "an immense quantity of tobacco" – on two projects. The first was his *Principles of Economics* and the second was a pamphlet on the commercial crisis of 1857.[45] The pamphlet was never written. In February 1858 Marx informed Lassalle that he had been working for several months on the "final version" of his book on economics.[46] He explained that he planned to write six volumes on (1) capital, (2) landed property, (3) wage labour, (4) the state, (5) international trade, and (6) the world market.[47] By this time Marx had written a rough draft (*Rohentwurf*) of the first of his six volumes. This consisted of two long chapters on money and capital. The second was divided into three sections: (i) how capital is formed, (ii) how capital circulates, and (iii) how surplus value is turned into profit. This first draft of what eventually became the first volume of *Das Kapital* was published in Russia in 1939–41 and in Germany in 1953.[48] Marx described this "rough draft" as a series of monographs written for "self-understanding" and not for publication.[49]

Marx now decided to rewrite the "rough draft" and to publish it in parts. Lassalle found a publisher for him – F. G. Duncker of Berlin – who agreed that the book should appear in serial form. In March 1858 Lassalle urged Marx to let Duncker have the first part as soon as possible.[50] But in April Marx told Engels that his liver complaint made it impossible for him to start on the manuscript.[51] And it was not until September that he wrote to Engels that the manuscript would be ready in a fortnight.[52] But two months later Jenny Marx was still making a fair copy of the manuscript.[53] Marx told Lassalle that the delay had been caused because of his determination to improve his style. "I owe it to the Party that my book should not be spoiled by being written in a stolid, wooden style and that is how I write when my liver is out of order."[54]

On January 21, 1859 Marx was at last able to report to Engels that "the wretched manuscript is ready but I cannot post it as I have not got a farthing for postage or insurance".[55] So Engels sent Marx £2 and the manuscript was sent to Duncker on January 25.[56] The preface followed on February 23. Published as *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* the little book consisted of two thirds of the first part of Volume I of the six volumes that Marx had hoped to write. It was only a fragment of a vast project which was never realised. By the middle of 1862 Marx had abandoned his grandiose

plan. What was originally planned to be the third chapter of Part I of Volume I of *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* eventually became the book on capital which made Marx famous.

In January 1860 Engels urged Marx to complete the third chapter of *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* – the one on capital – without delay. He wrote: "I do wish that at long last you would be a little less conscientious in passing judgment upon your own work. What you write is far too good for the lousy public anyhow. What really matters is that your work should be written and published. The silly asses will not tumble to the weaknesses in it that you can see. And suppose that the revolution breaks out. How would you feel then if you had allowed your researches to be interrupted and if you had not even published the chapter on 'capital in general'?" Engels warned Marx not to be deflected from writing his chapter on capital by his natural anger at Karl Vogt's recent pamphlet attacking him.[57] But Engels's appeal fell upon deaf ears. Marx was determined that Vogt should not be allowed to get away with allegations that he was living on the fat of the land at the expense of the workers. He believed – and he was later proved to be correct – that Vogt, once a member of the Frankfurt Parliament, was now a paid agent of Napoleon III. So Marx laid aside his work on economics to write a lengthy and abusive pamphlet attacking Karl Vogt.[58]

Marx resumed work on his chapter on capital in the autumn of 1860. In September he told Lassalle that he hoped to let Duncker have the manuscript by Easter 1861.[59] But eighteen months passed and still the chapter had not been completed. By June 1862 what had been planned as a "chapter" had grown into a "book". Marx wrote to Engels: "Despite all the miseries with which I am afflicted my brain box is working better than it has done for years." He claimed that he was working hard and explained that he was writing at greater length on capital than he had originally planned "because the German dogs judge a book by its weight".[60] Six months later – at the end of 1862 – Marx reverted for a moment to his original plan. He told Dr Kugelmann that his chapter on capital was finished "apart from making a fair copy and giving it a final polish for the press." He proposed to find a new publisher since Duncker had taken too long to get *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* into print. Marx explained to Dr Kugelmann that his new chapter covered what was known in England as "the principles of political economy".[61]

In 1862 and in the first half of 1863 Marx worked on his theory of surplus value. But he failed to rewrite his notes in a form suitable for publication. After Marx's death – when Engels had

brought out the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* – Engels planned to edit Marx's manuscript on surplus value and to publish it as the fourth and final volume of *Das Kapital*. But Engels did not carry out the project. It was not until 1905–10 that Kautsky edited part of Marx's manuscript of 1862–3 and published it under the title: *Theorien über den Mehrwert*.[62]

Marx made only slow progress with *Das Kapital* in the second half of 1863 and in 1864. The Polish rising of January 1863 fired Marx and Engels with enthusiasm, for they hoped that it would be a signal for revolutions all over the Continent. Marx declared that "the era of revolution is now again fairly opened in Europe"[63] and Engels replied that if only the Poles could hold out, the conflagration would soon spread through the length and breadth of Russia.[64] In the spring of 1863 and again in the autumn of 1864 Marx turned aside from his studies of economics to plunge into a detailed examination of the history of the Polish question.[65]

Although *Das Kapital* was delayed, it was not forgotten. In May 1863 when Engels impatiently declared that it was high time that the book was finished,[66] Marx replied: "If only I could retire quietly somewhere I could soon complete the manuscript."[67] Several months passed and in August 1863 Marx assured Engels that *Das Kapital* was making satisfactory progress.[68] In 1864 Marx was busy with private and political affairs. He received two legacies and moved to a new house. In the autumn of that year, when the First International was established, Marx devoted much of his time to the affairs of this organisation. Consequently little work was done on *Das Kapital* in 1864. In October Marx blamed his boils and carbuncles for his slow progress.[69] And then in November he told Dr Kugelmann that his book would be ready for the press in 1865.[70]

In February 1865 Marx was in touch with a new publisher – Otto Meissner of Hamburg[71] – who in that year had brought out a pamphlet by Engels on the military controversy in Prussia. In May Marx claimed that he was "working like a horse".[72] In June he interrupted his work on his book so that he could prepare a lecture – an attack upon John Weston – on "Wages, Prices and Profit" for the Central Council of the First International. In July Marx wrote that his book was nearing completion. All that remained to be written were three chapters of "the theoretical part" and the "historical literary section". "I cannot bring myself to send off any part of the manuscript until the whole of it is ready. Whatever my failings as a writer may be I can claim the merit of producing something which is an artistic unity." "And this can be achieved only by never letting anything get into print until the

entire work has been completed."[73] Marx declared that his "damned book" had been "*finished* at the end of December (1865)".[74] What Marx meant was that a first draft had been completed. He still had to polish the style, to make some revisions, and to write out a fair copy. What had first been intended to be a chapter and then a book was now being planned as a work in three volumes.[75] The first volume would cover "the process of capitalist production" the second would be "the continuation and conclusion of the theories", and the third would examine "the history of political economy from the middle of the seventeenth century".[76] The original section on rent had been greatly expanded.[77] Marx began to make his fair copy on January 1, 1866 "working twelve hours a day"[78] but in February he fell ill[79] and in April he told Dr Kugelmann that over two months had been lost.[80]

In the summer of 1866 the completion of Marx's manuscript was delayed not only by illness[81] but by his work for the International Working Men's Association – particularly the preparations for its first conference in Geneva and the publication of its journal, *The Commonwealth*. Marx now decided to issue the first volume of *Das Kapital* separately and not, as originally planned, at the same time as the second volume. He wrote to Engels that he hoped to complete the first volume by August.[82] But in August Engels was told that the manuscript was not yet finished and that Marx had no money with which to buy writing paper.[83] In October Marx assured Dr Kugelmann that the manuscript would be sent to Meissner by November.[84] This time he kept his word. On November 10 he told Engels that the first pages of the manuscript would go to Meissner "next week".[85] Engels was delighted at this good news which, he declared, had lifted a great weight from his mind.[86]

In January 1867 Marx told Engels that Meissner had suggested that the first two volumes of *Das Kapital* should be published together. Marx declared that he could not complete the second volume at the same time as the first. Owing to his poor health he would need to recuperate when the first volume was finished. Moreover Marx proposed to go to the Continent as soon as possible to try to borrow some money.[87] In February Marx assured Engels that if only his creditors would leave him alone – his grocer was pestering him for £5 – he could soon complete his manuscript.[88] In the middle of March Engels enquired if the book was now ready for the printer.[89] At last, on March 27, Marx wrote that his first volume was complete and that he would take the manuscript to the publisher himself if Engels would pay his fare.[90] Engels was delighted. He wrote: "Hurrah! I could not repress this exclamation when I at last read in black and white that your first volume is

finished and that you propose to take it yourself to Hamburg."[91] On April 13, 1867 Marx wrote from Hamburg that the precious manuscript had been deposited in Meissner's safe.[92] A few days later Marx wrote from Hanover – where he was the guest of Dr Kugelmann – that Meissner had sent his manuscript to Otto Wigand of Leipzig to be printed.[93]

On April 30, 1867 Marx wrote to his friend Siegfried Meyer to explain his recent silence. "It is because I have continually had one foot in the grave. I have had to use *every* minute – when I have been fit to work – to complete the book for which I have sacrificed my health, my fortune, and my family . . . I laugh at so-called 'practical' men and their wisdom. Anyone who wants to behave like an ox can, of course turn his back upon the misfortunes of humanity and look after his own skin. But I would really have regarded myself as 'impractical' if I had pegged out before I had at least finished the manuscript of my book." "In a few weeks the first volume will be published in Hamburg by Otto Meissner."[94]

Marx wrote to Engels on May 7 from Hanover: "That damned fellow Wigand did not start to print my book until April 29, so that I did not receive the first proofs until the day before yesterday. . . ." Meissner had asked for the manuscripts of the second and third volumes by the following spring. Marx thanked Engels for his help. "Without you I could never have finished my book. I assure you that it has lain heavily upon my conscience that your wonderful powers should have gone to rust in the world of business mainly on my account." "And you have had to share my *petites misères* into the bargain."[95]

In the summer of 1867 Engels helped Marx to correct the proofs of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. He praised the book, for which he had waited so long, but offered two criticisms. First, Engels thought that, in comparison with *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, the theoretical argument was clearer in *Das Kapital* but the narrative was not so vivid. Secondly, he urged Marx to insert subheadings to help the reader to follow the more abstract arguments. "The general reader – even the scholarly reader – is no longer accustomed to this type of (dialectical) thinking and it is therefore necessary to help him as much as possible."[96] Marx replied: "Your satisfaction at what you have read so far is more important to me than anything that the rest of the world may say. Anyhow I hope that as long as they live, the bourgeoisie will have cause to remember my carbuncles!"[97] Meanwhile Marx and Engels were trying to find translators and publishers for French and English editions of *Das Kapital*. Marx asked Ludwig Büchner to recommend a French translator.[98] Engels persuaded his friend

Samuel Moore to undertake the English translation.[99] Marx arranged that George Eccarius should approach Harrison & Co who might be prepared to publish an English translation of *Das Kapital*. If the negotiations were successful Marx promised Engels that "Mrs Lizzy" should have a new "London dress".[100] But Lizzie Burns did not get her dress since twenty years elapsed before the English translation was published.

On August 15, 1867 Engels wrote to Marx that he had finished reading the proofs of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. "I consider that it is *essential* to get the second volume out – and the sooner the better."[101] On the following day Marx wrote that he had sent the last of the proofs to Meissner. "I have you – and you alone – to thank that this has been possible. Without your sacrifice on my behalf, I could not possibly have undertaken the immense researches required to write the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks. . . ."[102] In his reply Engels again urged Marx to insert more subheadings in his book. The fourth chapter was nearly 200 pages long but had only four subheadings which were difficult to find.[103] In September 1867 the first volume of *Das Kapital* was published. A few weeks earlier Marx had written that he was working on the second volume.[104] It was not until many years later – after Marx's death – that Engels discovered that the manuscripts of the second and third volumes had never been prepared for publication. When the manuscripts came into his possession he found that they were "written in a slovenly stlyle", that the technical expressions were in English or French, and that whole pages were in English. "Marx's thoughts appeared on paper exactly as they had first been formed in his brain."[105]

Why did it take Marx so long to write the first volume of *Das Kapital* and why did he never publish the later volumes? Marx gave various explanations for this which, however, did not tell the whole story. His main excuse was that long periods of ill health prevented him from writing. It is true that for many weeks at a time Marx was incapacitated by carbuncles, boils and digestive troubles. Moreover his illness was aggravated by nervous strain brought about by continual financial worries. But it is also true that Marx brought ill health upon himself. There were times when he worked for ridiculously long hours. Engels declared in 1866 that "the book has been largely responsible for your poor health".[106] Moreover Marx frequently ignored his doctor's advice to reduce smoking and to eat less highly spiced foods.

Another reason advanced by Marx for his slow progress was that – to earn his living – he had to devote much of his time to journalism. Marx spent many hours preparing and writing a single

article. He would sometimes go to the reading room of the British Museum for several days to gather material for a single article. "To write continually for a newspaper, tires me out," he complained in 1853.[107] Marx was a compulsive reader. He studied subjects which lay only on the fringe of his main theme. He once complained to Weydemeyer that his subject had "so many damned ramifications".[108] He admitted that his researches had led him to investigate "apparently quite remote disciplines."[109] In 1851 Engels wrote to Marx: "The trouble with you is that you will not get down to writing anything so long as there is a single important book on the subject that you have not read."[110] And a few months later he reminded Marx that their first book – *The Holy Family* – had been planned as a pamphlet but had ended up as a book.[111]

These were by no means the only reasons for Marx's failure to finish *Das Kapital* more quickly. His study of economics was supposed to be his main work since his elucidation of the nature of capital was intended to pave the way for the triumph of socialism. But he allowed himself to be diverted from his main task by his political activities. Much time was taken up by writing pamphlets attacking his enemies – such as Proudhon, Karl Vogt, Louis Napoleon and the Prussian government. And when the First International was founded in 1864 Marx plunged into active political propaganda again. All these activities took up time which might have been devoted to writing *Das Kapital*.

Perhaps none of these explanations really account for Marx's inability to finish his life's work. It has been argued that he was incapable of finishing the task which he had undertaken. In his imagination Marx saw the six volumes which he had planned in 1858 as something much more than a standard work on economics. They were to give the world a new materialist philosophy which would inspire the communist social and political order of the future. The ideal work which Marx planned would be more accurate and more comprehensive than any ordinary book on economics. It has been argued that Marx never finished *Das Kapital* because he was always searching for new facts to confirm his theories. Twelve years after the appearance of the first volume of *Das Kapital* Marx told Danielson that he could not complete the second volume because he was studying "the bulk of materials I have had not only from Russia but from the United States etc". Moreover he considered that it was essential for him to await the outcome of "the present English industrial crisis".[112]

Another possible reason for the slow progress of *Das Kapital* was the fact that Marx's methods of research were, in certain respects, different from those of other scholars. Research normally

involves posing a problem, ascertaining the facts, and then propounding a solution. Marx, however, began by propounding a solution to a problem and then proceeded to find facts which would support his conclusion. He claimed that his theories were revealed to him in a flash of inspiration. He subsequently devoted years of research to proving that he was right. Treitschke wrote that "Marx completely lacked a scholar's conscience which is the hallmark of a genuine man of learning. In his works there is no trace of the humility of the true researcher who, aware of his own ignorance, approaches his material with an open mind in order to learn. For Marx what has to be proved is known before the research starts."[113] And it has been argued that Marx dared not complete his great work in case the day after publication some new book might appear containing facts that did not accord with Marx's grand design.

Arnold Künzli argues that Marx was "a master of non-fulfilment". "There is hardly any other thinker in his class who has been so incapable of moulding his life's work into a proper form". "The whole of Marx's work is a single fragment. Or rather it is largely a collection of fragments many of which have been put together with great difficulty after his death. It is a Greek torso without arms or legs stuck together by more or less skilled disciples and researchers."[114]

Marx was a perfectionist. Paul Lafargue wrote that he was never satisfied with what he wrote. "He was always making some improvements and he always found his rendering inferior to the idea he wished to convey."[115] Engels complained that Marx was too conscientious in passing judgment on his own writings. And so the philosopher, who hoped to influence mankind for hundreds of years to come, published only a fragment of his main work.

In 1867, when the first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared, Engels – though anxious that the completion of the later volumes should not be delayed – was more concerned that the first volume should be adequately publicised. Some years previously Marx had complained to Dr Kugelmann about "the conspiracy of silence with which I am honoured by the German literary rogues".[116] Now he dreaded "the conspiracy of silence of the experts and newspaper crowd".[117] In November 1867 Marx declared that the lack of reviews of his book was making him feel "fidgety"[118] while Engels wrote to Dr Kugelmann that "the German press is still silent about *Das Kapital*."[119] And the year after Marx's death Engels complained that the first volume of *Das Kapital* had been for many years "both zealously plagiarised and obstinately hushed up by official German economists."[120]

Engels was determined to make the first volume of *Das Kapital* known in Germany and elsewhere. To do this he resorted to an unscrupulous strategem. Through his German friends – Siebel, Kugelmann, and Liebknecht – he foisted ten reviews of his own upon the unsuspecting editors of various newspapers and periodicals. He skilfully changed his style of writing and his attitude towards the book to suit the different types of readers of the journals whose editors he deceived. The review written for the *Barmen-Zeitung* in his home town (a paper with middle class readers) was couched in very different language from the article written for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (which was read mainly by workers). On one occasion Marx gave Engels detailed instructions on how to write an article on *Das Kapital* for the *Beobachter*.[121] A book is normally reviewed by an impartial writer who is not connected with the author. But Engels's articles on *Das Kapital* came from the pen of Marx's closest friend and this was not known either by the editors of the periodicals and newspapers or by their readers.

In September 1867 Engels asked Marx if he should plant an article on *Das Kapital* in a German paper – through Meissner or Siebel – "attacking the book from a middle class point of view". This would help to bring Marx's work to the attention of the public.[122] Marx agreed that "the best way to wage war would be to attack the book from a bourgeois standpoint". And Dr Kugelmann should be told how to write some reviews himself.[123] In October Engels – at Marx's urgent request[124] – sent some articles to Dr Kugelmann and to Siebel.[125] On October 18 he appealed to Siegfried Meyer to do everything in his power to publicise Marx's book in the German-American press.[126] On the same day Engels wrote to Marx: "I can write four or five articles about your book from different points of view but I do not know where to send them".[127] Marx replied: "Send me your reviews for German papers and I will have them copied and sent to the most suitable papers." He also asked Engels to write an article on *Das Kapital* for the *Fortnightly Review*. Professor Beesly would get it published.[128] Engels wrote that he was preparing two articles for Siebel who had promised to place them in German journals.[129] On November 8 Engels reported that Siebel, whom he had met in Liverpool, had promised to place three more of Engels's articles in German papers.[130]

By January 1868 Marx was able to tell Dr Kugelmann: "You probably know that Engels and Siebel have got articles about my book published in the *Barmen-Zeitung*, the *Elberfelder-Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Börsen-Zeitung* and . . . in the *Düsseldorfer-Zeitung*".[131] In that year Engels wrote two articles on *Das Kapital*

which were submitted to the *Fortnightly Review* but – despite Beesly's efforts to get them accepted – they were rejected by the editor John Morley.[132] Engels declared that Morley was a bourgeois who had "every reason in the world to stop your ideas from getting any publicity".[133] Marx subsequently discussed the matter with Beesly who said that Engels's articles were "too dry".[134]

Even to some of his own friends Marx kept silent about the true authorship of the articles on his book written by Engels. In July 1868, for example, he wrote to Siegfried Meyer that several favourable reviews of *Das Kapital* had appeared in the German press but he failed to mention that some of them had been written by Engels.[135]

Among Marx's disciples few did more than Wilhelm Liebknecht to make *Das Kapital* known in Germany. He told Engels in January 1868 that he had reprinted Marx's introduction to *Das Kapital* in the Leipzig *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (which he edited) and had sent copies of the introduction to several papers in Switzerland. He had written to many "influential people" about *Das Kapital*. He had "bombarded" the Vienna *Presse* and the Berlin *Volkszeitung* with information about the book. And he had spoken about *Das Kapital* in his recent speeches to working class audiences.[136] In March 1868 Liebknecht thanked Engels for an article on *Das Kapital* suitable for publication in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* and other papers. He mentioned that Marx's book was selling well in Germany and declared that the best way to publicise it would be to refer to it in a speech in the North German Reichstag. "I will certainly do my duty in that respect".[137]

In two articles on *Das Kapital* which appeared in Liebknecht's *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*[138] Engels declared that "as long as capitalists and workers have existed no book has appeared which is of such importance for the workers as *Das Kapital*. The relation between capital and labour, the hinge on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time and with a thoroughness and acuteness of which only a German is capable." Engels summarised Marx's doctrine of "surplus value". According to Marx "every worker employed by the capitalist performs a two-fold labour". "During one part of his working time he replaces the wages advanced to him by the capitalist. This part of his labour Marx calls 'necessary labour'. But afterwards the worker has to go on working and during that time he produces 'surplus labour' for the capitalist, a significant portion of which constitutes profit." Engels explained that the longer the working day the greater was the "surplus value" pocketed by the capitalist. Hence it was in the interest of the workers to reduce the length of

the working day. In England the factory workers had secured a ten-hour day. Legal restrictions on the length of the working day applied only to women, children and young persons but – in practice – the men also enjoyed the benefits of the law. "The English factory workers have won this law after years of endurance and after a long stubborn struggle with the factory owners." Engels observed that by 1867 the law had been extended to nearly all branches of industry in which women and children were employed. He urged his German readers to press for similar legislation in the North German Federation when the Reichstag met. "We hope that none of the deputies elected by German workers will discuss this bill without previously making themselves thoroughly conversant with Marx's book." "Marx's book gives the representatives of the workers in ready form all the material that they require." Engels concluded his review by asserting that capital "is continually increased and multiplied". "And the power of capital over the workers who own no property is also continually increased. Just as capital itself is reproduced on an ever greater scale so the modern capitalist method reproduces the class of workers (who own no property) on an ever increasing scale." Engels believed that Marx had scientifically proved "the main laws of the modern capitalist social system and the official economists have been careful not even to attempt to refute them." Marx had shown that capitalism creates not only wealth but also "the social class of oppressed workers which is more and more compelled to claim the utilisation of this wealth and productive forces for the whole of society." Engels's "little manoeuvres" to publicise the first volume of *Das Kapital* were not very successful. There was no quick sale for the book. It was not until 1872 that the first edition was sold out – earning a mere £60 for the author in royalties. But Marx's book was by that time at last becoming more widely known. Not only was a new German edition published in 1872 but French and Russian translations also appeared.

In September 1868 Engels proposed to Marx that a short popular version of *Das Kapital* should be prepared for the workers.[139] Marx agreed and suggested that Engels should write a pamphlet summarising the main points of *Das Kapital*.[140] Engels prepared a brief conspectus of *Das Kapital*[141] but it was not published. It was not until the 1880s that a pamphlet by Engels entitled *Socialism – Utopian and Scientific*[142] – three chapters from his *Anti-Dühring* – served as a popular introduction to Marx's doctrines and achieved a wide circulation among the workers in many countries.

NOTES

1 The correspondence between Marx and Engels on *Das Kapital* has been printed in Marx-Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954). See also L. E. Mins (ed.), *Engels on "Capital"* (1937).
2 English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 148–77.
3 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 53.
4 Karl Marx, *Capital* (English translation by Eden and Cedar Paul, Everyman Edition, 1930), Vol. 1, pp. 216–17.
5 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 7 and February 3, 1851 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 29, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 124–36.
6 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 18, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 77.
7 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 2, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 86–91.
8 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 9, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 94–5.
9 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 3, 1851 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 25, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 136–40.
10 P. J. Proudhon, *Idée générale de la révolution au dix-neuvième siècle* (1851).
11 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 14 and October 13, 1851 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 239–44 and p. 275.
12 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 6, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 480–2.
13 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 29, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 280.
14 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 2, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 295.
15 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 4, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 295–9.
16 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 20, 1862 and August 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 98–9 and p. 410. In letters of August 26 and 27, 1867 (*ibid.*, pp. 411–14) Engels stated that machinery was written off at 7½ per cent (depreciation only) or at 10 per cent (depreciation and repairs). In 1868 Engels wrote to Marx that he (Marx) had been misled by Henry Ermen concerning the depreciation of steam engines in cotton mills (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 54).
17 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 5, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 297–300.
18 On July 7, 1866 Marx asked Engels how to translate "put stretches upon the mule", "picks" (in weaving), and "flyer" on a spinning mule (Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 7, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 343).
19 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 6, 1862 (postscript) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 61. In *Das Kapital* Marx quoted in a footnote the following sentence from Andrew Ure, *Philosophy of Manufacture* (1835), p. 20: "The principle of the factory system, then, is to substitute . . . the partition of a process into its essential constituents,

for the division or gradation of labour among many artisans." See Karl Marx, *Capital* (Everyman Edition, 1930), Vol. 1, p. 402.

20 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 28, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 123. See also his previous letter of January 24 (*ibid.*, p. 120). The self-actor, invented by Richard Roberts, was a spinning machine which made the mules run in and out at the proper speed by means of an automatic device.

21 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 20, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 287. Alfred Knowles (of H. Knowles & Sons) was a cotton spinner. His address in 1869 was 53 Hyde Grove, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.

22 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 3, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 2.

23 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 22, 26 and 30, 1868 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 26 and May 6, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 41–51.

24 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 14, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 125 (second letter of that date).

25 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 31 and June 7, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 320–1.

26 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 17, 1866 and January 19, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 370 and p. 374.

27 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 20, 1845 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 10.

28 Karl Marx to K. W. Leske, August 1, 1846 in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 13–15.

29 Karl Marx to P. W. Annenhow, December 28, 1846 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 27.

30 Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961): first published in Russia in 1927 and in Germany in 1932.

31 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" in the *Sozialdemokrat*, March 13, 1884: reprinted in Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848* . . . (1955), p. 37.

32 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 29, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 135.

33 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 2, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 180.

34 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 184.

35 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, June 27, 1851 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 23.

36 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 14, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 241.

37 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 15, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 275.

38 See appendix to Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (Rohentwurf) (1857–8) (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1953), pp. 781–839.

39 Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* (1852: new edition with introduction by F. Engels, 1885). The first edition, printed in Switzerland, was seized by the German police. The pamphlet then appeared in the *New England Zeitung* (Boston) and 440 offprints were purchased by Engels for distribution in Germany.

40 Karl Marx to Adolph Cluss, December 7, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 51.

41 Karl Marx to Adolph Cluss, September 15, 1853 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 67.

42 Karl Marx, *Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon* (1852). The first edition was published in New York by J. Weydemeyer in the journal *Die Revolution (eine Zeitschrift in zwanglosen Heften)*. The second edition was printed in Hamburg in 1869; the third in 1885).

43 F. Engels's preface to the third edition of Karl Marx, *Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon* (1885): English translation – Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

44 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, December 21, 1857 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 78.

45 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 18, 1857 and January 14, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 258 and p. 274.

46 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, February 22, 1858 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 80–1. See also Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 2, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 307–12 and Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, February 1, 1859 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 60–2.

47 Plan of Karl Marx's book in six volumes (1858–62):
Volume I On Capital
1. Capital in general
   - (*a*) Goods
   - (*b*) Money
   - (*c*) Capital
     - (i) How capital is produced
       - (*a*) How money becomes capital
       - (*b*) Absolute surplus value
       - (*c*) Relative surplus value
       - (*d*) Combination of absolute and relative surplus value
       - (*e*) Theories of surplus value
     - (ii) How capital circulates
     - (iii) Capital, profit, and interest
2. Competition
3. Credit

Volume II Ownership of Land
Volume III Wage-Labour
Volume IV The State
Volume V Foreign Trade
Volume VI The World Market

48 Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (Rohentwurf) (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1953): for an abridged English translation see D. McLellan (ed.), *Marx's Grundrisse* (1971).

49 Introduction to Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1859).

50 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, March 26, 1858 in A. Künzli, *Karl Marx* (1966), p. 271.

51 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 2, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 308. Jenny Marx wrote to Lassalle at this time to explain that her husband's illness would delay the completion of the manuscript (A. Künzli, *Karl Marx* (1966), p. 271).

52 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 21, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 338.

53 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 29, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 349.
54 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, November 12, 1858 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 93.
55 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 21, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 357.
56 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 26, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 358. Marx was mistaken when he told Dr Kugelmann that he had sent the manuscript to Duncker in December 1858 (see Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 24).
57 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 31, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 459.
58 Karl Marx, *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860: new edition Berlin, 1953).
59 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, September 15, 1860 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 102.
60 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 18, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 77.
61 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, December 28, 1862 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 23.
62 A new and better edition of Karl Marx's manuscript of 1862–3 on surplus value was published in 1965 as Volume 26 of *Karl Marx – F. Engels Werke.*
63 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 126.
64 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 17, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 128.
65 Karl Marx, *Manuskripte über die polnische Frage,* 1863–4 (The Hague, 1961: edited by Werner Conze and D. Hertz-Eichenrode). In 1863 the Workers Educational Society in London passed a resolution (inspired by Marx) supporting the Poles in their struggle for freedom. See F. Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, Vol. 4 (1919), pp. 304–5.
66 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 20, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 140.
67 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 29, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 141.
68 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 15, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 152.
69 Karl Marx to Karl Klings, October 4, 1864 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 124.
70 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, November 29, 1864 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 26.
71 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 5, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 225.
72 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 20, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 272.
73 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 31, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 279.
74 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 308.
75 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 43.
76 Karl Marx to S. Meyer, April 30, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 73. See also Karl Marx to

L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 42–3.

77 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 308.

78 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, January 15, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 33.

79 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 305.

80 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, April 6, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 35.

81 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 9, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 338.

82 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 7 and 21, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 343 and p. 348.

83 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 7, 1866 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 354 and p. 356.

84 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 42.

85 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 365.

86 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 11, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 366.

87 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 19, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 373.

88 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 21, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 375.

89 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 13, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 376.

90 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 378.

91 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 4, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 379.

92 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 13, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 380–2.

93 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 382–3.

94 Karl Marx to Siegfried Meyer, April 30, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 133. English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* 1963), pp. 73–4. Siegfried Meyer, a mining engineer, emigrated to the United States in 1867 and was one of the founders of the New York branch of the First International.

95 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 388–9.

96 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 16, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 393.

97 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 22, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 395.

98 Karl Marx to L. Büchner, May 1, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 134–5.

99 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 397.

100 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 27, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 402. On October 15, 1867 Marx wrote to Dr Kugelmann

that "a certain Natzmer in New York has offered himself as English translator. *Quod non*" (Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 53).

101 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 15, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 407.

102 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 16, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 408.

103 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 23, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 408.

104 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 409–11.

105 Engels's introduction of 1893 to Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. II (edition of 1957), p. 3.

106 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 11, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 365.

107 Karl Marx to Adolph Cluss, September 15, 1853 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 67.

108 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, June 27, 1851 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 23.

109 Introduction to Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1859).

110 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 184.

111 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 27, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 289.

112 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, April 10, 1879 in Karl Marx – F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 241–3. Marx's correspondence with Danielson is held in the Department of Manuscripts (add. Mss. 38075) of the British Museum.

113 Quoted in Hans Blum, *Das Deutsche Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks* (1893), p. 253.

114 Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx* (1966), p. 282.

115 Paul Lafargue in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 78.

116 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, December 28, 1862 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 23.

117 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, December 7, 1867 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 55.

118 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 2, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 440.

119 F. Engels to Dr Kugelmann, 8(–20) November, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 151

120 Engels's introduction to the first edition of *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates* (Hottingen–Zürich, 1884) (edition of 1952), p. 7. English translation: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

121 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 7, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 459–61. An article by Engels, written on the lines suggested by Marx appeared in the *Beobachter* on December 27, 1867.

122 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 422.

123 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 12, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 423.

124 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 10, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 431.
125 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 431.
126 F. Engels to S. Meyer, October 18, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 151.
127 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 18, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 435.
128 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 19, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 437.
129 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 22, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 438.
130 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 8, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 445–6.
131 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, January 30, 1868 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 60–1. Articles written (or inspired) by Engels on *Das Kapital* appeared in the following German papers: *Die Zukunft* (Berlin), *Rheinische Zeitung* (Düsseldorf: edited by Heinrich Bürgers), *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* (reprinted in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), pp. 171–2), *Der Beobachter* (Stuttgart: edited by Karl Mayer), *Staats-Anzeiger für Württemberg, Neue Badische Landeszeitung, Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Leipzig: edited by W. Liebknecht). The articles are printed in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 16, pp. 207–35.
132 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 10, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 82. The articles are printed in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. XVI, p. 288.
133 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 12, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 82–83.
134 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 15, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 113.
135 Karl Marx to S. Meyer, July 4, 1868 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 74–5.
136 Wilhelm Liebknecht to F. Engels, January 20, 1868 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by G. Eckert, The Hague, 1963), p. 88.
137 Wilhelm Liebknecht to F. Engels, March 29, 1868 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by G. Eckert, The Hague, 1963), p. 90.
138 *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* (Leipzig), March 21 and 28, 1868: English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 177–84.
139 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 16, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 90.
140 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 16, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 92–3.
141 F. Engels, "Konspekt über 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx. Erster Band" in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 16.
142 French edition 1880, German edition 1882, English edition 1892.

7

THE GENERAL

On one occasion Karl Marx wrote to Engels that he would await instructions from "the War Office in Manchester". He was referring to Engels's reputation as an expert on military affairs. Engels was one of the few civilians in the middle of the nineteenth century who became an acknowledged master of the theory of warfare and an authority on the technique of armed insurrection. Between 1850 and 1870 he established for himself a reputation as a military critic and his friends called him "General". In his later years he was actually consulted on military matters by Major Wachs of the General Staff in Berlin. Engels's articles on military affairs appeared in newspapers and journals in the United States, England, and Germany.[1]

After his death Engels's military writings were, to some extent, neglected, though they appear to have influenced Lenin's thinking concerning revolutionary warfare. In 1923 Engels's articles on the Franco-Prussian war were reprinted. Then Engels's achievements as a military critic were discussed in the Soviet encyclopaedia. In 1958–64 a selection of Engels's military writings was published by the East German Ministry of Defence, while in 1961 a new edition of his essays on the English volunteer movement was published.

Engels's letters to his sister Marie which were written when he served with the Guards Artillery in Berlin in 1841–2 do not suggest that his interest in military affairs was aroused at this time. He was too busy discussing philosophy, religion, and politics with the Young Hegelians to have much time for military studies. The only lasting impression that he took with him, when his year with the forces was over, was a passionate hatred of the Prussian military system and of the Prussian officer class.[2]

There are only a few references to military affairs and armed insurrections in Engels's writings and correspondence between 1844 and 1848. In his book on the English workers he observed that the Plug Plot riots of 1842 had shown that "unarmed crowds, who had no clear common objective in view, were easily held in check by a handful of dragoons and police in enclosed market places".[3] He also described a riot in Manchester in 1843 when Pauling and

Henfrey's brickworkers went on strike and displayed "all the courage needed by revolutionaries".[4] But Engels believed that courage was not enough and that the workers would have to master the art of revolutionary warfare if they were to face trained troops with any prospect of success.

In a speech at Elberfeld in 1845 Engels discussed the rôle of war in a communist society, arguing that armies would be superfluous in a communist world. But since communism would first be established in industrialised countries, communist and capitalist societies would exist side by side for a time – a period during which communist states would need to be armed in self-defence. This could be achieved by conscription. Engels believed that the morale of a communist army would be very high because the soldiers would be fighting for "a *real* fatherland and a *real* fireside".[5]

During the revolution of 1848–9 Engels began to take a serious interest in military affairs. Two aspects of warfare which appeared to him to be of particular significance from the point of view of the revolutionary workers were the wars of independence waged by subject peoples – the Italians, Poles and Magyars – and the popular risings which occurred in many towns and country districts on the Continent. Engels served in the town militia in Cologne in 1848. For a few days in 1849 he was in charge of the barricades in Elberfeld. Later he took part in the rising in Baden.

Engels wrote several articles on the popular revolts of 1848–9. The first was an account of the rising in Paris in February 1848 which led to Louis Philippe's abdication. Engels was not an eye witness of the revolt since he had recently been expelled from France, but he had lived in Paris for some months and had been in touch with some of the men who played a leading part in the rising. In an article written soon after the events which he described, Engels accused the middle-class opponents of the July Monarchy of gross cowardice. He denounced the "loud-mouthed heroes" who had cancelled a banquet planned as a demonstration against Guizot. The workers of Paris, however, had shown more courage and had risen in revolt. They had erected barricades, seized key points in the city, and had torn up railway lines to prevent the government from bringing reinforcements to Paris. Deserted by the National Guard, Louis Philippe had fled to England and Second Republic had been proclaimed.

One of the members of the new republican Provisional Government was a worker – "the first time that this has happened in any country in the world". "By this glorious rising the French workers have again become the leaders of the European revolutionary movement." "The victory of the republic in France is a victory for

democracy throughout Europe." "Everywhere the power of the middle classes will crumble or will be overthrown." "If the Germans can summon up enough pride, energy and courage we shall only have to wait for four weeks before we too can exclaim: 'Long live the German republic!' "[6] But events were to take a very different course.

In the summer of 1848, shortly after becoming one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels wrote five articles on the June rising of the workers in Paris, which was ruthlessly put down by General Cavaignac. Engels declared that the savage street fighting was a civil war between former allies who, only a few months previously, had fought together to overthrow Louis Philippe. It was a clear example of class war – a fight to the death between the workers of the eastern districts of Paris and the middle classes who lived in the western suburbs. Engels showed how four columns of armed workers had marched from their barricades to converge upon the Town Hall only to be outnumbered and overwhelmed by Cavaignac's well-armed troops. Engels was confident that the workers of Paris would rise in revolt once more. "If 40,000 workers in Paris can achieve so much when outnumbered four to one, what can all the workers of Paris achieve if they act in unison!"[7] In 1851 he still thought that there might be a successful revolt in Paris but by the following year Engels had revised his views. He now admitted that "the proletarians of Paris were defeated, decimated, crushed with such an effect that even now they have not recovered from the blow".[8] Many years elapsed before Paris was again the scene of bitter street fighting in the days of the Commune.

In 1848 Engels joined the town militia (*Bürgerwehr*) in Cologne. His propaganda among its members led to the formation of a "red company" composed of men who shared his political views. Since Cologne was a garrison town the militia was in no position to rise in revolt. In September 1848 the city was placed under martial law and the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suspended. Engels fled first to France and then to Switzerland. There he received a letter from Marx suggesting that since he had a sound knowledge of geography, he should contribute some articles on the recent campaign in Hungary to their newspaper.[9] Engels studied the operations with the aid of maps and Austrian reports and submitted his first article in January 1849.[10] Engels believed that the campaign which had driven the Austrians out of Hungary was a striking illustration of the ability of an oppressed people to gain its freedom by successful military action. In the spring of 1849 he wrote that "an unruly mob without proper leadership" had been "suddenly transformed into a well-organised,

numerous, concentrated, and brilliantly led army".[11] Engels's last article on the war in Hungary appeared on May 19, 1849 when Russia's intervention opened a new – and, for the Magyars, a disastrous – phase of the campaign.[12]

Engels later claimed that his articles on Hungary had been "plagiarised in almost every subsequent book upon the subject, the works of native Hungarians and 'eye-witnesses' not excepted".[13] And he boasted to Marx: "In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* . . . we followed the events of the war in Hungary with remarkable accuracy, although we relied for our information entirely upon the Austrian communiqués." "We made some cautious – but brilliantly correct – prophecies."[14] Already the high quality of Engels's military criticism was being recognised. Wilhelm Liebknecht declared that Engels's articles had been "attributed to a high-ranking officer in the Hungarian army because they always proved to be correct".[15] And a writer in the *Deutsche Monatshefte* complimented the "very able reporter" who had covered the Hungarian campaign for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[16]

Just before Engels's last article on the war in Hungary appeared, he went to Elbergeld where an insurrection against the Prussian authorities had broken out. He described his brief intervention in this rising in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on May 17, 1849. Two days later the last number of the newspaper appeared and Engels's duties as an editor came to an end. He joined Willich's corps in Baden and fought with the revolutionaries who were supporting the German constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly. This was the only occasion on which Engels was under fire. Mathilde Anneke wrote in her diary that all the members of Willich's corps whom she met praised Engels for his "zeal and courage". Eleanor Marx, writing many years later, stated that Engels's companions in this campaign recalled his courage and reckless disregard of danger.[17] His observations during the Baden rising of the conduct of both officers and men convinced Engels that if any future revolution were to succeed it would be essential for the workers themselves to have some knowledge of the art of war and for them to be led by competent officers.[18]

The campaign was over in four weeks. The Prussians and their allies had no difficulty in driving the insurgents out of Baden. Since Engels had served in the Prussian army in 1841–2 his action in joining the rebels in Baden rendered him liable to a court martial as a deserter. But he escaped to Switzerland. It was not until 1860 that he was drummed out of the Prussian army.[19] When he was in Switzerland he began – at Marx's request[20] – to write an account of the "glorious campaign" in which he had taken part. He asked

Weydemeyer to find a German publisher for him.[21] Engels's description of the "Reich Constitution Campaign" appeared as a series of articles in Marx's *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue.* Unlike his later writings on military affairs these articles dealt with a campaign in which he had taken part himself. They were one of his finest pieces of descriptive prose. He criticised the irresolute and inefficient leadership of bourgeois professional soldiers like Franz Sigel. He denounced the "stupidity and treachery" of commanders whose irresponsible behaviour ruined any slim chance of success that the rising might have had. In his view most of the officers were "ignorant and incompetent".[22] Many years later Engels wrote that Johann Philipp Becker was one of the few leaders of the revolutionary army who was free from these faults. In the rising in Baden, Becker "undoubtedly achieved more than anyone else".[23]

In March 1850 Marx and Engels offered some advice to the workers on the strategy of revolution.

> "The workers must be organised and they must be armed. They will have to get hold of flintlocks, fowling pieces, cannon and ammunition. They must, if possible, prevent the revival of the old middle class national guard which would oppose the proletariat. If this cannot be done, the workers should try to set up their own militia under elected officers and an elected general staff. This militia should not obey a bourgeois government but should take its orders from revolutionary workers councils. Those workers who are employed by the government should be organised in a special corps, under elected officers, or they should form part of the workers' militia. This militia should in no circumstances surrender its arms or its ammunition. If the government should try to do this it should, if necessary, be resisted by force".[24]

Early in 1851 Engels began to study Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula,* which was "by far the best military history" that he had read.[25] Napier had "an enormous amount of common sense" and showed sound judgment in assessing the genius of Napoleon.[26] One reason why Engels studied the art of war was the fact that the Willich-Schapper faction which had broken away from the Communist League included several former officers such as Willich, Krieger, Schimmelpfennig and Sigel. Engels was determined that the members of the League who remained faithful to Marx should have the benefit of the advice of a military expert. Moreover Engels hoped to take part in the next revolution not merely as a military adviser but also as an officer in the field. He regarded horsemanship as "the material basis" of his military studies and he devoted some of his leisure time in the 1850s to riding with the Cheshire

Hunt. He boasted that if he ever saw action again in Germany he would give the gentlemen of the Prussian cavalry a lesson in horsemanship.[27] For many years Engels devoted much of his spare time to his military studies. In 1859 he told Lassalle that, since settling in Manchester, he had "concentrated upon the study of military science".[28]

In April 1850 Marx suggested that Engels should write a history of the campaigns in Hungary in 1848–9. Engels replied that the materials at his disposal were inadequate. "If one writes a military history," he wrote, "it is all too easy to make a fool of oneself by venturing to pass judgment without being in full possession of all the facts concerning the numbers, the armaments, and the provisions of the opposing armies."[29]

In June 1851 Engels asked his friend Weydemeyer – formerly a lieutenant in the Prussian army – for advice on books to read on military science and the history of modern warfare. He wrote:

> "Since I arrived in Manchester I have begun to study military affairs, on which I have found fairly good material here – for a beginning at any rate. The enormous importance that the military aspect will have in the next movement, an old inclination of mine, my articles on the Hungarian war in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and finally my glorious adventures in Baden, have all impelled me to this study, and I want to work in this field at least enough to be able to express a theoretical opinion without disgracing myself too much.
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> "The material available here – dealing with the Napoleonic and, to some extent, with the Revolutionary campaigns – presupposes the knowledge of a mass of detail, which I do not know at all, or know only very superficially, and about which one can obtain only very superficial information, laboriously unearthed, or no information at all. Self-instruction is always nonsense, and unless one follows up a thing systematically, one won't achieve anything worth while. You will get a better idea of what I really need, if I remind you that – aside from my promotion in Baden – I never got further than a Royal Prussian Landwehr bombardier; thus, to understand the campaigns, I lack the intermediate schooling, which is provided in Prussia by the examination for promotion to lieutenant, in the various branches of the service.
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> ". . . What I need is a general survey of the elementary knowledge required for an understanding and a correct evaluation of historical facts of a military nature. Thus, for example: elementary tactics; theory of fortifications, more or less historically, covering the various systems from Vauban down to the modern system of detached forts, together with a study of field fortifications and other matters within the province of the engineers, such as the various types of bridges etc; as well as a general history of military science and the changes

produced by the evolution and perfection of arms and the methods of using them. Then something thorough on artillery, as I've forgotten a lot and many things I don't know at all, as well as other requirements that don't come to mind at the moment, but that you must certainly know. . . . As soon as I have made some more progress I shall study the campaigns of 1848–9 thoroughly, especially the Italian and the Hungarian campaigns. . . ."[30]

At the same time that he was writing to Weydemeyer about his military studies, Engels was examining the situation that would arise if war should break out on the Continent in 1852. In April 1851 he told Marx that "if a revolution should occur in France next year the Holy Alliance would undoubtedly advance *at least* as far as the gates of Paris".[31] In September Marx summarised for Engels's benefit a manifesto by G. A. Techow which had appeared in New York. Techow had served as an officer in the Prussian army and as a staff officer in the revolutionary army in Baden. His manifesto of August 3, 1851 suggested that a revolution (directed against Louis Napoleon's government) might break out in France in 1852. In that event the reactionary Powers – Russia, Austria and Prussia – would attack France as they did in 1792. Marx told Engels that (according to Techow) "the question of the next revolution is also the question of the next war in Europe". "The conflict will decide if Europe is to be republican or cossack." Marx asked Engels for his views on Techow's estimates of the strength of the armies of the revolution and the reaction if war should break out.[32] Engels replied that Techow's views were sometimes superficial and sometimes erroneous. He gave Marx his own estimate of the probable size of the contending forces in the event of a war between revolutionary France and the "Holy Alliance".[33]

Engels followed up this letter by a memorandum in which he discussed the question of a future war on the Continent at greater length.[34] His views on the size of the armies which the leading Powers could put into the field are no longer of interest but in two sections of his memorandum Engels discussed problems of greater significance. His third section included some general observations on the art of war in the middle of the nineteenth century. Engels argued that in any age the way in which wars are fought is the military aspect of the structure of society and the nature of the economy. The art of warfare represents the military thinking of the dominant class in society. Engels considered that warfare, as practised in the middle of the nineteenth century, originated in the campaigns of the French revolution and Napoleon. When the revolution of 1789 freed the craftsmen from the authority of the gilds and when the serfs were emancipated from their feudal

obligations, a new type of middle class society was created which raised armies and fought wars in a new way.

According to Engels, the main feature of this new type of warfare was the raising of very large armies capable of much greater mobility than earlier armies. The small armies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had to live off the land and were able to manoeuvre – or go into winter quarters – in a small area. The larger armies of the nineteenth century could not do this. When the food and fodder available on the spot had been consumed these armies had to move on since the supplies that they carried with them had to be saved for emergencies. As Napoleon had discovered in Spain, the armies of the nineteenth century had great difficulty in operating in "poor thinly-populated semi-barbarous countries."

Engels argued that success in war now depended upon recruiting both officers and men who were more intelligent and better educated than their forefathers who had fought in the campaigns of the eighteenth century. As armies increased in size, more men were needed to operate in advance and on the flanks of the main force. They acted as scouts or they searched for food and fodder. Scouts, snipers and sharpshooters had to take quick decisions on their own initiative.

The armies of the nineteenth century were appropriate to the bourgeois society and the capitalist economy that had developed as a result of the revolution of 1789 in France and the industrial revolution in England. Engels predicted that when the workers had overthrown the middle classes and the capitalist system, a new classless communist society would be established, and a new type of warfare would emerge. Population growth would make it possible to raise even larger armies, while improvements in transport and communications – railways, steamships and telegraphs – would increase their mobility. But, in Engels's view, these armies would never have to go into action because in a communist world they would never find an "adequate enemy." In his utopia, brotherly love would take the place of national rivalries so that war would no longer occur.

In the last section of his memorandum Engels examined the situation that would arise if – after a successful revolution in France – the reactionary Powers (Russia, Austria and Prussia) were to attack France. The invaders would try to capture Paris since France would collapse if the capital fell. Engels argued that the first French line of defence was a semi-circle drawn about 320 miles around Paris to the north and east. Any point on this semi-circle would be about 14 days march from the capital. On the other hand the invading armies would start from various points on this

semi-circle in order to converge upon Paris. Engels considered that if the first line of defence were breached, the French could fall back upon a number of natural defensive positions closer to Paris, such as the Jura mountains, the Vosges, the hills between the Yonne and the Loire, or the highlands between the Seine and the Meuse. Engels observed that it was by the brilliant use of these natural defences that Napoleon "with a mere handful of soldiers" had been able to hold a great coalition at bay for two months in 1814. Here the memorandum broke off, but Engels returned to the problem of the defence of Paris a few years later in his pamphlet on *Po und Rhein.*

Engels did not need to finish his memorandum. There was no revolution in France in 1852 and no invasion by the "Holy Alliance". By his coup d'état of December 2, 1851 Louis Napoleon abolished the republican constitution of France and imprisoned or exiled his opponents. Engels dismissed the coup d'état as a "complete comedy"[35] but later had to admit that it was no joke for Louis Napoleon's enemies. In January 1852 he wrote that "they are still hunting down insurgents like wild beasts in the southern departments".[36] In February Engels contributed an article to Ernest Jones's *Notes to the People* on the "Real Causes why the French Proletarians remained comparatively inactive in December last".[37] Marx declared that he was "quite bewildered" by the events in Paris on December 2, 1851 but he rejoiced at the discomfiture of Techow who had regarded the French army as "the apostle of the trinity of democracy – liberty, equality and fraternity".[38]

One consequence of Louis Napoleon's coup d'état was a war scare in England. There were those who believed that Louis Napoleon – like his uncle – would embark upon a career of aggression, which might include a plan to invade England. Joseph Weydemeyer asked Engels for his views on this question. Engels replied on January 23, 1852 that an army which landed west of Portsmouth might be driven into Cornwall, while forces which landed near Dover might be cornered between the Thames and the sea. The first aim of an invading force would be to seize London and this would require an army of 90,000 men. The next objectives would be Birmingham and Manchester to secure England south of the Mersey and the Humber. The first line which could be permanently held would run between Carlisle and Newcastle upon Tyne but the defending army would still control Scotland. Eventually the invaders would have to advance to the Clyde and the Firth of Forth. Engels added that "the difficulties of maintaining the position begin after the conquest, since com-

munications with France will certainly be cut off". "How many men would be required, under these conditions, to set up a decent front on the Clyde?" "I think 400,000 would not be too high a figure."[39]

But on the previous day – in a letter to Marx – Engels had expressed different views on a French invasion of England. He considered that the French would be deceiving themselves if they imagined that they could seize London very quickly. England's southern ports – except Brighton – lay in deep bays, which could be entered only at high tide, with the aid of local pilots. "Piratical raids" by 20,000 or 30,000 men would not achieve very much. Only a coalition of the major European Powers could seriously contemplate an invasion of England. This would take a year to prepare, but Britain needed only six months to strengthen her coastal defences, bring home some ships of the line, strengthen the yeomanry, and raise a new militia.[40]

Speculations on a possible invasion of France by the "Holy Alliance" or of Britain by Louis Napoleon were not Engels's only writings on military affairs in 1851–2. He also contributed several articles to the *New York Daily Tribune* on the German revolution of 1848. He wrote on political rather than military events but he did discuss how revolutionaries should face trained troops. Engels views on the art of armed insurrection were as follows:

"1. Never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantages of organisation, discipline, and habitual authority, unless you bring strong odds against them, you are defeated and ruined.
2. The insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, 'de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace'.[41]
3. In war, and particularly in revolutionary warfare, rapidity of action until some decided advantage is gained, is the first rule, and we have no hesitation in saying that upon merely military grounds.[42]

4. In revolution, as in war, it is always necessary to show a strong front, and he who attacks is in the advantage; and in revolution, as in war, it is of the highest necessity to stake everything on the decisive moment, whatever the odds may be.
5. In a revolution he who commands a decisive position and surrenders it, instead of forcing the enemy to try his hand at an assault, invariably deserves to be treated as a traitor.
6. A well contested defeat is a fact of as much revolutionary importance as an easily won victory. (Defeated insurgents leave behind) in the minds of the survivors, a wish for revenge, which in revolutionary times, is one of the highest incentives to energetic and passionate action.[43]
7. It is an established fact that the dissolution of armies and the complete breakdown of discipline is both a cause and a consequence of every successful revolution in the past".[44]

In 1852 Engels bought the library of a retired German artillery officer.[45] His purchases included a book by a Swiss officer, Gustav Hofstetter, on the Italian campaign of 1848; an account of the Russian campaign in Poland in 1831 by the Prussian General Karl Wilhelm von Willisen; and H. Küntzel's study of modern fortifications, which Engels found particularly useful.[46] Looking back on his studies in later years, he remarked that military thinking in Prussia – after producing "a star of the first brilliance in Clausewitz" – had long been in a state of decline in the 1850s.[47] At this time Engels was still planning to write a history of the war in Hungary in 1848 which might be extended to include a survey of all the campaigns in 1848 and 1849. "Give me another year to study military science and the democratic lieutenants will get the devil of a surprise.[48] Marx had already warned Engels that democratic "military fellows" like Techow were jealous of his growing reputation as a military expert.[49] In August 1852 Marx sent Engels a list of books on the campaign in Hungary in 1848[50] and Engels asked Marx whether certain military periodicals were available in the British Museum reading room.[51]

The Russian invasion of the Turkish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in the autumn of 1853 was the first of a series of wars on the Continent in the 1850s and 1860s. As a military expert Engels wrote for various newspapers on all the campaigns from the Crimean war to the Franco-Prussian war. He never left Manchester to visit the front but derived his information from official communiqués and from the reports of war correspondents. His knowledge of military history and his skilful use of maps – Lassalle gave him "a fine military atlas" in 1861[52] – made up for his failure to gather information on the spot. The fact that some of his essays appeared as leading articles – and not as military reports – shows

that the editors of the *New York Daily Tribune* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* recognised that Engels's contributions contained more than a description of a battle or a campaign.

In September 1853 Marx received an article on the Turkish army from Engels[53] and assured his friend that "if any military movement takes place, I will rely upon immediate instructions from the War Office in Manchester".[54] The essay appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune*.[55] In December 1853 Marx thanked Engels for a "beautiful article" which would secure for Dana the reputation of a Field Marshal, and in January 1854 he wrote: "Your *militaria* have aroused great interest." "In New York it is rumoured that they have been written by General Scott."[56] Shortly afterwards Marx suggested that Engels should write on the campaign in the Balkans for the London *Daily News*. If he became the military correspondent of this newspaper he would find it easier to secure an English publisher for his projected study of the Hungarian campaign of 1848.[57]

In March 1854 Engels tried to escape from his Manchester office by securing work as a free-lance journalist in London. Armed with a letter of recommendation from Dr John Watts, he offered his services as a military critic to H. J. Lincoln, the editor of the *Daily News*. He wrote to Mr Lincoln that he had been trained in the Prussian artillery and had seen "some active service during the insurrectionary war in south Germany in 1849". He claimed that for many years the study of military science had been one of his chief occupations. He had access to "the best sources of information" on the campaigns on the Danube and in the Crimea since he could read Russian and Serbian. He enclosed an article on the fortress of Kronstadt as a sample of his work. He also offered to review books on military subjects.[58] But the editor of the *Daily News* declined Engels's offer, stating that Engels's articles were "too professional" and more suitable for a "military paper".[59] Marx warned Engels a few years later against writing military articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* above the heads of his readers. He wrote: "You must colour your war-articles a little more since you are writing for a general newspaper and not for a professional military journal."[60] A year after he had failed to join the *Daily News* as a war correspondent Engels was in touch with the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and hoped to become a contributor either to this paper or to the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. But some years elapsed before any of his military articles were accepted by the *Manchester Guardian*.[61]

Meanwhile in June 1854, Engels had assured Marx that he would write an account of the Hungarian campaign of 1848 in the

following winter[62] but the book was never written. At the same time Marx wrote that recent events in the Balkans had "brilliantly justified" Engels's predictions concerning the Russo-Turkish campaign in Moldavia and Wallachia.[63] Marx declared: "You have written a wonderful article on Silistria."[64]

Engels contributed several articles on the Crimean war to the *New York Daily Tribune* between October 1853 and December 1854 and to the *Neue Oder Zeitung* (Breslau) between January and October 1855.[65] The merit of Engels's articles was that while most writers at that time confined their attention to the campaign in the Crimea, Engels discussed six theatres of military or naval operations – the Baltic, the White Sea, Moldavia and Wallachia, the Caucasus, Armenia, and the Crimea – and insisted that the war should be viewed as a whole. In one essay he shrewdly observed that the siege of Sebastopol was "a striking proof of the fact that in the same proportion as the *materiel* of warfare has, by industrial progress, advanced during the long peace, in the same proportion has the *art* of war degenerated."[66] In another article Engels rightly criticised the allies for dissipating their war effort on widely separated fronts on the periphery of Russia. Strong Russian resistance was forcing France and Britain to commit large forces to flanking operations which had no common focus. But Engels's attempt in 1854 to forecast future military and political developments was not successful. He argued that when France had been drained of troops, Austria and Prussia would unite to march on Paris. This would lead to a rising in France against Napoleon III, to the fall of the Second Empire, and to the repulse of the invaders by a revolutionary army.[67] This line of thought – reminiscent of the argument in Engels's unfinished memorandum of 1851 – was no more than wishful thinking. It was a curious notion that Austria – which opposed the Czar's territorial ambitions in the Balkans – would be likely to join Prussia and to attack France. In fact Austria and Prussia remained neutral throughout the Crimean war. They attacked neither Russia nor France. Far from being threatened by a rising in France, Napoleon III was more firmly in the saddle than ever when Sebastopol fell and he was able to act as host to the plenipotentiaries who negotiated the peace treaty that concluded the war.

During the Crimean war Engels also contributed several articles to *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* on the armies of Europe.[68] In his first article[69] he observed that the impartial scientific study of military affairs was still in its infancy. He asserted that many accounts of past campaigns were far from objective. They were frequently written by generals who had sheathed the sword only

to continue the struggle with the pen. In Engels's view impartial military histories were few and far between. Yet the materials for examining the organisation of the various armies in Europe were readily available. Governments were surprisingly generous in publishing information concerning their military forces and they regularly invited foreign observers to attend their manoeuvres. In the circumstances it was possible for Engels – writing largely from official publications – to describe the size, recruitment, training, organisation and armaments of the principal European armies.

Engels enjoyed writing on military topics and when the Crimean war ended, he complained that "la paix allait me démoraliser."[70] So he assented with alacrity to Marx's suggestion in April 1857 that he should contribute some articles on military affairs to the *New American Cyclopaedia* which was edited by Charles Dana and George Ripley.[71] Engels looked forward to "a regular occupation in the evening" and observed that the two dollars a page which Dana was offering would be a welcome addition to Marx's income.[72]

Marx considered that, however useful Engels's military studies might be from a financial point of view, their real significance lay in the way in which they helped to elucidate an important aspect of economics. He wrote:

> "Nowhere is the relationship between factors of production and the structure of society more clearly illustrated than in the history of the army. Economic expansion is greatly influenced by the army. In ancient times, for example, the payment of wages in money was first fully developed in the army. In Roman law the *peculium castrense* was the first legal recognition of the principle that property could be owned by anyone other than the head of a family. The same applies to the gild activities of the corporation of blacksmiths (in Roman times). And after what Grimm calls the Stone Age the special value given to metals and their use as money appears to rest upon their importance in time of war. Moreover the division of labour within a single sphere of human activity was first seen in military forces. The whole history of the structure of middle-class society is clearly summarised in the history of armies."[73]

Between July 1857 and November 1860 Engels contributed about 50 articles on military topics to the *New American Cyclopaedia* and a few more were written jointly by Marx and Engels.[74] The work was interrupted from time to time by Engels's illness and by the extra work at the office brought about by the "general crash" of 1857.[75] The articles included general surveys,[76] accounts of campaigns and battles,[77] descriptions of weapons,[78] and military biographies.[79] These essays show the high quality of his military

writings. They exhibited a detailed knowledge of the history of warfare and of the geographical factors which had influenced military campaigns. Engels was familiar with the various methods of raising and training armies and with technical advances in such weapons as artillery and rifles. He quickly appreciated the changes that were taking place in the art of war owing to recent improvements in communications – particularly new highways and railways. He showed that he was familiar with the complex problems of the commisariat and the provision of medical aid for the wounded. Engels's articles gave an excellent survey of the art of warfare as practised in the middle of the nineteenth century.

At the same time as he was contributing military articles to the *New American Cyclopaedia*, Engels was paying close attention to the Indian Mutiny. His illness in 1857 prevented him from giving Marx much help with regard to military articles on the mutiny. Marx wrote: "I have had to deputise for you as military expert on the *Tribune*."[80] But Engels did write some articles on the Indian Mutiny, one of which was described by Marx as being "splendid in style and manner and reminiscent of the best days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*".[81]

Engels wrote on the capture of Delhi[82] and Lucknow[83] and on General Windham's defeat at Cawnpore.[84] He regarded Sir Henry Havelock as the best of the English commanders in India. He wrote to Marx that it had been "an enormous achievement to march 126 miles in that climate in eight days and to fight five or six engagements on the way".[85] Engels regarded the war as a national revolt rather than a mutiny. When the sepoys were defeated, Engels speculated on the possibility of the insurgents harassing British troops by guerilla tactics. In July 1858 he wrote that a large region of northern India

> "was swarming with active insurgent bands, organised to a certain degree by the experience of a twelve months' war, and encouraged, amid a number of defeats, by the indecisive character of each, and by the small advantages gained by the British. It is true, all their strongholds and centres of operations have been taken from them; the greater portion of their stores and artillery are lost; the important towns are all in the hands of their enemies. But, on the other hand, the British, in all this vast district, hold nothing but the towns, and of the open country, nothing but the spot where their moveable columns happen to stand; they are compelled to chase their nimble enemies without any hope of attaining them; and they are under the necessity of entering upon this harassing mode of warfare at the very deadliest season of the year. The native Indian can stand the midday heat of his summer with comparative

comfort, while mere exposure to the rays of the sun is almost certain death to the European; he can march 40 miles in such a season; where 10 break down his northern opponent; to him even the hot rains and swampy jungles are comparatively innocuous, while dysentery, cholera, and ague follow every exertion made by Europeans in the rainy season or in swampy neighbourhoods."[86]

By this time – as Marx wrote to Lassalle – the study of military science had become Engels's main field of research.[87] In the 1850s most of Engels's military criticism had appeared anonymously in the American press. In 1859, however, events on the Continent encouraged Engels to write for the German public once more. Early in that year it became clear that the question of Italian unification would lead to hostilities between France and Austria. The attitude of the German states – particularly Prussia – was of vital importance to the outcome of the conflict.

Engels discussed this problem in a pamphlet entitled *Po und Rhein* which was published in April 1859.[88] Austria's supporters in the German press – such as Hermann Orges in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* – were urging Prussia to come to Austria's aid so as to maintain Habsburg rule in Lombardy and Venetia. They asserted that Germany would be secure from attack from Italy only if a German state held the valley of the River Po. It was argued that this was Germany's "natural frontier" in the south. Engels wrote: "The question, expressed in strictly military terms, is this: Does Germany need to hold the Etsch (Adige), the Mincio, and the lower Po – with the bridgeheads of Peschiera and Mantua – to defend her southern frontier?"[89]

Engels categorically denied that the valley of the Po must be in German hands to ensure the safety of the German states from the south. He argued that if Lombardy and Venetia were under Italian instead of Austrian rule they could quickly be occupied by German forces if this should be necessary in time of war. The Alps had never barred the Germans – or the French – from occupying northern Italy. French armies under Napoleon and Austrian armies after 1815 had successfully crossed the Alps to occupy the valley of the Po. In Engels's view a study of past campaigns showed conclusively that certain Alpine passes could be used, even in winter, to move troops from Germany, Austria or France into Italy. New Alpine roads and railways were facilitating the movement of armies from the north or west into the valley of the Po. There was no need for any German state to hold the Quadrilateral fortresses – Mantua, Lugnano, Peschiera and Verona – because they could quickly be occupied in time of war. Engels held that, from the point of view of Germany's security, there was no need for a

German state to hold the northern provinces of Italy. German security was adequately served by holding the Alpine passes that led to the plain of the River Po. Engels supported his case with a wealth of historical arguments and by a detailed examination of the geography of the main passes across the Alps.

The Austrian occupation of northern Italy was, according to Engels, a mistake not merely from a military but also from a political point of view. The movement in favour of Italian unification was making rapid headway and it was obvious that one day Lombardy and Venetia must form part of a united Italy. Since 1849 an Austrian army of occupation of 70,000 men had been needed to maintain order in Lombardy and Venetia.[90] Through his business contacts with Italy, Engels possessed reliable information concerning the oppressive nature of Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venetia.[91] The Italians hated not merely the Austrians but all Germans as well, although German states, other than Austria, had no responsibility for the occupation of Lombardy and Venetia by a foreign power. "But is it in our interest", asked Engels, "to hold on to fortresses of the Quadrilateral when we know that this earns us the hatred of 25 million Italians, who have been thrown into alliance with France?"[92] He believed that a united Italy would be no danger to Germany and would be more likely to fall under German than French influence.

Finally, Engels observed that if Germany insisted upon holding the Po and the Mincio for her own security as a "natural frontier" then France had just as strong a claim to the Rhine as her "natural frontier". He repeated the arguments that he had advanced in his memorandum of 1851. Any invasion of France must be aimed at Paris since the fall of the capital would inevitably be followed by the fall of France. The first line of defence of the French capital lay along a semi-circle around Paris to the north and east of 320 miles distant from Paris. This was virtually the line of the River Rhine. No defensive positions closer to Paris would be as effective as the "natural frontier" of the Rhine. Incidentally Engels had little confidence that the neutrality of Belgium would prevent a German army from attacking France through Belgium. The treaty which guaranteed Belgian neutrality was only a "piece of paper".[93] Engels argued that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander. If Germany retained the Po as her "natural frontier" then France could claim the Rhine, Denmark the Eider, and Russia the Vistula or the Oder. Marx repeated this argument in 1871 when he refuted Germany's demand for Alsace-Lorraine to secure the "natural frontier of the Vosges". Marx asserted that it was "altogether an absurdity and an anachronism to make military

considerations the principles by which the boundaries of nations are to be fixed". "If this rule were to prevail, Austria would still be entitled to Venetia and the line of the Mincio and France to the line of the Rhine in order to protect Paris".[94] Engels's pamphlet was well received in Germany, being favourably reviewed in a leading military journal. Marx declared that Engels's reputation in Germany as a military critic was assured.[95] In army circles in Berlin the pamphlet was attributed to a senior Prussian officer. Lassalle, too, wrote in enthusiastic terms about *Po und Rhein*.[96]

A year later, in a pamphlet on *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein*,[97] Engels examined the effects of the Italian war upon Germany. Prussia had mobilised and France had withdrawn from the war without liberating Italy "right to the Adriatic". The Habsburgs surrendered Lombardy but not Venetia. Then France regained her frontier of 1801 by annexing Savoy and Nice in return for agreeing that the duchies of central Italy should join Piedmont. The French claimed Savoy and Nice on grounds of military security since the Alps were France's "natural frontier". In *Po und Rhein* Engels had criticised the doctrine of "natural frontiers" as applied to the Austrian occupation of northern Italy. Now he criticised the doctrine as applied to Napoleon III's annexation of Savoy and Nice. Engels argued that these territories were not necessary for the defence of France but they did give France an advantage if ever she wished to invade Italy. Engels declared that "when Victor Emmanuel looks from the Villa Della Regina in Turin at the magnificent view of the Alps and realises that not a single peak belongs to him, he will appreciate the situation very clearly".[98]

Moreover the French-speaking districts of Switzerland were now open to attack from France, French troops could occupy Geneva in 24 hours. Engels asserted – quite erroneously – that having seized Savoy and Nice, Louis Napoleon would proceed to annex the French speaking parts of Switzerland.

Engels concluded that since France had advanced the doctrine of "natural frontiers" to justify her annexation of Savoy and Nice she would soon use the same argument to defend the acquisition of the Rhine frontier by annexing German and Belgian territories on the left bank of the river. Engels was correct in assuming that Louis Napoleon had designs upon various territories on the left bank of the Rhine but he was wrong in supposing that France would conclude an alliance with Russia to attain her ends.[99] No Franco-Russian alliance was formed in the 1860s.

The annexation of Savoy and Nice had repercussions in England as well as in Germany for – as after Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 1851 – it sparked off an invasion panic. There

was a widespread fear that Louis Napoleon would follow up his seizure of two Italian provinces by embarking upon a career of aggression. For the second time in a decade it was thought that France might attempt to invade England. In articles which appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* in August 1860 Engels discussed the measures taken by the government to strengthen England's coastal defences against a French attack. He criticised the government for spending large sums on fortifying the major naval dockyards and argued that – since it was impossible to defend every harbour – it would be more sensible to protect London by building 20 forts in a ring round the capital at a distance of six (possibly 10) miles from Charing Cross. He asserted that his plan would give Britain security against a French invasion.[100]

Meanwhile in the spring of 1859 the British government had authorised the establishment of local volunteer corps under an Act passed during the Napoleonic wars. Units were generally raised by the landed gentry in the country districts and by manufacturers in industrial towns. In August 1860 Engels attended a review of the local volunteers held at Newton-le-Willows race-course in Lancashire. He described the review in the *Allgemeine Militärzeitung* (Darmstadt)[101] and in the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire* (Manchester). The *Volunteer Journal* was edited by Isaac Hall and was published by W. H. Smith & Sons.[102] Extracts from Engels's article on the review appeared in leading English newspapers and Marx wrote to him: "Your rifle article has made the rounds of the entire London press and has also been reviewed in the *Observer*, which reflects the views of the government. It is sensational."[103] Engels reported that the volunteers had carried out their exercises "steadily and without confusion". "The advance in line, this chief and cardinal movement of British tactics, was good beyond all expectation." Engels's chief criticism was that many volunteer officers were not yet adequately trained. "Officers cannot be manufactured in the time and with the same means as privates". He urged the government to insist that companies should be joined together to form permanent battalions and that an adjutant from the regular army should be attached to each battalion. "These adjutants should be bound to give all the officers of their respective battalions a regular course of instruction in elementary tactics, light infantry service in all its branches, and the regulations affecting the internal routine of service in a battalion."[104] And in a later article Engels emphasised the fact that the volunteers had been fortunate to have "a numerous well-disciplined and experienced army to take them under its wing".[105]

Engels's contributions to the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire*

and Cheshire included discussions of various aspects of the volunteer movement (such as the general, the officers, the engineers, and the artillery), nine articles on the history of the rifle, and eight on the French army.[106] Isaac Hall wrote to Engels that his article on the French light infantry was "very good and very instructive". "It is highly appreciated by the proprietors and has been most favourably spoken of by many people."[107] When some of Engels's essays in the *Volunteer Journal* were reprinted as a pamphlet a reviewer wrote:

"We read the 'History of the Rifle' with much pleasure and certify to its accuracy in all important particulars. 'The French Light Infantry' we did not like quite so well, as the tone indicates that the writer is, to a considerable extent, bitten with that new-fangled admiration for French soldiering which we, after long and intimate knowledge, hold to be an utter delusion. The paper, however, is valuable. . . . The question of Volunteer Artillery is well handled, and . . . the whole brochure . . . is modestly and carefully written."[108]

The American civil war was the next conflict which attracted Engels's attention.[109] Although he wrote little for publication on this war he discussed the campaigns in his letters to Marx who incorporated extracts from them in articles written for *Die Presse*. In December 1861, in the *Volunteer Journal*, Engels declared that "the kind of warfare which is now carried on in America is really without precedent." Armies had faced each other – marching and counter-marching – in Missouri, Kentucky and West Virginia and on the Potomac without any decisive action taking place. Engels believed that this state of affairs was inevitable since the armies consisted of volunteers rather than professional troops. He discussed the difficulties of training a citizen army. There were not enough officers or sergeants to teach recruits even the rudiments of the military skills that had to be learned. Even greater difficulties faced those responsible for training the cavalry and the artillery. Moreover the problem of feeding and providing ammunition to large forces operating over long distances in thinly populated regions still had to be solved.[110]

In March 1862 Engels (in an article written jointly with Marx) again emphasised the unusual features of the conflict.

"From whatever standpoint one regards it, the American civil war presents a spectacle without parallel in the annals of military history. The vast extent of the disputed territory; the far-flung front of the lines of operation; the numerical strength of the hostile armies, the creation of which drew barely any support from a prior organizational basis; the fabulous cost of these armies; the manner of leading

them and the general tactical and strategical principles in accordance with which the war is waged – all are new in the eyes of the European observer."[111]

A few months later Engels argued that, despite early failures, the North was not taking the war seriously enough. He wrote that

> "the defeats do not stir these Yankees up; they make them slack. . . . They are afraid of conscription, afraid of resolute financial action, afraid of attacks on slavery, afraid of everything that is urgently necessary. . . . In addition, the total lack of talent. One general more stupid than the other. Not one that would be capable of the least initiative or of independent decision."

On the other hand the South was taking the war very seriously indeed.

> "That we get no cotton is already one proof. The guerillas in the border states are a second. But what, in my opinion, is decisive, is that after being shut off from the world, an agricultural people can sustain such a war, and after severe defeats and losses in resources, men and territory, can nevertheless now stand forth as the victor and threaten to carry its offensive right into the North."[112]

Marx did not agree with Engels's assessment of the situation at this time. He wrote: "I do not altogether share your views on the American civil war. I do not think that all is up. . . . In the end the North will make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. . . ."[113] Engels was not convinced. In September 1862 he asked Marx if he still thought that "the gentlemen of the North" would win the war.[114] Marx replied that he was confident that they would eventually do so, while the South – despite Stonewall Jackson – would "come off second best". He warned Engels not to let himself be unduly influenced "by the military aspect of things".[115]

Engels continued to doubt the ability of the North to win the war. On November 5, 1862 he declared that the North still refused to treat the struggle as "a real question of national existence". "I cannot work up any enthusiasm for a people which, in such a colossal issue, allows itself to be continually beaten by a fourth of its own population, and which, after eighteen months of war, has achieved nothing more than the discovery that all its generals are idiots, and all its officials rascals and traitors."[116] In his reply Marx again warned Engels against "looking too much at only one side of the American quarrel".[117]

In the end Marx was proved to be right. Superiority of territory, population, wealth, and industrial resources eventually gave the

North an overwhelming advantage over the South. As the war progressed, Engels accepted Marx's view that the ultimate victory of the Northern armies was inevitable. When the South capitulated, Engels declared that he had won a bet made two months previously "that on May 1 (1865) the Southerners would no longer have any army".[118]

The decisive stroke which finally defeated the South – Sherman's march through Georgia in 1864 – was one which Marx and Engels had recommended in *Die Presse* two years earlier. In March 1862 they observed that "in well populated and more or less centralised states there is always a centre, with the occupation of which by the foe the national resistance would be broken. Paris is a shining example. The slave states, however, possess no such centre." The military centre of the Confederacy lay in Georgia and if Georgia fell the South "would be cut into two sections which would have lost all connection with one another". It would not be necessary to seize all Georgia. "In a land where communication, particularly between distant points, depends more on railways than on highways, the seizure of the railways is sufficient. The southernmost railway line between the states on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast goes through Macon and Gordon near Milledgeville. The occupation of these two points would accordingly cut *Secessia* in two and enable the Unionists to beat one part after another." Later events proved that Marx and Engels had been right.[119]

In 1865 Engels wrote a pamphlet on the constitutional crisis in Prussia, which followed the refusal of the Landtag to vote the funds needed to expand and reorganise the army. Bismarck defied the Landtag and raised taxes without parliamentary authority. The main purpose of Engels's pamphlet was to show the German workers how their interests were affected by the constitutional crisis but he also examined the proposed army reforms in some detail. In his opinion a reorganisation of the army was urgently necessary. In the past the need to economise had led to a decline in the efficiency of the army and the mobilisations of 1850 and 1859 had demonstrated that Prussia no longer possessed military forces adequate to maintain her position as a great Power. Engels doubted whether the reforms planned by Roon and Moltke would provide Prussia with the army that she needed. He advocated universal conscription, a short period of training, and a relatively long period of service in the reserve. He believed that two – not three – years service would be sufficient, provided that intensive methods of training recruits were adopted. He also put forward the novel suggestion that some preliminary training should be given to schoolboys to prepare them for future military service. In every

district a retired non-commissioned officer should be appointed to give schoolboys lessons in gymnastics and military drill.[120]

Since Engels had had grave doubts in 1865 concerning the efficiency of the Prussian army it is not surprising that a year later – when hostilities broke out between Prussia and Austria – he should have thought that the Austrians would win the war. He contributed five articles on the Seven Weeks War to the *Manchester Guardian*[121] for which he received two guineas for each article.[122] On June 20 he wrote that the Austrians had the advantage of superior numbers both in infantry and cavalry. The Prussians, on the other hand, were led by a monarch of "very mediocre capacities" and were reluctant to fight. All that he could say in favour of the Prussians was that they had breech-loading rifles and better provisions. When the Prussians invaded Bohemia, Moltke admitted that the army was in an "unfavourable but inevitable" situation.[123] Engels vigorously criticised the strategy of the Prussian high command. The Prussian forces were split into two armies, one of which advanced into Bohemia to the east of the Riesengebirge while the other advanced to the west of the Riesengebirge. Engels (writing on July 3) declared that the Austrians could crush the two Prussian armies separately before they could unite. He attributed the gross error of the Prussians to the fact that the King of Prussia was in supreme command.[124] Three days later came news of the decisive Prussian victory at Königgrätz and Engels had to try to explain away his rash prophecy. He wrote that "the campaign which the Prussians opened with a signal strategic blunder, has been since carried on by them with such terrible tactical energy that it was brought to a victorious close in exactly eight days."[125] The articles on the Königgrätz campaign are among those which Engels's admirers would prefer to forget.

When he discussed the German invasion of France in 1870 Engels did not repeat the mistake that he had made in 1866. This time he acknowledged the skill of the Prussian generals and the efficiency of the forces under their command.[126] In July 1870 Marx told Engels that a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who was covering the campaign in France, had asked him to act as a war correspondent in Germany. Marx passed the invitation on to Engels.[127] Marx praised the *Pall Mall Gazette* as "the gentlemen's paper *par excellence* and one which sets the tone in all the clubs, including the military clubs".[128] George Smith, the owner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, declared that his paper was "written by gentlemen for gentlemen". "To a very unusual extent our contributors were not professional writers in the ordinary sense and were in a higher social class than most newspaper men."[129]

Engels had retired from business and was now able to devote more time to journalism. He offered to write two articles a week if he were "well paid" for his trouble. By "well paid" he meant three or four guineas for each article.[130] Engels was anxious to earn some more money as he was "rather short of cash" at this time.[131] But in the end he had to be satisfied with two and a half guineas for each article.[132] Engels preferred to write his articles at home rather than at the Prussian headquarters where he feared that Wilhelm Stieber (head of the Prussian intelligence service) might make life difficult for him. Stieber – described by Marx as a "notorious Prussian police spy"[133] – was a declared enemy of all communists. Twenty years before he had achieved some notoriety at the trial of the Communist leaders in Cologne and his unscrupulous methods of securing evidence against the accused had been vigorously denounced by Marx.[134]

Marx sent one of Engels's articles to Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, without mentioning the author's name and it was published on July 29, 1870.[135] Two days later Engels sent Marx an article on the Prussian plan of campaign and asked him to take a cab and deliver it at once to the newspaper office. Engels hoped to achieve an "enormous reputation" as a military critic from this essay in which he revealed the Prussian plan to invade France. When he heard that a cousin of his friend Dr Gumpert had left Aachen for Trier with the advance guard of the seventh Prussian army corps the nature of the Prussian plan of operations was revealed to him in a flash.[136] Engels believed that the plan would be a success and that the Prussians would win the war. On August 1, 1870 Marx complimented Engels on his recent articles. Greenwood had now been given the name of his new military correspondent[137] and he sent Engels a "very polite" letter inviting him to submit military articles as often as he pleased.[138]

Between July 1870 and March 1871 Engels contributed 60 articles on the Franco-Prussian war to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The article on "The Prussian Victories" (August 8, 1870)[139] was the first of several to appear as leading articles. Engels's reports on the military situation in France soon attracted attention. The *Spectator* declared that "somebody makes on the middle page of the *Pall Mall Gazette* suggestions of noteworthy acuteness – suggestions rarely wrong – but he is too chary of both words and facts, and his rivals tell their readers very little indeed".[140] Marx declared that Engels would "soon be recognised as the leading military expert in London"[141] and that he had given a masterly description of the fortifications of Paris.[142] Engels attributed his success to good luck as well as to good management. He wrote to Jenny Marx that since his "little

prophecies" appeared in the evening they were quickly confirmed in the press on the next morning. "This was sheer good luck and it greatly impressed the philistines."[143]

Engels complained that some of his articles were being reprinted in other papers without permission. A leading article in the *Times* had been copied from two of his articles.[144] Marx wrote that his wife and daughters were furious that Engels's contributions were being "plundered by all the London newspapers without acknowledgement".[145] Engels was also annoyed that "that fool" Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, had made alterations in his manuscripts and had cut out some of his attacks upon newspapers which had copied his articles.[146] But it was a quarrel between Marx and Greenwood which caused the final breach between Engels and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Marx called Greenwood "a libeller" and in July 1871 Engels told the General Council of the Working Men's International Association that he had "resigned his connection with the *Pall Mall Gazette*".[147] At the same time Engels – who in June was still hoping "to keep a footing" in the paper – wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht that he and Marx had "definitely broken off relations with the *Pall Mall Gazette*".[148]

In his articles Engels traced the advance of the German forces into France. In his pamphlet on *Po und Rhein* he had suggested that it was likely that German armies invading France would march through Belgium. In fact Belgian neutrality was not violated in 1870. On August 26, 1870 – when most English war correspondents were discussing the progress of the Crown Prince's army towards Paris – Engels asserted that the outcome of the campaign depended upon the fate of MacMahon's army which was so situated that, if it were defeated, it would have to retreat "through a narrow strip of territory leading towards neutral territory or the sea". "MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet."[149] This was a correct forecast of the German victory at Sedan which occurred a week later and it was Engels's most brilliant analysis of a military situation.

After the battle of Sedan the war entered upon a new phase since few regular French troops capable of resisting the invader survived. The Germans occupied one-sixth of France and besieged Paris and Metz. When Metz fell the war was still not over because Paris held out and a resistance movement sprang up. Moltke complained that although nearly all the regular French troops had been interned, more Frenchmen were under arms than when war broke out.[150] Engels had long been interested in popular risings and guerrilla warfare. He hoped that the methods employed by armed

French resistance fighters to harass the German army of occupation might be used on some future occasion by workers fighting their bourgeois oppressors. Engels criticised the German reaction to the activities of the *francs tireurs*. He denounced the Germans for operating "a code of warfare as antiquated as it is barbarous".[151] If civilians fired upon their troops the Germans burned down the village concerned and shot every man carrying arms who was not a regular soldier. Engels argued that popular resistance by civilians was a legitimate method of warfare sanctioned by long usage. In the American war of independence, in the Peninsular war, and in the risings of 1848 in Hungary and Italy, civilians had fought professional soldiers. In Prussia in 1813 Scharnhorst had organised a volunteer militia to fight the French invaders in a "spirit of uncompromising national resistance". The French in 1870 were simply doing what the Prussians had done in 1813.[152]

In assessing the military situation after Bazaine's capitulation at Metz, Engels did not display the same acumen that he had shown in his earlier articles on the first phase of the war. He believed that the French would stage an effective counter-attack either by their own efforts or with foreign aid. In November 1870 he contemplated the possibility of 30,000 British troops being landed at Cherbourg or Brest to support the French forces operating against the Germans.[153] But at the end of January 1871 he admitted that "the military intervention of England in favour of France . . . could have been of any use whatever at a certain moment only, which has long since passed away".[154] Marx on the other hand still thought in February 1871 that the Liberal government would probably be "kicked out of office and supplanted by a ministry declaring war against Prussia".[155] In fact there was no question of Britain becoming involved in the Franco-Prussian war. In November 1870 Engels thought that the prospects of France had "much improved"[156] since the French Army of the Loire had become an efficient force capable of giving a good account of itself. If the capital could hold out for another month "France may possibly have an army large enough, with the aid of popular resistance, to raise the investment by a successful attack upon the Prussian communications".[157]

Although Engels had to admit on December 2, 1870 that the attempt to relieve Paris had failed, he still believed that the French could continue to offer effective resistance to the Germans. He wrote:

"We make bold to say that, if the spirit of resistance among the people does not flag, the position of the French, even after their

recent defeats, is a very strong one. With the command of the sea to import arms, with plenty of men to make soldiers of, with three months – the first and worst three months – of the work of organisation behind them, and with a fair chance of having one month more, if not two, of breath-time allowed them – and that at a time when the Prussians show signs of exhaustion – with all that, to give in now would be rank treason, and who knows what accidents may happen, what further European complications may occur. in the meantime? Let them fight on, by all means."[158]

On December 17, 1870 Engels asserted that

"everywhere the forces appear to be nearly balanced. It is now a race of reinforcements, but a race in which the chances are immensely more favourable to France than they were three months ago. If we could say with safety that Paris will hold out till the end of February, we might almost believe that France would win the race."[159]

Even after the fall of Paris and the signing of an armistice Engels still refused to accept the fact that France had been defeated and could not resume the struggle. On February 8, 1871 he declared that there was still a compact block of territory in the south of France – as well as the ports of Brest, Le Havre and Cherbourg – which had not been occupied by the Germans. He wrote:

"By using the fleet to advantage, the French might move their men in the West and North, so as to compel the Germans to keep largely superior forces in that neighbourhood, and to weaken the forces sent out for the conquest of the South, which it would be their chief object to prevent. By concentrating their armies more than they have hitherto done, and, on the other hand, by sending out more numerous small partisan bands, they might increase the effect to be obtained by the forces on hand. There appear to have been many more troops at Cherbourg and Havre than were necessary for the defence; and the well-executed destruction of the bridge of Fontenoy, near Toul, in the centre of the country occupied by the conquerors, shows what may be done by bold partisans. For, if the war is to be resumed at all after the 19th of February, it must be in reality a war to the knife, a war like that of Spain against Napoleon; a war in which no amount of shootings and burnings will prove sufficient to break the spirit of resistance."[160]

These extracts from articles which Engels wrote between December 1870 and February 1871 show that he completely misjudged the military situation at that time. He greatly exaggerated the ability of France to recover from the crushing defeats of Sedan and Metz. Engels was also mistaken in supposing that the collapse of the Second Empire in France would herald an era of revolution

in western Europe. In August 1870, when he was making arrangements to move from Manchester to London, Engels wrote to Jenny Marx: "In view of the present state of affairs in France, where everything can collapse at any time – and probably will collapse within a week or a fortnight – it would indeed be risky to rent a house for 3½ years and to have it decorated and furnished. But I shall have to risk it."[161] In fact the only revolution that followed the Franco-Prussian war was the rising of the workers in Paris and the establishment of the Commune. This was quickly suppressed and Europe subsequently enjoyed a long period of peace and stability.

On the day that Engels's last article on the war appeared, the Commune was set up in Paris. For many years Engels had waited for the workers of Paris to rise against Napoleon III but they never did so. On September 1, 1870 – the day of Sedan – Marx had complained of "the miserable behaviour of Paris during the war – still allowing itself to be ruled by the mamelukes of Louis Bonaparte and of the Spanish adventuress Eugénie after these appalling defeats".[162] A few days later Engels warned Marx that a premature rising of the French workers might have fatal consequences for the cause of revolution. Such a rising would probably be put down by the German troops besieging the French capital. A rising should be postponed until after peace had been signed.[163] The rising came in March 1871 and Marx hailed it as "a new point of departure of world-historic importance." He declared that "the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris".[164] Engels also welcomed the establishment of the Commune with enthusiasm. He believed that the workers were better organised than during any previous rising and that they would be able to hold out for some time. When Marx suggested that the Commune should fortify the northern heights of Montmartre he may well have been passing on advice given by Engels. After bitter street fighting, heavy loss of life, and destruction of property the Commune collapsed at the end of May 1871. Engels's assessment of the military prospects of the Commune had been too optimistic.[165]

The articles on the Franco-Prussian war assured Engels's reputation as a military critic. He regarded himself as "the representative of the general staff of the party".[166] His advice on military matters was sought not merely by socialist leaders but – somewhat surprisingly – by Major Wachs, who was a member of the German General Staff. Hellmut von Gerlach wrote in his memoirs:

> "The first socialist whom I met was also the most famous. In 1894, when preparing to make my first journey to study conditions in England, I was sitting in our Social Conservative Club with Freiherr

von Ungern-Sternberg of the *Kreuzzeitung*, Rudolf von Mosch of the *Deutsches Adelsblatt*, Rudolf Stratz, J. E. Freiherr von Grotthuss and some other friends whom I met regularly in the evening. I told them of my plans and Major Wachs of the General Staff – at that time the military authority for the entire right-wing press – said: 'If you are going to London you must certainly call upon my friend Friedrich Engels'. I listened in astonishment. How could a conservative Major of the General Staff – the recognised expert on the strategic importance of Bizerta harbour – regard the last great living hero of the international socialist movement as his friend? But Wachs explained himself with growing enthusiasm for Engels. He was not interested in Engels's politics. But as a military critic – as a man of expert knowledge, objectivity and clear judgment – there was no colleague whom he held in higher esteem. So Wachs maintained a friendly correspondence with Engels. A letter of introduction from Wachs would ensure me a friendly reception if I called upon Engels."[167]

After 1871 Engels wrote less on military affairs than he had done when he lived in Manchester. Indeed there were not many campaigns to write about, except the Russo-Turkish war of 1876. Engels was particularly interested in revolutionary warfare and in 1873 he wrote a memorandum on the recent revolt in Spain which was, in his view, "a classic illustration of how *not* to organise a revolution".[168] More than once Engels drew attention to the fact that as the conscript armies on the Continent increased in size, so the number of men trained in the use of arms also increased. If the young men who had served with the colours could be converted to revolutionary socialism, they would be in the front line when the workers rose to overthrow their oppressors.

Engels frequently attacked the spirit of Prussian nationalism and militarism and he criticised the growth of the German army. In 1874 he criticised the Reich Army Law which fixed the strength of the armed forces in peacetime at 400,000 men and made financial provision for their maintenance for seven years (the *Septennat*).[169] In the following year he denounced the press campaign in Germany against France when the French National Assembly passed a law providing for an increase in the armed forces.[170] And in 1887 he warned the Germans that they would never be able to fight another war against a single adversary as they had done in 1866 and 1870. He declared that the next war would be a world war and would lead to famine and disease on a scale not known since the Thirty Years war. It would be followed by the collapse of countless European states and the disappearance of dozens of monarchies.[171]

In 1893 Engels wrote a series of articles in *Vorwärts*, which were printed as a pamphlet entitled *Can Europe Disarm?* He

declared that the arms race on the Continent coupled with the existence of rival alliances could lead only to a world war or to an economic collapse due to excessive military expenditure. His remedy for this state of affairs was to reduce the length of service with the colours by international agreement. This he thought would be "the simplest and quickest method of effecting the transition from standing armies to popular militias".[172]

In 1895, shortly before his death, Engels wrote for the last time on the military aspect of a popular revolt. In particular he discussed the rôle of street fighting in towns in the future. Engels wrote: "Let us be under no illusions in this matter." "In the future it will be very unusual for revolutionaries to achieve by street fighting a decisive victory in the way in which one army can defeat another." Urban fighters behind the barricades could achieve only limited objectives. They might sap the morale of the troops opposing them. And they could abandon street fighting for passive resistance and still be a thorn in the side of their enemies.

Engels argued that in the last fifty years it had become increasingly difficult for revolutionaries to hope for success in urban street warfare. Towns had grown in size so that a large urban area had to be seized and defended by the insurgents. Urban redevelopment – such as Haussmann's reconstruction of central Paris – had cleared away slums so that broad main thoroughfares could be built. It was much more difficult for insurgents to barricade wide streets than narrow alleys. Again, over the years, the weapons used by soldiers – such as breech-loading rifles and improved artillery – had become much more efficient.

Yet Engels declared that despite these changes, which were so disadvantageous to urban insurgents, street fighting still had a rôle to play in a future revolution. He suggested that a revolt in a town should be attempted, not at the start, but at a later stage of an insurrection. And he thought that street fighting should be initiated only if large forces of insurgents were available. Finally Engels argued that the class struggle, like popular warfare, had radically changed in the last fifty years. It was no longer possible for a dedicated minority of militants to start a revolt if the vast mass of the population was apathetic to the cause of revolution. "If we aim at securing a fundamental change in the structure of society," he wrote, "we must have the masses behind us". "The masses must understand what the revolt is about and what is at stake." "The masses must appreciate why they are risking life and limb."[173]

Engels's knowledge of military affairs was also evident in writings which were primarily of a political or historical character. Thus in

1878 in his book attacking Eugen Dühring he wrote three chapters on what Dühring had called "the force theory".[174] By "force" Dühring had meant "war". Dühring had argued that the exploitation of certain groups of people – such as slaves and serfs – by others was the result of wars in the past which had created an economic and political system within which the exploitation of the weak by the strong could take place. Engels claimed that the opposite was true. It was economic factors which made it possible for the strong to make war and to enslave and exploit the weak. Engels illustrated his argument by giving a detailed account of the evolution of armies and armaments within the framework of different kinds of economies. Here he made one of his worst blunders as a military critic. He declared that, since the Franco-Prussian war, "the weapons used have reached such a stage of perfection that further progress which would have any revolutionary influence is no longer possible". "The era of evolution is, therefore, in essentials, closed in this direction."[175] In 1887–8 Engels began to write an additional chapter on "The Force Theory" which attempted to illustrate his argument by an analysis of Bismarck's unification of Germany by a policy of "blood and iron".[176] The manuscript was never completed. Here Engels summarised his views on several campaigns – from the Crimean war to the Franco-Prussian war – which he had previously described when he was writing for the press on military affairs. Meanwhile in 1884 in his book on the origin of the family, private property and the state Engels speculated upon the origin of warfare and the early organisation of armed forces. He considered that the creation of private property, the class struggle, and organised warfare all began at the same time. Wars began as soon as private property was established and as soon as rival social groups developed with different economic interests. According to Engels, the earliest armies were those organised to enable a property-owning class to protect its property and to keep its slave labour force under subjection. Warfare as practised in primitive societies was a system of organised theft and warriors set out to seize the cattle and treasure of their neighbours. War became a way of life which enabled societies to add to their store of wealth.[177] Clausewitz had argued that war was an extension of the foreign policy of rival states. In time of peace governments exchanged notes; in time of war they fought battles. Engels, on the other hand, argued that war was the climax of the struggle between rival social groups. In the class struggle of his own time the rising of armed revolutionaries took the place of workers on strike.

Engels's writings on the art of war had a profound influence

upon Lenin's thinking on military problems. In her memoirs M. K. Krupskaya wrote that Lenin "had made a thorough study of the views of Marx and Engels upon revolutions and insurrections and had reflected deeply upon their writings on these subjects".[178] In an essay written in 1901 Lenin criticised those who had argued that Engels's article of 1895 had suggested that the era of armed insurrection had passed away and that socialism should be achieved by peaceful means. In 1906 Lenin discussed Engels's theory of revolutionary warfare in the light of the experience gained in the Moscow rising of December 1905. He agreed with Kautsky that those who had fought behind the barricades in Moscow had developed a new technique of street fighting but he argued that the revolutionaries had not yet fully appreciated Engels's thesis that success in urban street fighting could be achieved only by seizing the initiative at the right moment and by taking offensive action of the most vigorous kind.

During the first World War when some socialists in neutral countries advocated a policy of disarmament, Lenin replied that "Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war". He declared that "Engels was perfectly right when, in a letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882 he openly admitted that it was possible for *already victorious* Socialism to wage 'defensive wars'. What he had in mind was defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeois of other countries."[179]

Lenin also made a careful study of Engels's pronouncements on the organisation of armed insurrection. In 1905, for example, Lenin summarised and commented upon Engels's accounts of the Baden rising of 1849 and the Spanish revolt of 1873. On the eve of the Bolshevik revolution Lenin reprinted Engels's article of 1852 on the art of armed insurrection and summarised Engels's views in five theses of his own. Both the technique of revolution as put into practice by the Bolsheviks in 1917 and the subsequent organisation of the Red Army owed much to the ideas that Engels had put forward many years before.[180]

NOTES

1 For Engels's writings on military affairs see F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1, 1958, Vol. 2, 1964. For Engels as a military critic see Max Schippel, "Die Miliz und Friedrich Engels" in *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Vol. 30, 1914; Ernst Drahn, "Friedrich Engels als Kriegswissenschaftler" in *Kultur und Fortschritt*, 1915; S. Neumann, "Engels and Marx: Military Concepts of the Social Revolutionaries" in E. M. Earle (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy* (New York, 1966); S. Budkiewitsch, "Engels und das Kriegswesen" in *Friedrich Engels der Denker* (Basel, 1945: articles from the Soviet

encyclopaedia) and *Der General: Friedrich Engels als erster Militärtheoretiker der Arbeiterklasse* (Leipzig and Jena, 1957); J. L. Wallach, *Die Kriegslehre von Friedrich Engels* (Frankfurt am Main, 1968); M. E. Berger, *War, Armies and Revolution: Friedrich Engels's Military Thought* (University of Pittsburgh, 1969) and "Engels, Armies and the Tactics of Revolution" presented to the Ohio Academy of History, April 3, 1971: typescript); Heinz Hahlweg, *Friedrich Engels. Die Anfänge der proletarischen Militärtheorie, 1842–52* (1970); essays on "Engels's Kriegslehre" by W. Hahlweg, J. L. Wallach and C. D. Kernig in the *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 10, 1970 and essays in *Militärwesen. Zeitschrift für Militärpolitik und Militärtheorie*, Vol. 14, Heft 10, October 1970. See also H. von Gerlach, *Von Rechts nach Links* (Zürich, 1937).

A number of memoranda by Engels on military topics are preserved in the Marx–Engels archives in Amsterdam, in the Wuppertal town library and elsewhere. They include

(i) documents which have not been published;
(ii) notes on topics on which Engels wrote articles;
(iii) manuscripts of published articles which may differ slightly from the printed version.

The documents include manuscripts on

(i) preliminary studies on the use of force in history;
(ii) mountain guerilla warfare;
(iii) notes on a future world war;
(iv) the militia system;
(v) organisation of the Russian army (Crimean war);
(vi) chronological list of battles: Crimea and Italian war, 1859;
(vii) notes on how revolutionary units were armed in 1849;
(viii) notes on the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1;
(ix) notes on various military histories.

See W. Hahlweg's essay in the *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 10, 1970.

2 Julian Harney in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, August 17, 1895.
3 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (edition of 1958), p. 257.
4 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (edition of 1958), p. 257.
5 F. Engels, "Zwei Reden in Elbelfeld" in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher*, 1845, reprinted in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part I, Vol. 4, p. 376.
6 *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*, February 27, 1848 in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 1–3.
7 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 28 and 29 and July 1 and 2, 1848 in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 4–27.
8 *New York Daily Tribune*, May 18, 1852 in Karl Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848* edition of 1952), p. 70.
9 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 19, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 104.
10 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 7–8, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 105.
11 *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 28, p. 85.
12 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, May 19, 1849 in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 152–61.
13 *New York Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1852 in Karl Marx (should be

F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848* (edition of 1952), p. 89.

14 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 6, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 361.

15 Wilhelm Liebknecht in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 138.

16 *Deutsche Monatshefte für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben* (Stuttgart, 1850), Vol. 10 (ii), quoted in G. Zirke, *Der General* (1957), p. 8.

17 Quoted by R. Dlubek in his introduction to F. Engels, *Die Reichsverfassungskampagne* (1969), p. 8.

18 F. Engels to Joseph Weydemeyer, June 19, 1851 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 20. For Engels's part in the campaign in Baden in 1849 see A. Happich, *Friedrich Engels als Soldat der Revolution* (1931).

19 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 31, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 459.

20 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 1, 1849 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 110–11.

21 F. Engels (Lausanne) to J. Weydemeyer, August 23, 1849 and F. Engels to Jakob Schabelitz, August 24, 1849 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 27, pp. 509–11.

22 F. Engels, "Die deutsche Reichsverfassungskampagne" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-Ökonomische Revue*, 1850, Heft 1, pp. 35–78; Heft 2, pp. 37–56; and Heft iii, pp. 38–50. The articles have been reprinted in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 49–141 and in F. Engels, *Die Reichsverfassungskampagne* (edited by Rolf Dlubek, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1969).

23 F. Engels's obituary of P. J. Becker in the *Sozialdemokrat*, December 17, 1886: reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 117–27.

24 Address drawn up on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist League: see Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4 new edition, 1969), Vol. 1, Appendix 13.

25 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, June 19, 1851 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 21.

26 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 26 and March 27, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 158 and p. 169. For Engels's assessment of Wellington as a military commander see F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 11, 1851 (*ibid.*, p. 185).

27 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 11 and 18, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 287 and p. 289.

28 F. Engels to F. Lassalle, March 14, 1859 in Gustav Mayer (ed.), *Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. 3, *Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 158–9.

29 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 2, 1851 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 180 and p. 182.

30 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, June 19, 1851 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 20–2. For a later letter from Engels to Weydemeyer (August 7, 1851) on the same subject see *ibid.*, pp. 25–6.

31 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 183.

32 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 23, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 265–9.
33 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 26, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 270.
34 Engels's memorandum – written between September and December 1851 – was published under the title "Betrachtungen über die Folgen eines Krieges der Heiligen Allianz gegen Frankreich im Falle einer siegreichen Revolution im Jahre 1852" in *Neue Zeit*, Jahrgang XXXIII (1914–15) and in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 207–31.
35 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 291–4.
36 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, January 23, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 34.
37 *Notes to the People*, February 21, 1852, pp. 846–8.
38 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 9, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 294–5.
39 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, January 23, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), pp. 33–5.
40 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 22, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 310.
41 *New York Daily Tribune*, August 19, 1852 in Karl Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848* (edition of 1952), p. 120.
42 *New York Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1852 in Karl Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848* (edition of 1952), p. 86.
43 *New York Daily Tribune*, April 17, 1852 in Karl Marx (should be F. Engels), *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848* (edition of 1952), pp. 95–6.
44 This axiom appears in F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 26, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 270.
45 On April 20, 1852 Engels told Marx that he had just settled his account with a German bookseller. On July 15, 1852 Engels wrote that Stefan Naut had made some purchases on his behalf – "obviously the library of a retired artillery officer" – from a second-hand bookseller in Cologne (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 338 and p. 365). See also F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, April 12, 1853 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 53.
46 Heinz Helmert, *Friedrich Engels. Die Anfänge der proletarischen Militärtheorie* (1970), p. 102.
47 F. Engels's introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet on *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806–7* (new edition, 1888), reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 131–141.
48 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 7, July 6 and 15, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 351, 361 and 365.
49 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 30, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, 344.
50 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 19, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 377–8.
51 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 383.
52 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III,

Vol. 3, p. 19. In 1851 Engels had used an atlas belonging to Marx. He wrote that he was keeping it for the time being as he had "great need of it" (F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 26, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 158.

53 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 29, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part Vol. 1, p. 158.

54 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 30, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 505–6.

55 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 2, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 511.

56 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 2, 1853 and January 5, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 514 and Vol. 2, p. 1.

57 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 14, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 517.

58 F. Engels to H. J. Lincoln (draft), March 30, 1854 in Marx–Engels archives, K.350 (Amsterdam). A German translation of this letter is printed in the *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 28, p. 600. See also F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 15.

59 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 20, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 18–19.

60 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 27, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 394.

61 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 17, 1855 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 99–100.

62 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 10, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 36.

63 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 3, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 27.

64 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 13, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 37. Engels's article on the siege of Silistria appeared as a leading article in the *New York Daily Tribune* on July 25, 1854: reprinted in Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question* (1897, new edition, 1969), pp. 412–18. Several articles attributed by Eleanor Marx to her father (and printed in *The Eastern Question*, 1897) were actually written by Engels.

65 F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 234–396. Engels also wrote two articles on "Germany and Pan-Slavism" for the *Neue Oder Zeitung* (Breslau). Dr Max Friedländer, who was related to Lassalle, was an editor and part-owner of the *Neue Oder Zeitung*. Some of Engels's military writings on the Crimean war which appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* were reprinted in Karl Marx (should be Karl Marx and F. Engels), *The Eastern Question. A Reprint of Letters written 1853–56 dealing with Events of the Crimean War* (edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling and Edward Aveling, 1897: new edition, 1969) and in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe* (edited by P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz, 1953).

66 *New York Daily Tribune*, November 15, 1854 in Karl Marx (should be Karl Marx and F. Engels), *The Eastern Question* (1897 and 1969), p. 493.

67 Engels wrote

The long and short of the war is this: England, and particularly France, are being dragged 'unavoidably though reluctantly', into

engaging the greater part of their forces in the East and the Baltic, that is upon two advanced wings of a military position which has no centre nearer than France. Russia sacrifices her coasts, her fleets, part of her troops, to induce the Western Powers to engage themselves completely in this anti-strategical move. As soon as this is done, as soon as the necessary number of French troops are sent off to countries far from their own, Austria and Prussia will declare in favour of Russia, and march with superior numbers upon Paris. If this plan succeeds, there is no force at the disposal of Louis Napoleon to resist that shock. But there is a force which can 'mobilize' itself upon any emergency, and which can also 'mobilize' Louis Napoleon and his minions as it has mobilized many a ruler before this. That force is able to resist all these invasions; it has shown this once before to combined Europe; and that force, the Revolution, be assured, will not be wanting on the days its action is required (*New York Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1854 in Karl Marx (should be Karl Marx and F. Engels), *The Eastern Question* . . . (1897: new edition, 1969), p. 366).

68 F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 399–472 and correspondence between Marx and Engels in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 90, 94, 95, 163, and 187.

69 *Putnam's Monthly*, August 1855.

70 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 185.

71 For letters exchanged between Marx and Engels on their contributions to the *New American Cyclopaedia* see *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 197–8 (list of suggested articles), 200–1, 216–24, 237, 267–8, 270, 276–8, 282–3, 300–1, 336, 418–9, and 421.

72 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 185.

73 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 25, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 228. This point of view was later elaborated by Werner Sombart in *Krieg und Kapitalismus* (1913).

74 For a list of Engels's articles in the *New American Cyclopaedia* see *Marx–Engels Verzeichnis: Werke, Schriften, Artikel* (1966), pp. 108–9.

75 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 6, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 268.

76 E.g. Army, Cannon, Cavalry, Fortifications, Infantry, Navy.

77 E.g. Alma, Armada, Aspern.

78 E.g. Battery, Bomb.

79 E.g. Bem, Blücher.

80 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 15, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 207.

81 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 14, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 274.

82 *New York Daily Tribune*, December 5, 1857 (leading article): reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The first Indian War of Independence 1857–9* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 117–123.

83 *New York Daily Tribune*, April 30, 1858 and May 25, 1858 (leading articles): reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The first Indian War of Independence 1857–9* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 136–49.

84 *New York Daily Tribune*, February 20, 1858 (leading article): re-

printed in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The first Indian War of Independence 1857–9* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 129–35.

85 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 21, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 220.

86 *New York Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1858 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The first Indian War of Independence, 1857–9* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 178.

87 Karl Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle, February 25, 1859 in H. Helmert and R. Koschulla in *Zeitschrift für Militärgeschichte*, Vol. 4, 1970, p. 397. See also F. Engels to F. Lassalle, March 14, 1859 in Gustav Mayer (ed.), *Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. 3, *Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 158–9.

88 F. Engels, *Po und Rhein* (1859: new edition, 1915).

89 F. Engels, *Po und Rhein* (edition of 1915), p. 6.

90 F. Engels, *Po und Rhein* (edition of 1915), p. 32.

91 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 9, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 98. In this letter Engels summarised a conversation with an Italian businessman who had visited him in Manchester.

92 F. Engels, *Po und Rhein* (edition of 1915), p. 32.

93 Engels wrote "ein Blatt Papier" (a piece of paper). In 1914 Bethmann-Hollweg referred to the treaty which guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium as "ein Fetzchen Papier" (a scrap of paper).

94 Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 1871 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 32.

95 Karl Marx wrote: "Your pamphlet has established your reputation in Germany as a military critic" (Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 11, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 453).

96 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 12, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 377. Marx quoted from a letter which he had received from Ferdinand Lassalle.

97 On January 31 and February 2, 1860 Engels wrote to Marx that he was planning to write a sequel to *Po und Rhein* to be entitled *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein* (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 458 and p. 463).

98 F. Engels, *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein* (1860: new edition, 1915).

99 Engels wrote: "At this very moment we are threatened by a Franco-Russian alliance" (*Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein*, edition of 1915), p. 46.

100 *New York Daily Tribune*, August 10, 1860 (leading article) in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 203–7, and *New York Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1860.

101 *Allgemeine Militärzeitung* (Darmstadt), August 11, 1860.

102 For Isaac Hall's letters to Engels see the Marx–Engels archives, L.2140–2150 (Amsterdam). Isaac Hall was an attorney in the legal firm of Parker and Hall, 6 Essex Street, Manchester. His private address was Moss Grove, Withington. Hall was a Captain (later a Major) in the Volunteers.

103 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 2, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 514.

104 *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*, September 14, 1860 in W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (eds.), *Engels as Military Critic* (1959), pp. 1–8. Fourteen of the 28 articles which Engels contributed to the *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire* were

reprinted by W. H. Smith as a sixpenny pamphlet entitled *Essays addressed to Volunteers* (Manchester, 1861). The preface to the pamphlet was dated March 9, 1861.

105 *Volunteer Journal for Lancashire and Cheshire*, December 6, 1861 in W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (eds.), *Engels as Military Critic* (1959), p. 112.

106 W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (eds.), *Engels as Military Critic* (1959).

107 Isaac Hall to F. Engels (no date) in the Marx–Engels archives, L.2140–2150 (Amsterdam).

108 *United Services Gazette*, March 23, 1861.

109 Karl Marx's articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* and *Die Presse* and the correspondence between Marx and Engels on the American civil war have been reprinted in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (1937: new edition, 1961). A manuscript by Engels entitled "Artilleristisches aus Amerika" (September 1863) was acquired by the Wuppertal public library in 1965.

110 *Volunteer Journal of Lancashire and Cheshire*, December 6, 1861 in W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (eds.), *Engels as Military Critic* (1959), pp. 109–13.

111 *Die Presse*, March 26, 1862 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (1961), p. 164.

112 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 30, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 81.

113 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 7, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 92.

114 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 9, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 101.

115 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 10, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 102.

116 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 5, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 107.

117 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 17, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 110.

118 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 3, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 265.

119 *Die Presse*, March 27, 1862 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (1961), pp. 174–5. The editor of F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften* regards this article as one written jointly by Marx and Engels.

120 F. Engels, *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (1865).

121 Engels's five articles in the *Manchester Guardian* (June 20, 25 and 28, July 3 and 6, 1866) appeared anonymously. They are attributed to Engels by Gustav Mayer (in *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2, pp. 150–4), by M. Rubel (in *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Karl Marx*, p. 248) and by the compiler of the *Marx–Engels Verzeichnis. Werke, Schriften, Artikel* (1966), p. 289. The articles have been reprinted W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (eds.), *Engels as Military Critic* (1959), pp. 121–40. Engels also wrote a letter (signed F. E.) to the *Manchester Guardian* (February 16, 1864) on the strength of the armies in Schleswig.

122 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 22, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 343.

123 Heinrich Friedjung, *The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany 1859–66* (abridged English translation, 1935), p. 213.
124 *Manchester Guardian*, July 3, 1866.
125 *Manchester Guardian*, July 6, 1866.
126 F. Engels, *Notes on the War. Sixty Articles reprinted from the "Pall Mall Gazette"* (edited by Friedrich Adler, 1923). For the *Pall Mall Gazette* see J. W. Robertson Smith, *The Life and Death of a Newspaper . . ."Pall Mall Gazette"* (1952) and *The Story of the "Pall Mall Gazette"* 1950: reference to Engels as a contributor on p. 185).
127 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 20, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 340.
128 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 355.
129 J. W. Robertson Smith, *The Story of the "Pall Mall Gazette"* 1950), p. 126.
130 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 22, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 343.
131 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, 352.
132 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 356.
133 Letter from Karl Marx to the *Daily News*, January 16, 1871.
134 Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (1852: edition of 1952).
135 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 28, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 345.
136 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 31, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 348–9. The article appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on August 2, 1870. In it Engels wrote that "from a private source we learn that the 7th Army Corps on the 27th was on its march from Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), by Trèves (Trier) to the frontier".
137 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 1, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 350.
138 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 5, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 357.
139 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, August 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 361.
140 *The Spectator*, August 20, 1870 and Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels, August 30, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 374.
141 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 355.
142 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 382.
143 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, August 15, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 368.
144 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 353. Marx replied that the *Pall Mall Gazette* had complained of this plagiarism.
145 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 2, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 374.
146 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 4, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 376.
147 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (Progress Publishers, Moscow), p. 231.

148 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, June 22 and July 10, 1871 in G. Eckert (ed.), *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1963), p. 132 and p. 134.

149 *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 26, 1870.

150 Quoted in G. Zirke, *Der General. Friedrich Engels, der erste Militärtheoretiker der Arbeiterklasse* (1957), p. 31.

151 *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 11, 1870.

152 *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 11, 1870. *See also Engels's* article on "Prussian Francs-Tireurs" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 9, 1870.

153 *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 21, 1870.

154 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1: meeting of January 31, 1871, p. 112.

155 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, February 14, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 119.

156 *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 26, 1870.

157 *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 26, 1870.

158 *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 8, 1870.

159 *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 17, 1870.

160 *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 8, 1871. Marx, too, thought that there was still hope for France at this time. On February 14, 1871 he wrote to Dr Kugelmann: "Despite all appearances to the contrary, Prussia's position is anything but pleasant. If France holds out, uses the armistice to reorganise her army and finally gives the war a really revolutionary character – and the artful Bismarck is doing his best to this end – the new German Borussian (Prussian) Empire may still get a quite unexpected thrashing as its baptism" (Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 120).

161 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, August 15, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 368. On August 17, 1870 Marx wrote to Engels: "I do not agree with you about renting a house for 3½ years. In view of the collapse of France, the demand for gentlemen's dwellings in London will increase and you will have no difficulty in getting rid of your house at any time" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 370).

162 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, September 1, 1870 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 80.

163 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 7 and 12, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 379–81 and 383–4.

164 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, April 17, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 125.

165 See Engels's speeches to the General Council of the First International on March 21 and April 11, 1871 in *Documents of the First International. The General Council of the First International: Minutes* (Progress Publishers, Moscow), pp. 160–1 and 171–2. The speeches of Engels and Serraillier (March 21, 1871) were printed as an article in *The Eastern Post*, March 25, 1871. See also Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 227.

166 F. Engels to August Bebel, December 11–12, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 205.

167 Hellmut von Gerlach, *Von Rechts nach Links* (Europa-Verlag, Zürich, 1937), p. 138. Gerlach called upon Engels in London. He wrote that "Engels did not speak quite so enthusiastically about Wachs as Wachs had spoken to me about Engels".

168 F. Engels, "Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit" (September–October 1873) in *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat* (Berlin, 1894) and *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 538–55.

169 F. Engels, "Das Reichs-Militärgesetz" in *Der Volkstaat*, March 8 and 11, 1874: reprinted in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 556–64.

170 F. Engels, "Offiziöses Kriegsgeheul" in *Der Volksstaat*, April 23, 1875: reprinted in F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 570–7.

171 F. Engels's introduction to a new edition of Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806–7* (1888): reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 131–41.

172 F. Engels, *Kann Europa abrüsten?* (Nürnberg, 1893), printed in Karl Marx - Friedrich Engels, Vol. 4: *Geschichte und Politik*, pp. 236–57 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966).

173 F. Engels's introduction of 1895 to Karl Marx, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850*, quoted in J. L. Wallach, *Die Kriegslehre von Friedrich Engels* (1963), pp. 37–40.

174 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, 1878 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), Part II, Chapters 2, 3 and 4. See also Engels's memorandum on "Infantry Tactics, derived from Material Causes, 1700-1870 (Appendix, pp. 495–503).

175 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), p. 235.

176 Engels's unfinished manuscript was published by Eduard Bernstein in *Neue Zeit*, Vol. 14 (i) in 1896. It was published as a book under the title *Die Rolle der Gewalt in der Geschichte* (1964) and in English translation as *The Role of Force in History* (edited by Ernst Wangermann, 1968).

177 F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgans Forschungen* (1884: fourth edition with new introduction, 1891). English translation: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

178 G. Zirke, *Der General. Friedrich Engels, der erste Militärtheoretiker der Arbeiterklasse* (1957), p. 41.

179 V. I. Lenin, "The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" (1916) in V. I. Lenin, *Marx–Engels–Marxism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951), pp. 374–5.

180 J. L. Wallach, *Die Kriegslehre von Friedrich Engels* (1969), pp. 57–68.

8

ENGELS AND THE WORKING CLASSES 1850–1870

I. The Workers in Britain

When he lived in Manchester Engels followed the fortunes of the working class movements in Europe with close attention. He was not discouraged by the failure of the revolutions of 1848 for he believed that new risings of the workers would soon spread across the length and breadth of Europe. He was convinced that the next trade depression in England would spark off a revolution owing to unemployment and distress. He was confident that the reactionary governments on the Continent would soon be overthrown by popular insurrections, while in Russia the serfs would rise in a great peasant revolt to gain their freedom.

Engels dared not openly advocate revolution so long as he worked for Ermen and Engels. He could write political articles only if they appeared anonymously and, for the most part, abroad. He could take no active part in promoting the Chartist movement and he could not attend political demonstrations. He dared not offend Godfrey Ermen if he wished to keep his post in Manchester and so help to support Marx and his family. Engels kept his political opinions a secret from his colleagues in the office and on the Cotton Exchange and he acted with circumspection when he was in touch with prominent Chartists.

At this time the Chartist movement no longer commanded the popular support which it had enjoyed in the 1840s. It had never recovered the ground lost through the failure of its demonstration in London in 1848 but it was by no means dead and buried. Though many former Chartists now supported other reform movements, the hard core of the left wing of the movement remained faithful to the Chartist cause. Feargus O'Connor, Ernest Jones and Julian Harney continued to champion Chartist doctrines at public meetings and in journals such as the *Red Republican*, the *Friend of the People*, the *Democratic Review* and *Notes to the People*. The Chartists were not a united party, since the leadership was in dispute and there were sharp differences of opinion concerning future policy. As Engels

had foreseen in 1845 the demand for a democratic parliamentary system – embodied in the six points of the Charter – had now been extended to include various other reforms, such as the nationalisation of landed property.

Marx and Engels believed that since England was the most advanced industrial country in the world, she would be the first to overthrow the capitalist system. They expected the Chartists to be in the forefront of the next revolution and in 1850 they resumed their contacts with Ernest Jones and Julian Harney. But relations with the Chartist leaders soon became strained. As the authors of the Communist Manifesto and as former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and Engels expected a warmer welcome from the Chartists than that accorded to other exiles from the Continent such as Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Mazzini and Kossuth. Marx and Engels were also annoyed that neither Ernest Jones nor Julian Harney would accept their own brand of socialism. So although Marx and Engels considered that the Chartists would one day be the spearhead of revolution, they soon gave up any hope of using the movement as a vehicle for spreading their own doctrines in England.

When he returned to Manchester Engels detected few signs of revolutionary fervour among the Lancashire workers. The "highly bellicose and blustery mood" of the Chartists, which he had observed a few years earlier,[1] had evaporated. Julian Harney denounced the Chartists of Manchester as "the worst lot in the country". They were, he thought, "a degraded crew of slaves and sycophants".[2] Engels visited Dr John Watts, only to discover that this former socialist had become "a completely radical philistine, who is interested only in the educational movement, supports moral force, and accepts Proudhon as his lord and master".[3] Engels's old friend James Leach[4] had – according to Harney – sunk "to the contemptible character of lacquey to O'Connor".[5] Leach was now an enthusiastic supporter of the co-operative movement. After attending a Chartist meeting in Manchester, which was addressed by Ernest Jones, Engels told Marx that – in view of his presence – "Jones had to put himself forward as a red republican and supporter of the nationalisation of landed property." Engels observed that the Chartist movement had now split up into a number of hostile factions. He considered that although Ernest Jones and Julian Harney had many friends in Manchester Feargus O'Connor's hold on the Chartist movement in the city was unlikely to be shaken. Engels added that he proposed to start a Chartist discussion group to study the Communist Manifesto.[6] Soon afterwards Feargus O'Connor came to Manchester to rally his sup-

porters in the north of England. He was disappointed at his reception. Engels declared that the meeting had "turned out to be pure humbug". Only eight delegates, representing four towns, were present and they quarrelled bitterly among themselves.[7]

Early in February 1851 Engels was one of 13 people who met in Manchester to set up "a new Chartist locality". He reported that the proceedings had "passed off very seriously" and everyone present – except Engels himself – was elected to form a council to organise the Chartist movement in Manchester.[8] Engels's refusal to become a member of this council showed that he was giving up active participation in politics. He wrote to Marx: "We are now responsible to ourselves alone and when we are needed we shall be able to dictate our own terms." "How can people like us, who flee from official positions as from the plague, belong to a 'party'?"[9] Between March 31 and April 10, 1851 a Chartist convention met in London. This was a more successful meeting than the abortive conference in Manchester. A new radical programme was drawn up which was far wider in scope than the original charter. But the adoption of a programme of democratic reforms did little to revive the Chartist movement.

After 1851 Chartism received little support from the workers in Lancashire whose energies were now directed towards building up trade unions, co-operative stores, and friendly societies. Engels was losing interest in Chartist affairs in Manchester though he contributed occasionally to left-wing working class journals such as *Notes to the People* and *The People's Paper*.[10] In March 1852 Engels told Marx that since Feargus O'Connor had "definitely gone mad", Jones should make every effort to step into his shoes as leader of the Chartist movement. "From all I see," wrote Engels, "the Chartists are so completely disorganised and scattered, and at the same time so short of useful people, that they must either fall completely to pieces and degenerate into cliques, in which case they will for practical purposes become simply the tail of the financial reformers, or they must be reconstituted on an entirely new basis by a fellow who knows his business. Jones is quite on the right lines for this. . . ."[11] And since Julian Harney, his only rival, was fading into obscurity, Jones was able to assume O'Connor's mantle as leader of the Chartists.

Marx considered Ernest Jones to be an energetic leader of the workers. But Jones suffered from certain defects such as "his urge for publicity, his tactless fumbling after pretexts for agitation, and his restless desire to move faster than the times".[12] Marx approved of the "Parliament of Labour" which met in 1854. This marked the climax of Ernest Jones's campaign to raise funds for the powerloom

weavers of Preston, who were on strike. Jones summoned "a mighty delegation from all trades" to support the strikers.[13] On Monday, March 6, 1854 – when the strike at Preston was in its 29th week – between 30 and 40 members of the Parliament of Labour met in Manchester. The delegates, mainly representatives of lower paid trades, embarked upon more ambitious schemes than Ernest Jones's plan to help the powerloom weavers of Preston and the dyers of Manchester and Salford. They prepared a project to finance strikes from a national fund to be raised by weekly subscriptions from trade unionists. The Parliament of Labour also discussed a plan to set up industrial and agricultural co-operative societies.[14] Replying to an invitation to attend the conference,[15] Marx declared that "the mere assembling of such a Parliament marks a new epoch in the history of the world".[16] In fact the Parliament of Labour was a complete fiasco.

Ernest Jones realised that there was no future for Chartism as an independent political force. He therefore attempted to secure an alliance between Chartism and other reform movements. His Labour Parliament sought to link Chartism with militant trade unionism. When this failed he supported a movement in favour of Lord John Russell's Bill of 1854 to extend the franchise even though this involved co-operating with middle-class reformers who had little sympathy with the Chartist cause. In February 1858 a Chartist conference discussed the possibility of an alliance with middle-class reformers. In the following September Ernest Jones was supporting John Bright's agitation in favour of limited parliamentary reform. Marx wrote that Jones had sold himself "to the Bright coterie", "The donkey has ruined himself politically. . . ."[17] In October Ernest Jones addressed a meeting in Manchester at which he appealed for an alliance between the Chartists and the radical reformers. Engels regarded Jones's attitude as "very disgusting". "After this affair one is really almost driven to believe that the English proletarian movement in its old traditional Chartist form must perish completely before it can develop itself into a new form, capable of life." "The English proletariat is becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is, of course, to a certain extent, justified."[18] In February 1859 Marx declared that he had "broken with Ernest Jones" who was persistently "trying to reach an agreement with the radical bourgeoisie".[19] The breach, however, was not a final one. Marx and Jones continued to meet from time to time though their period of political co-operation was over.

In the 1860s Chartism finally collapsed and Marx and Engels began to realise that the English workers had no appetite for revolution. Marx complained of "the sheepish attitude of the workers in Lancashire", who failed to resort to violence when they were out of work during the Cotton Famine.[20] Shortly afterwards Engels admitted that "the revolutionary energy of the English proletariat has to all intents and purposes completely evaporated and the English proletarian is in full agreement with the rule of the bourgeoisie".[21] After the victory of the Liberals at the general election of 1868 Engels declared that the proletariat had "discredited itself terribly". "Not a single working-class candidate had a ghost of a chance but my Lord Tom Noddy or any *parvenu* snob could have the workers' votes with pleasure."[22]

The energies of the workers were now devoted to building up the trade union movement. In the 1840s Engels had welcomed strikes as the first round of the class struggle that would one day overthrow the capitalist system. But in the 1860s Engels no longer believed that strikes would necessarily pave the way for the downfall of the middle classes and the triumph of socialism. He now thought that strikes were irrelevant from the point of view of the success of a future revolution. He argued that trade unionists who went on strike were acting within the framework of the capitalist system and were using industrial action merely to secure for themselves a larger share of the wealth which capitalism created. In Engels's view this was the behaviour of a "bourgeois proletariat", not a revolutionary proletariat.

In the circumstances Marx and Engels adopted a new attitude towards the English workers. While Ernest Jones attempted to secure an alliance with middle-class radicals, Marx tried to make contact with leading trade unionists such as Applegarth, Odger, George Potter and W. R. Cremer. Marx hoped to "re-electrify the political movement of the English working class"[23] through the First International which was set up in 1864. J. G. Eccarius, a former member of the Communist League and one of Marx's faithful adherents, was secretary of the International Working Men's Association between 1867 and 1871.

While Marx and Engels were disappointed that the English workers had lost their taste for revolutionary agitation, they were gratified that in Ireland the Fenians were prepared to use violence to attain their ends. In 1867, for example, a group of Fenians freed some of their fellow conspirators in Manchester by stopping a police van in broad daylight and murdering the officer in charge. Marx believed that a Fenian victory in Ireland would lead to the overthrow of the Protestant landed interest in that country. Then,

deprived of "its strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland", the English landed aristocracy would be gravely weakened. If one of the pillars of capitalism in England were undermined in this way, the whole capitalist edifice would come crashing to the ground. While Marx was elaborating this interesting theory Engels visited Ireland in 1869 and began to work on a history of Ireland,[24] while Lizzie Burns was "in continual touch with the many Irishmen in Manchester, and was always well informed of their conspiracies".[25]

II. The Workers in France

In France, as in England, Marx and Engels could claim few converts before 1870. Engels had lived in Paris in 1846–7 but his propaganda among the German artisans working there had not been particularly successful. In 1852 the *Kölnische Zeitung* stated that some followers of Marx were meeting regularly at the Café de Danemarc in the rue St Honoré in Paris but Engels doubted the truth of this report.[26]

The only former member of the Communist League of any standing who was living in Paris in the 1850s was Dr A. G. Ewerbeck. Although he had resigned from the League in 1850 to devote himself to literary work,[27] his political views did not change. He contributed an article to a French journal in 1851 in which he denounced the German princes and forecast the triumph of the "communist democrats" in Germany.[28]

Marx and Engels had a poor opinion of Dr Ewerbeck, particularly when they had reason to suspect that he was on friendly terms with Proudhon.[29] In 1851 Ewerbeck sent Marx a dozen copies of his book on *L'Allemagne et les Allemands*, Marx declared that it was a worthless compilation,[30] while Engels refused to accept a copy since it was "not worth paying 6d postage for it".[31] Marx subsequently criticised "that dog Ewerbeck, who never puts any stamps on his letters and robs me of my last 10d".[32] Engels thought that Ewerbeck had declined into his second childhood.[33] In 1858 Marx told Engels that "the idiot Ewerbeck" was in financial difficulties; he was down to his last 1,200 francs and was thinking of coming to England.[34] Marx and Engels obviously did not regard Dr Ewerbeck as a useful disciple to represent their views in Paris.

There were few, if any, Marxists in France in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was Proudhon, whom Engels called "the Socialist of the small peasant and master craftsman",[35] who secured the support of the early French socialists. Marx and Engels had praised Proudhon for his attack on finance capitalism in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*[36] (1840) but they soon came to regard his doc-

trines as a serious obstacle to the progress of their own ideas in France. When they met in Paris, Marx failed to convert Proudhon to his own views, while a little later Proudhon declined to be associated with Marx's correspondence committee in Brussels.

When Proudhon's book entitled *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère* appeared in 1846, Engels dismissed the author's plan for the establishment of "labour markets" as "complete and utter nonsense".[37] Marx promptly attacked Proudhon's book in a pamphlet entitled *Misère de la Philosophie* (1847). Here he described Proudhon as "the petty bourgeois, tossed about constantly between capital and labour, between political economy and communism".[38] But Marx's pamphlet found few readers and did no harm to Proudhon's reputation in socialist circles in France. Proudhon dismissed Marx's attack as "a texture of coarseness, slander, debasement and plagiarism".[39]

In an interview with Louis Blanc in October 1847 Engels declared that Marx's pamphlet on Proudhon was an outline of the programme of "our party – that is to say, the most advanced wing of German democracy".[40] On the eve of the revolution of February 1848 in France, Engels complained that the exiled German artisans in Paris were "a lot of sleepyheads", who were more interested in the ideas of Proudhon and Weitling than in the doctrines of Karl Marx.[41] Shortly afterwards, in the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels again attacked Proudhon for advocating that "the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.[42] During the revolution of 1848 Proudhon advocated the establishment of a People's Bank to issue notes backed by goods (not bullion) and to grant free credit to those who produced industrial or agricultural goods.[43] Marx and Engels dismissed this "panacea for all social ills"[44] as nonsense.

There are numerous references to Proudhon in the correspondence between Marx and Engels in the 1850s and 1860s. When he returned to Manchester in 1850 Engels was dismayed to find that John Watts had "accepted Proudhon as his lord and master" and had translated some of Proudhon's writings into English. In August 1851 Marx summarised for Engels the main points in Proudhon's new book on *Idée générale de la Révolution au XIX^e^ siècle*.[45] Engels replied that "the fellow has made some progress" and that Proudhon's ideas were now more "down to earth" than they had been in the past. But Engels doubted whether Proudhon's scheme to fix the rate of interest at ½ per cent or even ¼ per cent after a successful revolution would be a success in practice.[46] Engels

thought that, on the one hand, Proudhon was making a final effort to produce a theory of socialism that would be acceptable to the middle classes while, on the other hand, he was also adopting some of Marx's ideas as his own.[47] Marx complained that Proudhon "with his customary charlatanry, has borrowed some ideas from me, as *his own* 'latest discoveries' ".[48]

Shortly afterwards, Proudhon wrote a pamphlet on Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851.[49] Marx declared that Proudhon had regarded the coup d'état "as the result of an antecedent historical development". But his account of the events of December 1851 had become "a historical *apologia* for its hero".[50] In his draft of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, written in 1857–8, Marx criticised various aspects of Proudhon's doctrines, particularly the ideas on credit which he had put forward in a pamphlet of 1850 attacking Bastiat.[51] Shortly before his death in 1865 Proudhon wrote his last (and unfinished) book on *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières* in which he looked forward to an early revival of socialism in France. And when the First International was established, Marx soon found that Proudhon's followers were strongly entrenched in the French section.

The aspect of Proudhon's teaching which had the greatest influence upon the French workers in the 1860s was what was known as "mutualism". This was Proudhon's plan to reorganise the economy in such a way that goods would be exchanged for vouchers indicating the number of hours worked to produce the goods. Production should be organised in industrial co-operative societies and not by private capitalists. With the introduction of free credit and the abolition of interest, unearned income would vanish.

Although Marx and Engels rejected Proudhon's version of socialism and did not think that his petty bourgeois followers were likely to start a revolution, they hoped that Louis Napoleon would be overthrown by a popular rising. Marx, Engels and Lassalle were confident that the great revolutionary traditions of France – the memories of the Jacobins and the Committee of Public Safety – would soon be revived. They accepted the fact that many of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie supported Louis Napoleon but they expected that the workers of Paris and the provincial towns would one day rise in revolt as they had done in 1789–92, in 1830 and in 1848. As early as the summer of 1850 Lassalle thought that there would be a revolution in France in the autumn.[52] In April 1851 Engels was hopeful that Louis Napoleon would soon be overthrown.[53] Marx and Engels were disappointed when the workers of Paris remained passive when Louis Napoleon seized power by the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851. But they believed that Louis

Napoleon's régime was so corrupt that it would not survive for long. Just as Marx and Engels expected that the next trade slump would herald the collapse of capitalism in England, so they were convinced that Napoleon III's next failure at home or abroad would see the building of barricades in Paris. In 1858 Engels was happy to report to Marx that "all the English philistines expect war, revolution and even worse in France",[54] while in the following year Marx told Engels that Blanqui's deportation from France had infuriated the Paris workers and that he did not give Napoleon III "four months' purchase for his crown and dynasty".[55] In fact the Second Empire was not overthrown by the workers of Paris but by the German troops who defeated the French at Sedan and Metz. The rising of 1871, which led to the establishment of the Commune, was directed against the new government which was set up when Napoleon III's empire collapsed during the Franco-Prussian war.

The failure of the French craftsmen and factory workers to overthrow Napoleon III was not due to any lack of grievances. The second Empire was an autocratic and reactionary régime but the middle classes – remembering the horrors of the rising of June 1848 – supported the Emperor in his efforts to suppress the proletariat. Associations of workers – including trade unions – were declared illegal and only some harmless friendly societies and journeymen's gilds were able to survive. In the first eight years of the Second Empire nearly 4,000 workers were punished for trade union activities or for supporting a strike. The factory laws afforded the workers little protection from exploitation by their employers. The compulsory identity card (*livret*) was regarded by the workers as a badge of servitude which made it easy for the authorities to watch over their comings and goings.

The most discontented of the workers found a champion in Blanqui, an advocate of revolution, who spent many years in prison. He was the leader of a secret group of conspirators – numbering 2,000 or so – who were organised in cells of ten members. Blanqui aimed at the overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment in Paris of a dictatorship run by a small band of his dedicated disciples. After a successful revolution he hoped to see the abolition of the national debt, the standing army and the judicial system, as well as the confiscation of the property of the Church – measures which would have gained the approval of Marx and Engels. Blanqui had no love for the owners of great estates but – in the hope of gaining the support of the peasants – he was prepared to allow the private ownership of smallholdings to continue.

By the 1860s the French industrial workers felt that it was safe

to come out into the open. Some of the secret societies came out into the open as workers' associations of various kinds. These included some co-operative credit banks and producers' co-operative societies. In 1868, however, the central co-operative bank – the *Société du Crédit au Travail* – went bankrupt and many workers turned to political action and militant trade unionism. In that year a federation of trade unions was established in Paris. The government of the Second Empire gradually gave way to pressure from the workers. In 1864 and again in 1868 workers' associations were tolerated, though it was still very difficult to organise strikes without clashing with the civil or military authorities. By 1870 some of the French workers were adopting a militant attitude and were giving strong support to the First International. Through this organisation Marx and Engels could hope to exercise some influence over the French labour movement. In June 1871 Jules Favre sent a circular to the chancelleries of Europe demanding the suppression of the First International on the grounds that it had been largely responsible for the establishment of the Commune in Paris.

III. The Workers in Germany

Marx and Engels had few followers in England or France in the 1850s and 1860s but they did have some disciples in Germany. Even after the triumph of the reaction in Germany in 1849 the Communist League survived for three years. In the summer of 1850 it claimed that its supporters were still organised in several towns in Germany and were successfully infiltrating into some associations of peasants and gymnastic clubs.[56] The trial at Cologne of some of its leaders in 1852 led to the collapse of the Communist League. Although political associations were suppressed and many leaders of the workers were in exile or in prison, some former members of the Communist League continued their political activities as an underground movement. These little groups tried to keep in touch with each other and occasionally their representatives came to London to report to Marx on their activities.

In 1856 it was reported that small groups of workers were meeting in secret in several towns in the Rhineland to discuss plans for the next revolution. In Düsseldorf their leader was Ferdinand Lassalle. In the Wupper valley – particularly in Solingen – the supporters of revolution hoped that one day Engels would return to champion their cause. When the merchant Gustav Levy of Düsseldorf visited Marx to give him this information, Marx warned him that the workers should avoid a premature rising which was bound to fail. They should wait until a revolution broke out in Paris,

Berlin or Vienna before taking any action themselves.[57] When writing to Engels about Levy's visit Marx observed that there was "some jealousy between Cologne and Düsseldorf as to the leading of the proletarian movement" in the Rhineland.[58]

In 1860 information reached Marx that two young lawyers named Bessel and Knorsch were organising the workers in Cologne and Düsseldorf.[59] In the early 1860s Marx was in touch with Carl Klings of Solingen, a former member of the Communist League, who was described as "the secret leader" of the revolutionary workers in the Rhineland. In 1864 two Solingen workers – on the run from the police – arrived in England with a letter of introduction from Carl Klings. They saw Marx and gave him news of the progress of Lassalle's propaganda in the Rhineland.[60] In the following year Marx asked Carl Siebel to make contact with Carl Klings in Solingen and this meeting took place in February 1865.[61] In March 1865 Carl Klings left Germany for the United States and on his way there he visited Marx in London.[62] When Carl Klings emigrated, the leadership of the workers in Solingen was taken over by Carl Klein and F. W. Moll.[63]

Marx and Engels regarded the revolutionary workers of Solingen as their staunchest supporters in the Rhineland. Curious myths about Marx and Engels circulated among these faithful disciples. Engels complained in 1870 that they believed that he had once put his communist principles into practice by paying all his father's operatives equal wages on a certain pay day. Engels declared that there was no truth in the story.[64]

Marx's cause in Germany would have had little prospect of success if its future had lain in the hands of men like Levy, Klings, or Klein. But there was a leader of the workers of quite a different calibre who continued to live in Germany at a time when many revolutionaries were in gaol or abroad. This was Ferdinand Lassalle[65] who was to exercise a profound influence upon the development of the socialist movement in Germany. Even in the 1840s the ambitious young Jew from Breslau had made a great impression upon his contemporaries by his striking personality, his powers of oratory, his qualities of leadership, and his intellectual brilliance. Heinrich Heine praised Lassalle's "eminent intellectual gifts",[66] Georg Weerth considered him to be – next to Marx – the most gifted man whom he had met,[67] while Engels declared that he had "great talents".[68]

Lassalle was in the unique position of being virtually the only champion of the workers who was living in freedom in Prussia in the 1850s. He had led the workers of Düsseldorf in 1848 and had been in touch with Marx and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische*

Zeitung. He had known Wilhelm Wolff as a student in Breslau[69] and he had met Engels at a demonstration at Worringen in 1848.[70] Soon afterwards Lassalle was charged with inciting people to armed revolt. During his trial he appealed to Engels for support in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[71] Lassalle was eventually sentenced to six months imprisonment which he served between October 1850 and April 1851. While at liberty for a brief period in 1849 he helped to raise money for Marx who was virtually penniless when he fled to Paris after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication. Freiligrath complained that Lassalle was so tactless in his fund raising that Marx's plight became the subject of common coffee house gossip. Lassalle for his part assured Marx that he had acted "with the utmost discretion".[72] Lassalle was out of action as a political agitator between the autumn of 1849 and the spring of 1851 and he took no part in the risings in Germany in support of the constitution drawn up by the National Assembly in Frankfurt. When many revolutionaries fled the country or languished in gaol after the insurrections, Lassalle was at liberty. And he had nothing to fear when the communist leaders were brought to trial since he had not been a member of the Communist League.

When Wermuth and Stieber compiled their list of communists in 1854 all that they could allege against Lassalle was that he had expressed willingness to join the Communist League and had actively assisted in the defence of the communist leaders during their recent trial at Cologne.[73] Fortunately for Lassalle the Cologne committee of the Communist League had rejected Marx's suggestion that Lassalle should be admitted to membership.[74] Writing on behalf of the committee in June 1850 P. G. Röser informed Marx that Lassalle "persists in maintaining aristocratic principles and is not so enthusiastic a supporter of the general welfare of the workers as he ought to be".[75] The committee clearly felt that Lassalle had placed himself in an equivocal position by working for the Countess of Hatzfeld. He was her business adviser and was helping her to secure her divorce. Many years later Engels declared that in those days Lassalle had been "interested only in the adultery and divorce case of Countess Hatzfeld and her husband". Lassalle had been "buried up to his ears in the filth which the conducting of that scandalous case required of him".[76] Lassalle's connections with the nobility cost him his admission to the Communist League but they brought him into touch with influential people and this probably explains why the Prussian authorities – while keeping a watchful eye on him – allowed him to remain at liberty. Lassalle realised that he was being spied upon and so he kept his meetings with the representatives of the workers in Düsseldorf as secret as possible.

When the Countess of Hatzfeld secured her divorce in 1854 she made Lassalle an annual allowance so that he could devote himself to his literary work. He wrote a romantic play in blank verse on Franz von Sickingen, a pamphlet on the Italian war of 1859, and scholarly books on philosophy and law.[77]

Marx's relations with Lassalle in the 1850s were of a somewhat devious nature. Marx wanted to turn Lassalle into a faithful disciple. After the Communist League had been dissolved, Marx and Engels viewed the prospects of their movement in Germany with some misgivings. In 1853 Marx wrote: "The decline of our friends is far from pleasant to contemplate."[78] "We must undoubtedly enlist new recruits for our party."[79] A few years later Engels declared: "Our best people disappear in this wretched time of peace and their successors are of very poor quality."[80] Lassalle – described by Marx in 1853 as tough, energetic and ambitious[81] – was by far the ablest leader of the revolutionary workers who was still at liberty and still living in Germany. Marx told Engels in July 1853 that Lassalle was his only associate in Germany who was able to send letters to London.[82]

Marx realised that it would strengthen his own position if he could have a reliable lieutenant in Germany who would take an active part in a rising against the reactionary rulers who were in power at that time. Lassalle continued his secret revolutionary propaganda among the workers in Düsseldorf at a time when he could take no public part in political life. He addressed groups of workers – as many as 60 on New Year's day 1856. He gave money to workers in need and he supported the families of men who were in prison for their political beliefs. He sometimes helped fugitives from justice to escape over the Dutch frontier.[83]

While Marx and Engels awaited the outbreak of a new revolution on the Continent, Lassalle was prepared to make himself useful in various ways. He occasionally gave or lent Marx small sums of money.[84] He gave Marx information concerning the political situation in the Rhineland and the attitude of the middle classes and the workers to Manteuffel's reactionary régime in Prussia. In 1850 he tried, though with little success, to secure subscribers in Düsseldorf for Marx's new journal (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Poltisch-ökonomische Revue*).[85] Lassalle's contacts with the aristocracy and senior officials in Prussia enabled him to give Marx confidential information which could be used in contributions to the *New York Daily Tribune*. On the outbreak of the Crimean war he sent Marx a copy of a declaration of the Prussian government very soon after it had been despatched to London and Paris.[86] In 1853 Lassalle helped to distribute Marx's pamphlet on

the trial of the Communist leaders in Cologne – a pamphlet which had been prohibited by the authorities.[87] Lassalle also secured for Marx the post of London correspondent of the *Neue Oder Zeitung*, which was edited by his cousin Dr. M. Friedländer.[88] Marx and Lassalle were in correspondence throughout the 1850s. Marx used to consult Engels before replying to Lassalle's letters so that although Engels and Lassalle were not in direct correspondence for much of the time, Engels was kept in touch with Lassalle's views and activities.

Although the correspondence between Marx and Lassalle in the 1850s suggests that they were working harmoniously together at that time,[89] the correspondence between Marx and Engels tells a different story. It is clear that they regarded Lassalle as a shallow thinker, a flashy adventurer, and a dubious colleague even when they appeared to be co-operating with him. And their doubts concerning Lassalle's integrity were shared by some of Marx's followers in Germany.

In 1856 a merchant from Düsseldorf named Gustav Levy visited Marx and recited a catalogue of complaints against Lassalle. He declared that Lassalle was dishonest in financial matters and had been engaged in speculations of a highly dubious character. He alleged that Lassalle's success in the Countess of Hatzfeld's lawsuit had been achieved by "a very low intrigue". After the Countess had secured her divorce Lassalle should have severed his connections with her. Instead he drew an annual allowance of £600 from her and lived as an *homme entretenu* "without any pretext whatever". All this, in Levy's view, was conduct unbecoming of a leader of the workers. Moreover Lasselle intended to leave provincial Düsseldorf for the fleshpots of Berlin, where he hoped to move in high society and to cut a dash in the Countess of Hatzfeld's literary salon. Levy declared that Lassalle planned to desert the workers for "a middle class party".

After consulting Freiligrath, Marx gave Engels an account of his conversation with Gustav Levy. He declared that he was prejudiced in favour of Lassalle and that he distrusted gossip. All the same he had been impressed by Levy's story. There was no smoke without fire and Marx had advised Levy and the workers of Düsseldorf to keep a sharp eye on Lassalle in the future.[90] Four years elapsed before Marx told Lassalle of the charges that had been brought against him. Lassalle replied that he had no difficulty in deducing that "a certain little Levy" had been responsible for the allegations. He denied the charges and declared that Levy had tried to make mischief because the Countess of Hatzfeld had turned down his request for a loan.[91]

Engels took a less charitable view of Levy's allegations than Marx had done. When he heard about Levy's interview with Marx he wrote:

"Lassalle: One might feel sorry for the fellow because of his great talents, but the whole affair is really too aggravating. We have always had to keep a devilish sharp eye on him. He is a real Jew from the Slav frontier and he has always been ready to exploit party affairs for his private ends. Moreover it is disgusting to see how he is always trying to push his way into the world of the upper classes. He is a greasy Jew disguised under brilliantine and flashy jewels. All this simply means that we have to watch him very carefully. But if he starts doing things directly affecting the Party, no one can blame the Düsseldorf workers for hating him."

Engels agreed with the advice that Marx had given to Levy. The workers of Düsseldorf should watch their leader. As yet Lassalle had not "overstepped the mark", but if ever he did anything "openly against the Party", strong action should be taken against him.[92] A year later Engels wrote: "We know that the fellow is useless but it is difficult to find a positive reason for breaking off relations with him, especially since we have heard nothing more from the workers of Düsseldorf."[93]

Marx, however, had no intention of breaking off relations with Lassalle at this time. Lassalle had been useful in Düsseldorf and Marx hoped that he might be even more useful in Berlin. Marx admitted that Lassalle was an abler politician than any of the leaders of the democratic parties[94] but he scoffed at Lassalle's "comical vanity"[95] and sarcastically observed that Lassalle had "actually seriously begun to make a name for himself in Berlin",[96] while Jenny Marx contemptuously dismissed Lassalle as "the little Jew from Berlin".[97]

On the other hand, in his letters to Lassalle, he continued to adopt a friendly tone. When Lassalle's study of the philosophy of Heraclitus appeared, Marx wrote to Engels that it was "a flabby botched job". It might be "an enormous exhibition of scholarship" but Marx declared that it was easy for a writer like Lassalle with time to spare and money to spend "to bring together a heap of learned notes". Lassalle could get as many books as he needed sent to his home from the University library at Bonn.[98] Yet Lassalle received a letter from Marx describing the book as a "masterly" work.[99] Marx asked Engels to give him "absolution for the praise that I have had to bestow upon Heraclitus, when writing to Lassalle".[100]

Marx's equivocal attitude towards Lassalle paid handsome dividends. In 1858 Lassalle persuaded his friend and publisher

F. G. Duncker to print Marx's *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*.[101] In 1859 he performed a similar service for Engels, whose pamphlet on *Po und Rhein* was also published by Duncker.[102] In March 1859 Engels thanked Lassalle for finding a publisher for *Po und Rhein*.[103] Lassalle replied that he was pleased to hear from Engels after so many years.[104] Shortly afterwards Engels wrote to Lassalle criticising his play on Franz von Sickingen. In a letter written to both Marx and Engels the author replied to these criticisms.[105] Next Lassalle offered to ask Duncker to publish the sequel to *Po und Rhein* but Engels had already found another publisher for *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein*.[106]

In 1860 the relations between Marx and Lassalle deteriorated. In the affair of Karl Vogt – who had attacked Marx – Lassalle failed to give Marx the loyal support to which Marx felt that he was entitled.[107] Marx bitterly reproached Lassalle and now told him about the accusations made against him in 1856 by Gustav Levy. The quarrel was smoothed over and in the spring of 1861 Marx visited Lassalle in Berlin. On this occasion he was able to arrange with Dr Friedländer to become a contributor to *Die Presse*, a newspaper which was published in Vienna. He approached Friedländer directly and did not use Lassalle as an intermediary.[108] On his return to London he brought with him a "beautiful military atlas" – a present from Lassalle to Engels.[109]

When Marx and Lassalle met in Berlin they discussed a plan to establish a radical newspaper in Germany. In the previous January when Lassalle had suggested reviving the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx had argued that the project "would be a miscarriage from the beginning".[110] Engels suggested that a daily paper would run into financial difficulties and favoured a less ambitious scheme to set up a weekly journal.[111] Marx continued to have his doubts about the proposed paper since he feared that he and Engels might be blamed for Lassalle's editorial follies.[112] Lassalle offered to raise between 20,000 and 30,000 thalers to start a newspaper to be edited jointly by Marx and himself. When Marx suggested that Engels should join the editorial board, Lassalle replied: "Well, if three editors are not too many, Engels can join us – but the two of you must have only one vote between you so that I shall not be permanently in a minority."[113] Marx then said that he would have to consult Engels and Wilhelm Wolff before reaching a final decision.

On his return to London Marx decided not to collaborate with Lassalle to produce a newspaper.[114] For a time their correspondence lapsed. They drifted apart and Marx's criticism of Lassalle's *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* (1861) did not help matters.[115]

Conditions in Prussia were changing and in the New Era some of the restrictions on political activities imposed during the reaction of the 1850s were relaxed. Lassalle was now able to come out into the open as a champion of the workers. In doing so he acted independently of Marx who was offended at what he regarded a failure to act in concert with the recognised leader of the revolutionary workers.

In 1862 Lassalle attempted to secure a reconciliation with Marx. In the summer of that year he came to London to visit the industrial exhibition and he stayed at Marx's house. The discussions between Marx and Lassalle during this visit were far from amicable and showed that the gulf between them could not be bridged. The visit was not a success. Marx told Engels that his guest – "the Jewish nigger Lassalle" – was "completely deranged". Jenny Marx later recalled that Lassalle had "swept through our rooms, perorating so loudly, and gesticulating and raising his voice to such a pitch that our neighbours were scared by the terrible shouting and asked what was the matter. It was the inner struggle of the 'great' man bursting forth in shrill discords".[116]

Jenny Marx visited her pawnbroker to raise a little money to maintain appearances before a guest who was spending £1 2s a day on cabs and cigars.[117] When Marx could no longer conceal his poverty, Lassalle agreed to lend him some money – a transaction which later led to bitter recriminations.[118] Engels, who first guaranteed and later repaid the loan, stayed in Manchester when Lassalle visited Marx, although Lassalle asked him to join in their discussions.[119] When he was leaving London Lassalle again suggested that he and Marx should run a newspaper together. Marx replied that, if he were well paid, he would become Lassalle's English correspondent without, however, undertaking "any other responsibility or political partnership whatever". Marx considered that co-operation between them was now impossible since they no longer agreed upon anything in politics "except for certain remote ultimate objectives".[120] Marx told Lassalle: "You cannot march with us, and we cannot march with you."[121]

If it had been in Marx's interest to collaborate with Lassalle, in the 1850s it had also been in Lassalle's interest to work in close contact with Marx. Lassalle was an ambitious politician who was determined to make a name for himself as a leader of the German workers. This would of course be possible only when the reactionary régimes allowed the resumption of political activities. While he was waiting for his opportunity it was to his advantage if the radical and revolutionary workers believed that he was Marx's right hand man. In the Rhineland there were men who had not forgotten the

revolution of 1848. They remembered the days when Marx and Engels had thundered against their oppressors in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. They recalled Engels's dramatic descent upon Solingen and Elberfeld in 1849 and his subsequent participation in the insurrection in Baden. They regarded Marx and Engels as their foremost champions who would one day return to lead them to victory in a new revolution. So long as Marx and Engels lived in exile these workers were prepared to accept Lassalle as a leader who – at no small personal risk – continued to live in Germany. Lassalle took full advantage of this situation. He was as anxious as Marx to keep quiet about their differences. It was to their mutual advantage to make their supporters in Germany believe that there was no rift between them.

In the 1850s Marx believed that Lassalle had accepted his doctrines and he expected Lassalle to behave as a faithful disciple should behave. Marx later told Dr Kugelmann that Lassalle had "always declared himself an adherent of the party which I represent".[122] But Lassalle was not prepared to accept a subordinate *rôle* in the next revolution. For the time being it might suit him to pose as a loyal supporter of Marx but he was confident that he was Marx's intellectual equal and that he had the ability to carve out for himself a successful political career without any help from Marx or Engels. He tried to rival Marx and Engels as a scholar and as a revolutionary agitator. If Marx could achieve distinction as an economist, then Lassalle could write on the iron law of wages, on indirect taxation, and on state-aided industrial co-operative associations. If Marx were an expert in the field of Hegelian philosophy, then he could make a critical assessment of the philosophy of Heraclitus. If Engels could write a series of articles on the Peasants' War in Germany, then he could go one better and write a romantic verse drama on the career of Franz von Sickingen. And as soon as he had found a publisher for Engels's *Po und Rhein*, Lassalle promptly wrote a pamphlet himself on the Italian question in which he argued that the war between Austria and France gave Prussia a golden opportunity to unite Germany on her own terms.[123]

The inability of Marx and Lassalle to work together after 1862 was due to various circumstances. There was a clash of powerful personalities and there was rivalry for the leadership of the workers in Germany. Moreover Marx and Lassalle held different views on the tactics to be followed to establish a socialist society. Both men were dictators at heart and neither could brook opposition from the other. Engels once observed that when Marx edited the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* his "dictatorship was obvious, unquestioned,

and freely accepted by all of us".[124] Lassalle, for his part, was – according to Marx – already behaving "like a future dictator of the workers" in 1863.[125] And Lassalle once assured Bismarck that "the workers are instinctively drawn to a dictatorship".[126] No political movement can harbour two dictators at the same time.

Marx firmly believed that he was the recognised leader of the cause of revolution and he strongly opposed Lassalle's attempt to set himself up as a rival champion of the German workers. Marx believed that capitalism would one day be replaced by communist societies all over the world. Lassalle confined his political activities to Germany and showed little interest in what happened elsewhere. Marx held that existing states and national rivalries would eventually disappear while Lassalle claimed to be a patriot who hoped to see all Germans united under a single flag. Lassalle believed that once manhood suffrage had been secured, the workers would soon gain political control in Germany and then they would be able to remould the state in their own interests. Marx saw little point in reforming a state which – according to his doctrines – was doomed to extinction when bourgeois society was replaced by a communist society. Marx advocated co-operation between his followers and left wing political parties only as a temporary expedient, since his ultimate aim was to destroy the middle classes. But Lassalle was an ambitious politician who was determined to secure power and he was prepared to make alliances with middle class parties if that suited his immediate plans.

Lassalle's political career was a short one. When the constitutional conflict broke out in Prussia on the question of financing the proposed army reforms, and the parliament (*Landtag*) was dissolved, Lassalle realised that the general election would give him the opportunity that he had long been seeking to return to public life. He did not stand for election since a maker of revolutions had better things to do than to seek a seat in parliament. Instead he discussed the political crisis in two lectures which he gave in Berlin in April 1862. In the first he discussed the nature of constitutional government[127] and in the second he examined the concept of a working class.[128] His second lecture was published as a pamphlet entitled *The Workers' Programme*. Lassalle argued that the workers were a distinct "estate" in society, with interests very different from those of the bourgeoisie. He attacked the three-class voting system in Prussia, which gave the votes of 150,000 wealthy taxpayers the same weight as those of 2,700,000 workers and peasants. He argued that in the new society which had developed after the revolution of 1848, the state would be dominated by the workers. Marx dismissed *The Workers' Programme* as

"a miserable vulgarisation of the Communist Manifesto and other doctrines that we have preached often enough".[129] Many years later, however, Eduard Bernstein declared that *The Workers' Programme* was "one of the best, if not the best, of Lassalle's speeches". It was "a splendid introduction to the world of socialist thought".[130] The police in Berlin suppressed the pamphlet and charged Lassalle with "inciting the non-possessing classes to hatred and contempt of the possessing classes". Lassalle was found guilty and sent to prison for four months, but on appeal, the sentence was reduced to a fine.

In the autumn of 1862 an association of workers from Leipzig in Saxony sent a deputation to Berlin to try to make common cause with the Progressive Party which was resisting the introduction of the army reforms in Prussia. When the Progressive Party rejected these advances Dr Otto Dammer – acting on behalf of the Leipzig workers' central committee – wrote to Lassalle, praising his "Workers' Programme", and asking him for advice on the future policy of the workers in Saxony, particularly with regard to the establishment of industrial co-operative associations.[131] Lassalle replied in a pamphlet – *An Open Letter of Reply* – which summarised the programme for which he was to campaign during the next two years. He proposed that the workers should demand the establishment of state-aided industrial and retail co-operative associations which would gradually bring capitalism under the workers' control. He rejected Schulze-Delitzsch's plan to set up industrial co-operatives financed by the workers themselves for he believed that the earnings of the workers were too low to make this possible. Earnings were low because wages never rose above the level necessary to provide a bare subsistence for the worker and to maintain the labour force in the next generation. This was the so-called "iron law of wages".

Next the workers should demand electoral reform – the introduction of direct manhood suffrage in all German parliaments. Since the workers were the largest class in the country, any parliament elected by manhood suffrage would have a majority of workers' representatives. Lassalle advised the German workers to form an association, on the lines of the Anti-Corn Law League in England, to agitate in favour of electoral reform.[132] Modesty was never one of Lassalle's attributes and in March 1863 – in a letter to Gustav Levy and the workers of Düsseldorf – he actually compared the publication of his *Open Letter of Reply* to Luther's action in posting his 95 theses on the church door at Wittenberg.[133] In fact Lassalle's pamphlet heralded no new Reformation in Germany. But since his enemies vigorously criticised it in the press,

Lassalle's *Open Letter of Reply* brought its author much publicity. Lassalle's movement was now recognised as a new force in German politics with which the monarchy, the conservatives and the progressives would have to reckon.

Lassalle realised that he had no chance of pursuing a successful political career in Berlin. The authorities regarded him as a dangerous agitator and the police kept a close watch upon his movements. Moreover the city was dominated politically by the Progressive Party and many of the workers were supporters of Schulz-Delitzsch. So Lassalle left for Leipzig where in April 1863 he replied to the numerous attacks which had been made upon his *Open Letter of Reply*.[134] His views on the "iron law of wages", for example, had been sharply criticised by orthodox economists. In May 1863 Lassalle scored a personal triumph when he delivered two speeches at Frankfurt am Main reiterating his view that nearly 96 per cent of the population in Prussia belonged to families in which the head of the household earned less than thirty shillings a week. Since it was impossible to save on such wages, Lassalle urged the state to grant a subsidy of £1,500,000 to encourage the formation of industrial co-operative associations. This would be an insignificant outlay compared with the sums spent on a single military campaign.[135]

A few days later, on May 23, 1863, an association called the General German Workers' Union was established in Leipzig by delegates from eleven towns, mainly in Saxony and the Rhineland.[136] It demanded "the establishment of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by peaceful and legal means, particularly by winning over public opinion".[137] The draft of a proposed German electoral law, drawn up by Lassalle, was subsequently submitted to Bismarck.[138] Lassalle became President of the General German Workers' Union. He was elected for five years and he could not be removed from office during that time. He was granted virtually dictatorial powers. He believed that "the workers instinctively prefer a dictatorship if they are convinced that it will be exercised in their interests".[139] When it was founded, Lassalle's "empire" – as he called it in a letter to Bismarck[140] – had only about 600 members and, despite the feverish efforts of its secretary Julius Vahlteich, it still had fewer than 1,000 supporters three months later.

In June 1863 a conference of liberal working men's clubs was held at Frankfurt am Main and the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies[141] was established. This was a challenge to Lassalle's pretensions to be regarded as the sole leader of the German workers. The Frankfurt congress was a larger and more representative gathering than Lassalle's recent conference in Leipzig.

At Frankfurt 54 workers' associations from 48 cities were represented by 110 delegates. August Bebel – a future leader of the German Social Democrat Party – was one of the delegates from Leipzig. The conference supported the political aspirations of the middle class progressives and concluded its deliberations by giving three cheers for Schulze-Delitzsch, "the father of the German working-class movement".[142] Lassalle could draw little comfort from these proceedings.

The establishment of the General German Workers' Union was a serious setback for Marx and Engels. For years they had planned to lead a revolutionary socialist movement among the German workers whenever the opportunity should arise. Now they found that Lassalle, whom they had regarded as their supporter, was the head of a workers' organisation which was neither revolutionary nor socialist in character. The Communist League, which Marx and Engels had hoped to revive, had had a democratic constitution but the General German Workers Union was an authoritarian organisation with Lassalle as its dictator. The Communist Manifesto had warned the ruling classes to "tremble at a communist revolution" but no one was likely to tremble at Lassalle's association which declared that it would work by "peaceful and legal means" to secure its objective. The "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" of 1848 had called for the establishment of a republic, the expropriation of royal property, the nationalisation of transport, and the establishment of national workshops. Lassalle in 1863 demanded only direct universal manhood suffrage and state aid for industrial co-operative associations.

It was obvious that Marx and Engels could not support the General German Workers Union. But they could not denounce it either. However much they disliked Lassalle's movement, they dared not attack it openly. A number of their faithful followers assumed that Lassalle's agitation had the blessing of their leaders in London and Manchester. Marx and Engels hesitated to disillusion them for, if they did so, they might split the workers' movement in Germany even more than it was already split between the followers of Lassalle and Schulze-Delitzsch. Marx and Engels normally never hesitated to pillory any black sheep in the socialist fold who departed from the principles laid down by Marx. But in 1863–4 they did not publicly denounce Lassalle. Moreover in October 1864 in the inaugural address of the Working Men's International Association Marx wrote that "co-operative Labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently to be fostered by national means". This was uncommonly like Lassalle's proposed state-aided industrial co-operative societies.

The nature of Marx's dilemma may be judged from the equivocal attitude which he adopted towards the revolutionary workers of Solingen, who were his staunchest supporters in the Rhineland. In June 1864 Marx told Engels that he had been visited by two workers from Solingen, who had "assumed as a matter of course that we have the closest ties with Itzig (Lassalle)". "Naturally I gave these chaps no indication of our real relations – or rather lack of relations – with Itzig (Lassalle)."[143] Shortly afterwards Marx declared that while he and Engels considered that it was unfortunately necessary – from motives of political expediency – to refrain from openly attacking Lassalle, they would of course refuse to be identified in any way with Lassalle's movement.[144]

But Lassalle was also in a dilemma. As Wilhelm Liebknecht observed "he forgot that he lived under a strong despotic government, which could crush him as soon as he gave the least offence". "In order not to have his movement stopped, he had to make concessions to the powers that be."[145] His concession took the form of a series of conversations with Bismarck.[146] The talks were initiated by Bismarck in May 1863[147] and it was intended that they should be confidential. It was not until 1878 that Bismarck gave an account of the conversations to the Reichstag and it was not until 1927 that the collapse of an old cupboard in a government office in Berlin brought to light the letters exchanged between Bismarck and Lassalle. But rumours about the talks soon began to circulate in Germany. Bismarck and Lassalle – however much they might have differed on other matters – were agreed in opposing the aims of the Progressive Party – Bismarck because it tried to hold up the army reforms in Prussia, Lassalle because it was the party of the middle classes which he intended to destroy. "Lassalle," Engels explained, "demanded that, in the fight between royalty and the bourgeoisie the workers should range themselves on the side of royalty".[148]

In the summer of 1864 Lassalle, in a speech to a small gathering of his followers, declared that the workers must regard the bourgeoisie as the enemy who must be fought tooth and nail. The workers should not shrink from seeking any ally in order to triumph in their struggle against the middle classes. If necessary they should support the King of Prussia and Bismarck if this would bring victory nearer. Wilhelm Liebknecht, who was present, at once denounced Lassalle for giving such advice to the workers. Reporting the incident to Marx he declared that Lassalle was "playing so complicated a game that he would never find a way out of the maze".[149]

Lassalle hoped to strike a bargain with Bismarck. He would

agree to German unification under Prussian leadership (by supporting the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein, for example) if Bismarck would grant manhood suffrage. Bismarck made vague promises but gave Lassalle no firm undertakings. Bismarck believed that at some time in the future he might need the support of the workers in his struggle with the Progressive Party and he recognised the advantage of making contact with one of the ablest of their leaders.

Marx and Engels denounced Lassalle's discussions with Bismarck as a shameful betrayal of the workers. Soon after Lassalle's death, Engels wrote:

> "It is gradually becoming clear that the worthy Lassalle was no more than a common rascal. We have always judged people by their deeds and not by their words and I see no reason why we should make an exception in favour of the late lamented Itzig (Lassalle). He may have been able to justify his actions to himself in a plausible fashion because he was so vain, but viewed impartially his behaviour was plain roguery and a betrayal of the whole working class movement to the Prussians. And what is worse the silly chump failed to get a quid pro quo from Bismarck. He did not get any definite promise and certainly no firm guarantee from Bismarck."[150]

The climax of Lassalle's career came in May 1864 when he toured the Rhineland and aroused great enthusiasm at mass rallies of workers by his powerful speeches. During his triumphal progress, he basked happily in the sunshine of the workers' applause. But at the height of his campaign some observers began to detect a decline in his powers. He was making reckless claims and he was greatly exaggerating his achievements.

Engels was quick to appreciate the significance of Lassalle's sudden rise to fame as a popular agitator. He warned Marx that

> "Lassalle's agitation and the rumpus that it has caused in Germany is, after all, beginning to be awkward for us. It is high time that you finished your book if only to secure new disciples – of a different character from Lassalle – in the fight against the middle classes. From one point of view it is a good thing that we have now again secured a foothold in Germany, but it is most unfortunate that Itzig (Lassalle) should have provided us with this foothold."[151]

Lassalle's career came to a dramatic end in August 1864. He fell in love with Helene von Dönniges and was challenged to a duel by Count Racowitza, who was his rival for the lady's hand. Lassalle was mortally wounded. Marx was shocked at the news of Lassalle's death. He wrote to Engels that Lassalle had been

"one of the old guard and the enemy of our enemies. . . . It has all happened so quickly that it is hard to believe that this noisy, tumultuous, and pushing chap is now as dead as a doornail and must for ever keep his trap shut. . . . I am sorry that – through no fault of mine – our relations have been strained in recent years. But I am glad that I resisted pressure from many quarters to attack Lassalle in his 'year of triumph'."[152]

Engels was much less generous in his comments. He declared that Lassalle had been

"part Jew, part cavalier, part clown, and part sentimentalist. (Yet whatever he) may have been as a person, a writer, and a scholar, there can be no doubt that, as a politician, he was one of the most important fellows in Germany. Just now he was being a very uncertain friend and in the future he would almost certainly have been our enemy. But it comes as a shock when one realises how Germany ruins all her political extremists who have some sort of ability. What rejoicings there will be in the ranks of the factory owners and those dirty dogs of the Progressive Party. Lassalle was the only chap in Germany whom they really feared."[153]

In his will Lassalle nominated Bernhard Becker as the new President of the General German Workers' Union. Becker was utterly incompetent and he was replaced first by C. W. Tölcke and then by August Perl. In 1867 when J. B. von Schweitzer,[154] the editor of the *Social-Demokrat*, was elected President, the General German Workers' Union again had a strong hand at the helm. Schweitzer, like Lassalle, was bitterly opposed to the bourgeois Progressive Party and supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under Prussian leadership. The quarrels over the leadership of the General German Workers' Union after Lassalle's death led Marx and Engels to hope that they could now establish their authority over the workers' movement in Germany. But Engels was far too optimistic when he wrote at the end of 1865 that "Lassalleanism in its official form will soon expire."[155] Marx and Engels hoped that their friend Liebknecht[156] would be able to convert the German workers to the Marxist form of socialism.

There was no doubt that Liebknecht was devoted to the socialist cause. As a youth he had organised radical German-speaking workers in Switzerland in 1847[157] and he had fought against the Prussians in Baden in 1849. Soon afterwards he had met Engels in Switzerland. Liebknecht was expelled from Switzerland and sought refuge in England where he joined the Communist League. He met Marx at a summer fête organised by the German Workers' Educational Society and he soon became a close friend of Marx and his family.[158] Marx's children called him "Library". Liebknecht

attended a course of popular lectures given by Marx to members of the German Workers' Educational Society. In these lectures – and in private conversations over a number of years – Marx took great pains to give his young disciple a sound training in Marxist economics. Marx and Engels regarded Liebknecht as a thoroughly sound – if not very bright – pupil. Liebknecht returned to Germany in 1862 and settled in Berlin. In 1864, when Lassalle was at the height of his fame, Engels wrote to Marx: "It is indeed of the greatest importance to us that Liebknecht is now in Berlin. At the right moment we can spring a surprise upon Itzig (Lassalle) by letting the workers know, in confidence, just what we really think about him."[159]

Liebknecht was a member of the Berlin branch of the General German Workers' Union and achieved some success in recruiting new members. Although the ostensible aim of the Union was simply to secure electoral reform, Liebknecht was more concerned to pass on to the workers in Berlin the lessons that he had learned from Marx in London. He took every opportunity to impress upon his audiences the achievements of the Communist League and the doctrines of the Communist Manifesto. When Wilhelm Wolff died, Liebknecht delivered a eulogy of this champion of the Silesian workers and trusted friend of Marx and Engels. In the summer of 1864 Liebknecht told Marx that he had been asked by Lassalle to edit a newspaper which would support the aims of the General German Workers' Union. Liebknecht had offered to accept the post if Marx were associated with the venture. But in the end the plan fell through.[160] Lassalle then entrusted Schweitzer with the task of establishing a newspaper. After Lassalle's death, Schweitzer founded the *Social-Demokrat* and Liebknecht became an associate of the editorial board. Engels declared that it was a great step forward to have a paper in Germany in which he and Marx could express their views.[161]

The co-operation between Marx and Schweitzer was shortlived because Schweitzer was prepared to support Bismarck in his struggle against the Progressive Party. In February 1865 Marx wrote to Dr Kugelmann that the intrigues of the Countess of Hatzfeld had led to "the complete compromising of the workers' party". The Countess had tried to place the General German Workers' Union and the *Social-Demokrat* at Bismarck's disposal. Schweitzer's articles became "more and more Bismarckian". "I have found it necessary to sever all connection with the *Social-Demokrat* in a public declaration by myself and Engels."[162] Jenny Marx observed in her memoirs that Liebknecht had been duped by Schweitzer and the Countess.[163]

Shortly afterwards, in July 1865, Liebknecht was expelled from Prussia and had to leave Berlin.[164] He had come to realise – as Lassalle had realised a few years before – that the Prussian capital was no base from which to direct a revolutionary workers' movement. He was missed by his supporters in Berlin. Three of them wrote to Marx: "We lack intellectual leadership here since the departure of Liebknecht, who understood splendidly how to arouse the revolutionary spirit."[165] Marx forwarded the letter to Engels who doubted whether the writers were really workers.[166]

The breach with Schweitzer and the expulsion of Liebknecht from Berlin were grave setbacks to the hopes that Marx and Engels had entertained that they might again play an effective *rôle* in German politics. Marx now dismissed the workers' movement in Germany as "a complete fiasco"[167] and turned his attention to the Working Men's International Association which had been established in London in 1864. In the same letter in which he told Dr Kugelmann that his collaboration with Schweitzer had ended, he declared: "I prefer a hundred times over my agitation here through the International Association", which was making progress in England, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy.[168]

Liebknecht was not unduly discouraged by his failure in Berlin or by his chronic financial difficulties. Following Lassalle's example he moved to Leipzig where he joined the democratic Union of German Workers and Education Societies and preached Marxist doctrines to the Saxon workers. Engels gave him financial assistance from time to time. Liebknecht did not, at this stage of his career, try to found a new workers' party but instead he tried to spread the gospel of Marxist socialism among members of both the General German Workers' Union and the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies. And – at Marx's urgent request – he also tried to recruit members for the First International. By 1866 he had achieved some success in Saxony.[169] In the following year, however, the General Council of the First International reported that Germany was "in an abnormal state, not favourable to the development of our Association".[170]

Meanwhile Liebknecht had strengthened his position by securing August Bebel as an ally.[171] Bebel had been a follower of Schulze-Delitzsch and a leading member of the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies. His conversion to Marxist socialism was a triumph for Liebknecht. For many years Liebknecht and Bebel worked together as Germany's two leading socialists. One of their first essays in collaboration was the founding of the Saxon People's Party which was affiliated to the German People's Party.[172] Liebknecht's cause was also strengthened by internal dissensions

within Schweitzer's party. In 1867 some members of the General German Workers' Union – incited and financed by the Countess of Hatzfeld – rejected Schweitzer's leadership and set up an independent organisation of their own. This splinter-group – known as the "female line" of the Lassallean movement – was called "Lassalle's General German Workers' Union". The two factions came together again in June 1869 but both lost some of their members in the process of reunification.[173]

In 1868, after an interval of three years, Schweitzer (now President of the General German Workers' Union and a member of the North German Reichstag) tried to re-establish good relations with Marx. He reviewed *Das Kapital* favourably in the *Social-Demokrat*. He met Liebknecht in the hope of resolving their differences. They agreed that their organisations should, at their forthcoming conference, both proclaim their support of the First International. Schweitzer invited Marx to attend the next conference of the General German Workers' Union but Marx could not do so owing to pressure of work in connection with a forthcoming conference of the First International.[174] At their conferences in 1868 the General German Workers' Union and the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies pledged their support to the First International. For the Union of German Workers and Education Societies this marked the end of its links with Schulze-Delitzsch and the Progressive Party. But some of the north German societies which belonged to the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies gave up their affiliation rather than support the First International. The brief honeymoon between Marx and Schweitzer in 1868 soon came to an end. Schweitzer's association was never actually affiliated to the First International and in 1870 Marx denounced the General German Workers' Union as an "artificial sectarian organisation" which was "opposed to the historical and spontaneous organisation of the working class". Schweitzer was attacked for his "firm resolution to preserve at all costs his autocratic power".[175]

Meanwhile Liebknecht and Bebel were making every effort to recruit more members for the First International. At the end of 1868 Liebknecht claimed that his "new societies" had a membership of 110,000.[176] But in this connection the activities of other followers of Marx and Engels – particularly Johann Philipp Becker – should not be forgotten. Becker was the editor of *Der Vorbote* which was the first German organ of the International Working Men's Association.[177]

In their correspondence Marx, Engels and Liebknecht discussed the changes that had occurred in Germany after Prussia's victories

over Denmark and Austria. Marx and Engels considered that Prussia's newly won domination over Germany was a disaster but that the situation had certain compensations. They argued that it would now be possible to organise the workers on a national, instead of a local, basis and that the next revolution would take place in a united – not a divided – Germany.[178] Moreover representatives of the workers could now be returned to parliament since (although in Prussia the three-class voting system remained) the franchise had been extended in the new North German Federation to men over the age of 25. Liebknecht and Bebel were elected to the North German Reichstag in 1867. In October of that year Marx reported to the Council of the First International that "Citizen Liebknecht had been returned to the North German Parliament by the working men of Saxony. He was the only member that had dared to attack Bismarck's war policy". Shortly afterwards he read to the Council some extracts from the proceedings of the North German Reichstag. "Mr Liebknecht, a member of the Association, had delivered a speech in favour of the abolition of standing armies and the introduction of popular armaments, and subjecting Bismarck's conduct of the Luxemburg affair to a severe criticism."[179]

Liebknecht was pessimistic concerning the future prospects of the workers' movement in Germany. He had little faith in parliamentary government and he used his membership of the Reichstag simply as a vehicle for socialist propaganda. He wrote a pamphlet in which he argued that a socialist deputy was in constant danger of "sacrificing his principles" and should make a dignified exit from the chamber after making his protest. Liebknecht added that socialism would eventually be established "in the streets and on the field of battle" and not by debates in parliament.[180] Moreover Liebknecht feared that Prussia's military strength was now so great that a popular rising would be ruthlessly suppressed.[181] In October 1867 he attacked the General German Workers' Union for supporting what Schweitzer had called "the powerful Prussian heart of our German Fatherland".[182]

Marx and Engels thought that Liebknecht's judgment was becoming clouded by his detestation of Prussia. Liebknecht regarded any enemy of Prussia as a potential ally, without appreciating that the real enemy was the capitalist middle class which was just as influential in Austria or south Germany as in Prussia. Engels criticised Liebknecht for becoming infected with narrow-minded south German particularism. He wrote to Marx: "We cannot allow ourselves to be mixed up with Austrians, Guelfs and Federalists."[183]

Marx and Engels were opposed to any co-operation between

Liebknecht and Bebel on the one hand and the two People's Parties on the other.[184] They considered that a socialist movement to be successful must draw its support from the factory workers in the great urban centres of industry. But Liebknecht drew his support largely from the domestic textile workers and smallholders of Germany south of the River Main. Schweitzer, however, was gaining recruits for his General German Workers' Union in the manufacturing districts of the Rhineland[185] (where he was ably assisted by the veteran communist P. G. Röser) and he was also fostering the development of trade unions.[186] Marx and Engels feared that Liebknecht's socialist movement was developing on the wrong lines.

Liebknecht replied that, as a socialist, he was bound to oppose Bismarck who stood for militarism, autocracy, and the domination of Germany by Prussia. He was determined to attack anyone – Schweitzer included – who supported Bismarck. He was equally determined to work with anyone who was opposed to Bismarck. In 1867 Liebknecht declared, in a letter to Engels, that he could not do without the support of the petty traders and craftsmen who were strongly opposed to Bismarck, though he admitted that "politics, like misery, gives you strange bedfellows".[187]

In 1867 Liebknecht supported the demand of the People's Party for the establishment of popular militias in Germany on the Swiss model, so as to check Prussian militarism. Engels had already – in 1865 – criticised the militia system in a pamphlet addressed to the German workers[188] and now (in 1868) he wrote to Marx that, in the American civil war, the existence of "militias on both sides", had led to "terrible sacrifices of men and money".[189]

In 1870 in his preface to a new edition of his collected articles on the Peasant War in Germany,[190] Engels attacked an alliance between the German socialist movement and any middle class party. Liebknecht replied: "You do not appreciate that I have to cope with things as they are. . . . I could have plunged into the river and swum with the current or I could have stood on the bank and spouted my views on philosophy." Liebknecht claimed that he had always acted in the best interests of the German socialist movement. He had used other parties to his own advantage and he had never allowed other parties to make use of him.[191]

For five years Liebknecht and Bebel had led the Marxist wing of the workers' movement in Germany and had endeavoured to secure support from members of other organisations such as the General German Workers' Union, the German and the Saxon People's Parties, and the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies. In 1869 they were ready to launch a socialist party of

their own. When Wilhelm Bracke,[192] the treasurer of the General German Workers' Union, left this party to join Liebknecht and Bebel he brought with him some influential followers of Schweitzer such as S. Spier of Wolfenbüttel and T. York, August Perl and A. Geib of Hamburg.

The offensive mounted against Schweitzer's party by Liebknecht and Bebel was aided by the action of the police in Leipzig in closing down the headquarters of the General German Workers' Union in September 1868. Shortly afterwards Schweitzer was imprisoned for some weeks. In the summer of 1869 leading members of the General German Workers' Union and the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies united to denounce Schweitzer as a traitor to the workers' cause. They called for the establishment of a new "social-democratic" party of the workers. This party was joined not only by the clubs affiliated to the Union of Workers and Educational Societies but also by some Marxist associations affiliated to the First International, some members of the German (and of the Saxon) People's Party and some defectors from the General German Workers' Union who were disgusted with Schweitzer's dictatorial leadership.[193] The Union of German Workers and Educational Societies – some 10,000 members organised in over 100 groups – was dissolved and was absorbed into the new German Social Democrat Party, which was established at a conference held at Eisenach in 1869.

The programme of the new socialist party led by Liebknecht, Bebel and Bracke reflected the divergent aims and interests of its various members.[194] The demand for state aid to establish industrial co-operative associations was a legacy of Lassalle's agitation in 1863–4. The demand that citizens' militias should replace standing armies had already been made by the People's Parties. The demand for democratic reforms – freedom of the press, free education, an independent judiciary – reflected the views of the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies. The influence of Marx and Engels was seen in the link between the new party and the First International. The German Social Democrat Party stated that it was "a branch of the International Working Men's Association." Demands for the abolition of all privileges of class, property, birth and religion, the separation of Church and State, and the removal of all schools from Church control echoed similar demands by the Communist League in 1848.

Marx and Engels regarded the new socialist party in Germany with some misgivings. Its programme made too many concessions to the Lassalleans and to the liberal supporters of the two People's Parties and the Union of German Workers and Educational

Societies. Nothing was said in the party programme about bringing capitalism under public control by nationalising the means of production. Marx and Engels regarded this as an extraordinary omission. The First International had adopted the principle of nationalisation in 1868 and of state ownership of land in 1869. But Liebknecht feared that he would lose the support of the People's Party – which had many peasants and smallholders among its members – if he agreed to the nationalisation of land. He declared that he "wanted to avoid premature trouble".[195] But before long Liebknecht and Bebel had to accept the principle of the nationalisation of the land even though it cost them the support of the petty bourgeoisie in south Germany. They also had to face the fact that the General German Workers' Union had not only survived the defection of Bracke and his friends but continued to enjoy considerable support from workers and trade unionists, particularly in the industrial centres of the Rhineland. When Schweitzer resigned as President in 1871 and was succeeded by Wilhelm Hasenclever, the membership of the General German Workers' Union – and the subscribers to its journal – was probably double that of the new socialist party led by Liebnecht and Bebel.

Thus on the eve of German unification the socialist movement was split into two rival factions, known as the "Eisenachers" and the "Lassalleans". This was a situation that Marx and Engels had long tried to avoid. A few years later Engels complained to Bebel that the "Lassallean turncoats" who came over to the Social Democrat Party from the General German Workers Union "always bring the germs of their false tendencies into the party with them". He argued that the Lassallean leaders who joined Bebel and Liebknecht were "bound by their previous public utterances – if not by their previous views – and now must prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that, on the contrary, the Social Democrat Workers' Party preaches *true* Lassalleanism".[196] Despite the split in the socialist ranks, the socialist movement was already powerful enough in Germany to cause Bismarck serious concern. In 1871 he told a colleague that "socialist theories and assumptions are already so widespread among the masses, that any attempt to ignore them . . . would be in vain". Bismarck feared that the socialists would soon threaten "the existing order of state and society".[197]

NOTES

1 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971), p. 260.

2 G. Julian Harney to F. Engels, December 16, 1850 in F. G. and R. M. Black (eds.), *The Harney Papers* (1969), p. 258.

3 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 17, 1850 and February 5, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 122 and pp. 142–3.

4 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971), pp. 151–2.

5 G. Julian Harney to F. Engels, December 16, 1850 in F. G. and R. M. Black (eds.), *The Harney Papers* (1969), p. 258.

6 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 8, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 128–30: English translation in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952), p. 232. See also the *Northern Star*, January 11, 1851.

7 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 29, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 135–6: English translation in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952), pp. 232–3.

8 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 12, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 147–8. A little later (February 25, 1851) Engels referred to this group as "a new local Chartist clique" (*ibid.*, p. 156).

9 F. Engels to K. Marx, February 13, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 148.

10 There are several references to articles contributed by Engels to the *Notes to the People* in the Marx–Engels correspondence. See *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 309, 321, 322, and 330. Engels contributed three articles to the *Notes to the People* (February 21, March 27 and April 10, 1852) on Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 1851.

11 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 18, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 330.

12 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1855 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 80–1.

13 *People's Paper*, November 12, 1853 reprinted in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952), pp. 201–8.

14 *People's Paper*, April 1, 1854 in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952), pp. 264–73. For the Parliament of Labour see *People's Paper*, March 11, 18, and 25, 1854 and *Manchester Guardian*, November 23, 1853, March 8 and 11, 1854. A speaker at the Labour Parliament pointed out "none of the high-paid trades were directly represented in the parliament" (*Manchester Guardian*, March 11, 1854).

15 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 9, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 7–8.

16 Karl Marx's letter to the Labour Parliament appeared in the *People's Paper* March 9, 1854, in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1954), pp. 274–5, and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954), pp. 40–2. Marx was unable to attend the Parliament of Labour in Manchester. For the Labour Parliament of 1854 see A. E. Musson, *The Congress of 1868. The Origin and Establishment of the Trades Union Congress* (Trades Union Congress centenary edition, 1968), p. 8.

17 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 21, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 338.

18 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 7, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 340: English translation in J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist* (1952), p. 242.

19 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, February 1, 1859 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans*, 1848–95 (1963), pp. 60–1.
20 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 17, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 111.
21 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 8, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 135. See also Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953), p. 493.
22 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 18, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 126.
23 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 1, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 263.
24 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 24, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 231.
25 Paul Lafargue in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 88. See also R. W. Fox, *Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Irish Revolution* (1932).
26 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 1, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 335.
27 Address of the Central Executive Committee to the Communist League (June 1850) in Dr Wermuth and Dr Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: reprinted in one volume, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 264.
28 *Le Republicain populaire et sociale*, November 15, 1851: see Dr Wermuth and Dr Stieber, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 45.
29 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 243.
30 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 23, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 323.
31 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 2, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 328.
32 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 24, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 340.
33 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 25, 1852 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 341.
34 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 24, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 348.
35 F. Engels's preface of 1891 to Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (first edition, 1871: new edition issued by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).
36 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What is Property?* (first edition, 1840; second edition, 1848) (English translation by B. R. Tucker, two volumes, 1898–1902).
37 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 18, 1846 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 41.
38 Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (translated by H. Quelch), p. 198.
39 See Samuel Bernstein, *The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France* (1965), p. 206.
40 F. Engels to Karl Marx, October 25–6, 1847 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 79–80.
41 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 14, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 79–80.
42 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848 (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 113–14.

43 See C. A. Dana, *Proudhon and his 'Bank of the People'* (1896).
44 F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (Chicago, 1905), p. 26.
45 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 8, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 228–34.
46 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 10 and 11, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 236–8.
47 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 21, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 242–3.
48 Karl Marx to Adolph Cluss, December 7, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 52.
49 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *La révolution sociale de montrée par le coup d'état* du 2 Decembre 1852 (1852).
50 Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (first edition 1852; second edition 1869: new edition published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).
51 Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf*, 1857–8) (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1953), pp. 727–29.
52 Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920), p. 83.
53 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 3, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 183.
54 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 14, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 316.
55 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 22, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 381.
56 Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: new edition in one volume, 1969), Vol. 2, pp. 260–5.
57 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 5, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 120–1.
58 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 8, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 134.
59 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, September 3, 1860 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 314 and Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 15, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 506.
60 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 3 and November 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 174–5 and p. 196.
61 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 3, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 223.
62 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 18, 1865 (postscript) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 258. Carl Klings had hoped to meet Engels in Manchester on his way to Liverpool but he failed to do so since he had been given the wrong address in Dover Street.
63 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 3, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 174–5. See also Carl Klein and F. W. Moll to F. Engels, February 28, 1870 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 32, p. 460 and Marx–Engels archives, L.2782 (Amsterdam).
64 F. Engels to Carl Klein and F. W. Moll, March 10, 1871 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33, pp. 188–9; Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 10, 1869 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 13, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 257 and p. 291.
65 For Lassalle see E. Czóbel and P. Hajdu, "Die Lassalle-Literatur seit dem Weltkrieg" in *Marx-Engels Archiv* (ed. D. Rjazanov), Vol. 1 (1925), pp. 530–7; G. Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1877, second

edition, 1888); W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Lassalle* (1888); Eduard Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1891, new edition, 1919: English translation, 1893); Seillière, *Études sur Lassalle* (1897); B. Harms, *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die Sozialdemokratie* (1919); Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920); A. Schirokauer, *Lassalle. The Power of Illusion and the Illusion of Power* (1931); D. J. Footman, *The Primrose Path. A Life of Ferdinand Lassalle* (1946); H. Hümmler, *Opposition gegen Lassalle* (1963); H. J. Friederici, "Zur Einschätzung Lassalles und des Lassalleanismus in der bürgerlichen und rechtssozialdemokratischen Geschichtsschreibung" in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 2, 1960, pp. 294–313; A. K. Worobjowa, "Aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland und des Kampfes von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels gegen Lassalle und das Lassalleanertum 1862–1864" in *Aus der Geschichte des Kampfes von Marx und Engels für die proletarische Partei* (1961), pp. 235–346; C. Schmid, "Ferdinand Lassalle und die Politisierung der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 3, 1963, pp. 5–20; T. Ramm, "Lassalle und Marx" in *Marxismusstudien*, Vol. 3, pp. 185–221; Shlomo Na'aman, "Lassalle-Demokratie und Sozialdemokratie" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 3, 1963, pp. 21–80. For the correspondence between Marx, Engels and Lassalle see Gustav Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922: Vol. 3 of *Ferdinand Lassalle: Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*). A new edition of the Marx–Lassalle correspondence was published in 1967 by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

66 Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920), p. 42.

67 Georg Weerth to his mother, April 11, 1849 in Georg Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 (1857), p. 303.

68 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 7, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 122.

69 Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920), p. 34.

70 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (second edition, 1934), Vol. 1, p. 315.

71 F. Lassalle to F. Engels, early May 1849, in Gustav Mayer (ed.), *Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. 3 *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 6.

72 Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx* (edition of 1969), p. 197. See F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, July 30, 1849 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922: Vol. 3 of *Ferdinand Lassalle; Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*), pp. 10–13.

73 Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4; reprinted in one volume, 1969), Vol. 2, p. 71.

74 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 9, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part 3, Vol. 2, p. 470.

75 P. G. Röser to Karl Marx, June 18, 1850 in Franz Mehring's introduction to the fourth (1914) edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (edition of 1952), p. 163.

76 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 18, 1880 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1 (1959), p. 69.

77 F. Lassalle, *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos* (1857); *Franz von Sickingen: ein historisches Trauerspiel* (1859); *Der*

italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens (1859); *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* (two volumes, 1861).

78 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 12, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 459.

79 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 10, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 456.

80 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 10, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 362.

81 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 10 and 12, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, pp. 456–7.

82 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 18, 1853 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 491.

83 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx and F. Engels, end of February 1860 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 265.

84 For example £3 in February 1852 and 200 Thalers in January 1855: see G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 49 and p. 86. In March 1859 Lassalle offered Marx a small loan but this was refused (*ibid.*, pp. 168–9). In November 1859 Marx asked Lassalle for a loan (*ibid.*, p. 233).

85 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, February 12, April 16 and May 16, 1850 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 22–5.

86 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, February 10, 1854 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 67–9.

87 This was the second edition of Karl Marx's pamphlet entitled *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (1852) which was published in the United States in the *Neu England Zeitung* (Boston). Engels sent 400 copies of the pamphlet to Lassalle disguised as trade circulars. The first edition, published in Switzerland, had been confiscated by the police in Baden. See F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, April 18, 1853 and to Jenny Marx, June 13, June 19, June 26 and to Marx, December 13, 1853 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 57–65.

88 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 2, 1854 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 68 and F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, January 7, 1855 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 87.

89 The correspondence between Karl Marx and Lassalle lasted from 1848 to 1862. There is a gap in the correspondence of 18 months from November 1855 to April 1857.

90 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 5, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 118–20.

91 F. Lassalle to Karl Marx and F. Engels, end of February 1860 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 267–8.

92 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 7, 1856 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 122: English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 129–30.

93 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 11, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 191.

94 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 8, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 190.

95 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 25, 1859 (second letter) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 366.
96 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 22, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 258.
97 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, April 9, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 314.
98 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 1, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 282.
99 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, May 31, 1858 in G. Mayer (ed), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 123.
100 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 31, 1848 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 321.
101 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 22 and 24, March 29, 1858 and Jenny Marx to F. Engels, April 9, 1858 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 289–90, 292, and 304. See also Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, February 22, March 11, November 12, 1858 and March 28, November 6, 1859 and September 15, 1860 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922) and in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954).
102 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 25, 1859 (two letters), March 3 and 10, 1859 and F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 14, 1859 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, pp. 365–6 and pp. 370–1.
103 Karl Marx to F. Lassalle, February 25, 1859 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 145; F. Lassalle to Karl Marx, end of February 1859 (*ibid.*, p. 146); F. Engels to F. Lassalle, March 14, 1859 (*ibid.*, pp. 158–9); F. Lassalle to F. Engels, March 21, 1859 (*ibid.*, p. 161).
104 F. Lassalle to F. Engels, March 21, 1859 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 161–2.
105 F. Engels to F. Lassalle, May 8, 1859 and F. Lassalle to Karl Marx and F. Engels in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 179 and p. 185.
106 F. Engels to F. Lassalle, end of February 1860 in G. Mayer (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), p. 272.
107 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 9, 1860 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p. 470.
108 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7 and June 10, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 16 and p. 26.
109 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 19.
110 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 29, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 8.
111 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 6, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 12.
112 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 14, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 13.
113 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 7, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 18.
114 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 9, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 25.
115 For Engels's views on Lassalle's *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* see his letter to Karl Marx, December 2, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 46–7.
116 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of*

Marx and Engels (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 234.

117 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 30 and August 7, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 82 and p. 91.

118 Lassalle promised to lend Marx £15 on January 1, 1863. In addition Borkheim lent Marx £40 on a bill of exchange made out by Engels in favour of Lassalle. See Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 7 and 9, September 10, November 4, 1862; F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 8, 1862; and S. L. Borkheim to F. Engels, September 10, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 91–106. See also the correspondence between Engels and Lassalle on these transactions in the second half of 1862 in Gustav Mayer (ed.), *Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften*, Vol. 3: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx* (1922), pp. 274–408.

119 F. Engels to F. Lassalle, July 23, 1862 in G. Mayer (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 397.

120 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 7, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 91.

121 F. Engels to Karl Marx, April 21, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 139.

122 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, February 23, 1865 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 27.

123 F. Lassalle, *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgaben Preussens* (1859).

124 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" in *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 13, 1884.

125 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 9, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 136.

126 Lassalle to Bismarck, June 3, 1863 in Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle. Ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (1928), p. 60.

127 F. Lassalle, *Über Verfassungswesen* (1862).

128 F. Lassalle, *Arbeiterprogramme. Über ein besonderen Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstandes* (1862).

129 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 28, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 125.

130 Eduard Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1919), pp. 160–1.

131 Dr Otto Dammer to Ferdinand Lassalle, February 11, 1863 in Eduard Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1919), pp. 191–3.

132 F. Lassalle, *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Zentralkmitee zur Berufung eines allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiterkongresses zu Leipzig* (Zürich, 1963). For Marx's caustic comment on the *Open Letter of Reply* see his letter to Engels, April 9, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 136. Eduard Bernstein declared that the *Open Letter of Reply* was a "masterpiece of propaganda" (*Ferdinand Lassalle*. 1919, p. 235).

133 Eduard Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1919), p. 240.

134 F. Lassalle, *Zur Arbeiter-Frage. Lassalles Rede bei der am 20, April 1863 in Leipzig gehaltenen Arbeiterversammlung* (printed by the author, 1863).

135 F. Lassalle, *Arbeiter-Lesebuch. Rede Lassalle zu Frankfurt am Main a, 17. und 19. Mai 1863* (Frankfurt am Main, 1863).

136 Hamburg, Harburg, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, Elberfeld, Barmen, Solingen, Leipzig, Dresden, Frankfurt am Main.

137 B. Harms, *Ferdinand Lassalle . . .* (1919), p. 57.

138 Lassalle to Bismarck, January 16, 1864 in Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle. Ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (1928), pp. 81–4.

139 Lassalle to Bismarck, June 8, 1863 in Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* . . . (1928), p. 60. Shortly before the establishment of the General German Workers' Union, Lassalle told a worker that "whoever the president may be, the authority of his office must be as absolute as possible" (H. Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920), p. 330). Lassalle appointed Dr Otto Dammer and Julius Vahlteich as vice-president and secretary respectively of the General German Workers Union.

140 Lassalle to Bismarck, June 8, 1863 in Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* . . . (1928), p. 60.

141 *Verband deutscher Arbeiter- und Bildungsvereine.*

142 H. Oncken, *Lassalle* (third edition, 1920), pp. 331–2. An account of the congress of German Workers and Education Societies (Frankfurt am Main, June 1863) was given by August Bebel in his memoirs: see August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Vol. 1 (1911), pp. 79–97.

143 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 3, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 174–5.

144 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 177.

145 Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Report on the Working Class Movement in Germany" (1865) in *The General Council of the First International Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–66 (*Documents of the First International*) (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 256. Liebknecht sent this report to Marx who decided not to read it to the General Council.

146 See Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle. Ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (1928); Shlomo Na'aman, "Lassalles Beziehungen zu Bismarck – ihr Sinn und Zweck" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 2, 1962, pp. 55–85; Wilhelm Mommsen, "Bismarck und Lassalle" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 3, pp. 81–6.

147 Bismarck to Lassalle, May 11, 1863: "I have the honour to inform you that – in connection with an enquiry that has been undertaken concerning the condition of the working class – it is proposed to consider reports submitted by private persons who have had experience of this matter. In the circumstances I should be glad if you would give me your views on the question under discussion" (Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* . . . (1928), p. 59).

148 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, December 29, 1887 in *F. Engels–Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2 (1960), p. 84.

149 Wilhelm Liebknecht to Karl Marx, June 12, 1864: Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* . . . (1928), p. 53 and Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 37.

150 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 27, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 218.

151 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 20, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 140–1.

152 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 190.

153 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 188. For Engels and Lassalle see H. Herkner, "Engels und Lassalle in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, July 1920.

154 See J. B. von Schweitzer, *Politische Aufsätze und Reden* (ed. by Franz Mehring, 1912); Gustav Mayer, *Johann Baptist von Schweitzer und die Sozialdemokratie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (1909).

155 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 1, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 298.

156 For Wilhelm Liebknecht see Edward Aveling, *Wilhelm Liebknecht and the Social-Democratic Movement in Germany* (1896); Kurt Eisner, *Wilhelm Liebknecht, sein Leben und Wirken* (second edition, 1906); Paul Kampffmeyer, *Wilhelm Liebknecht. Leben und Werk* (1927); Werner Mühlbradt, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und die Gründung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1862–75* (University of Göttingen dissertation, 1950); Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. by G. Eckert, 1963). At the Leipzig treason trial in 1872 Wilhelm Liebknecht gave the court an account of his early life as a revolutionary socialist: see *Der Leipziger Hochverratsprozess vom Jahre 1872* (first edition with slightly different title, 1894; second edition edited by Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit, 1960). An English translation of part of Liebknecht's speech appears in Bertrand Russell, *German Social Democracy* (1896), pp. 57–9.

157 Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4: new edition in one volume, 1969), Vol. 2, pp. 74–5.

158 Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Reminiscences of Marx" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 96–100.

159 F. Engels to Karl Marx, June 9, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 179.

160 W. Liebknecht to Karl Marx, June 3, 1864 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1863), p. 33; Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 177.

161 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 16, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 203.

162 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, February 23, 1865 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 27–8. See the statement by Marx and Engels in the *Social-Demokrat*, March 3, 1865 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 16, p. 79.

163 Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an eventful Life" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Moscow), p. 235.

164 W. Liebknecht to F. Engels, August 30, 1865 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), pp. 59–62; F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 15, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 276.

165 August Vogt, Siegfried Meyer and T. Metzer to Karl Marx, November 1865 in G. Gemkow, "Zur Tätigkeit der Berliner Sektion der I. International" in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 1, 1959, pp. 515–31.

166 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 17, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 299.

167 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 26, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 299.

168 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, February 23, 1865 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 31.

169 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 9, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 338.

170 R. P. Morgan, *The German Social Democratis and the First International 1864–1872* (1965), p. ix.

171 For August Bebel see his memoirs (*Aus meinem Leben*, three volumes, 1911–13); Robert Michels, "August Bebel" in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Vol. 37, 1913; Paul Kampffmeyer, "August Bebel" in *Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutsch-Nekrolog*, Vol. 28, 1913; Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung 1862–9* (second edition, 1958); Horst Bartel (ed.), *August Bebel: eine Biographie* (1963); E. Schraeper (ed.), *August Bebel Bibliographie* (1962); Franz Mehring, "Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung (Grünbergs Archiv)*, Vol. 1, 1911, pp. 101–33; F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958); Horst Schumacher (ed.), "Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium über August Bebel" in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Vol. 5, 1963.

172 For the People's Party (*Volkspartei*) see Gustav Mayer, "Die Trennung der proletarischen von der bürgerlichen Demokratie in Deutschland" in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung (Grünbergs Archiv)*, Vol. 2, 1912, pp. 1–67.

173 R. P. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864–1872* (1965), pp. 21–2 and p. 28.

174 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 26, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 86–7.

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176 Council Meeting, December 22, 1868 in *The General Council of the First International, 1868–70: Minutes* (*Documents of the First International*, Vol. 3) (Moscow), p. 55.

177 F. Engels, "Johann Philipp Becker" in *Biographische Skizzen* (1967): R. P. Morgan, *op. cit.*

178 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 25, 1866; Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 27, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 349–51.

179 Council Meetings, October 8 and 22, 1867 in *The General Council of the First International 1866–68: Minutes* (*Documents of the First International*, Vol. 1) (Progress Publishers, Moscow), pp. 166–7.

180 W. Liebknecht, *On the Political Position of Social-Democracy particularly with Respect to the Reichstag* (Moscow, 1959), p. 26.

181 W. Liebknecht to F. Engels, December 11, 1867 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), pp. 82–7.

182 R. P. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864–1872* (1965), pp. 24–5.

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186 Franz Mehring, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Ausgang des Mittelalters* (edition of 1952), p. 245.

187 W. Liebknecht to F. Engels, December 11, 1867 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 84.

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189 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 1, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 12.

190 F. Engels, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (second edition, 1870).

191 W. Liebknecht to F. Engels, April 27, 1870 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 98.

192 For Wilhelm Bracke see H. Leonard, *Wilhelm Bracke. Leben und Wirken* (1930); G. Eckert, "Die Flugschriften der lassalleanischen Gemeinde in Braunschweig" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 2, 1962, pp. 295–358; "Zur Geschichte der Braunschweiger Sektion der I. International" in *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 43, 1962, pp. 131–72; *Wilhelm Bracke und die Anfänge der Braunschweiger Arbeiterbewegung* (1959). See also Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke 1869–1880* (1963).

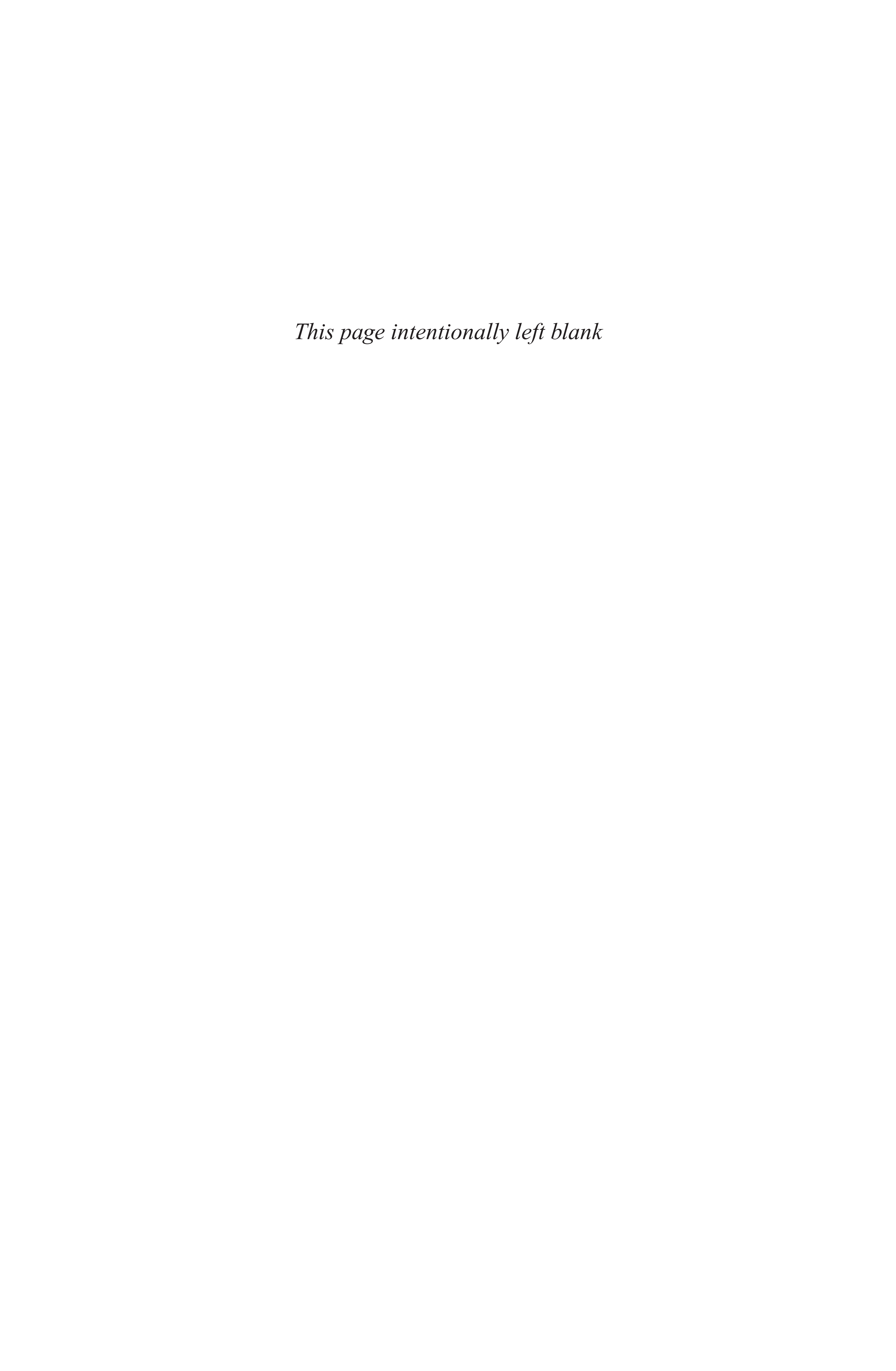
193 For the founding of the German Social-Democrat Party at Eisenach in 1869 see Gunter Bensor, *Zur Herausbildung der Eisenacher Partei* (1956).

194 For the programme of the German Social-Democrat Party adopted at the Eisenach conference in August 1869 see Franz Mehring, *Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie* (1879), pp. 332–4 and Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit (ed.), *Der Leipziger Hochverratsprozess vom Jahre 1872* (1960), p. 525.

195 R. P. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864–72* (1965), p. 29.

196 F. Engels to August Bebel, June 20, 1873 in F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), pp. 10–11: English translation: Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 344–5.

197 R. P. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864–72* (1965), p. 2.



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9

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1864–1872

I. The Founding of the First International[1]

The disappearance of the Brussels Correspondence Committee, the Fraternal Democrats and the Communist League left Marx and Engels without an organisation through which they could advocate world revolution. The collapse of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its successor deprived them of a journal under their control. Marx resumed his studies in the British Museum, while Engels embarked upon a business career. Engels was relieved that he was now "completely isolated from any sort of low party intrigues".[2]

In 1864 Marx was glad to see that at last there was "evidently a revival of the working classes taking place".[3] In England local trades councils – a new type of labour organisation – were being established and the workers were supporting an agitation aimed at promoting the extension of the franchise. A group of trade union officials, all working in London – William Allan, Robert Applegarth, Daniel Guile, Edwin Coulson and George Odger – played a dominant *rôle* in the labour movement at this time. This "Junta" had virtually gained control over the London Trades Council by 1864. In Germany Lassalle established the General German Workers' Union, while in France 60 workers in Paris signed a public declaration demanding the election of working-class representatives to the legislature. In 1864 the Working Men's International Association was founded in London and it was through this organisation that Marx hoped to "re-electrify the political movement of the working class".[4]

Ten years later, in what has been called his "Epitaph Letter", Engels discussed the achievements of the International and declared that it had been established at exactly the right time.

> "It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, when the newly awakening workers' movement had every incentive owing to oppression throughout Europe – to follow the path of unity and to refrain from indulging in internal controversies. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat came to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into

the movement or were just coming into it. In fact, throughout Europe in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement, among the masses, was still very dubious. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party. Proudhonism was too weak to be able to insist upon its particular fads. Bakunin's new rubbish did not yet exist even in his own head, and even the leaders of the English trade unions thought that they could enter the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the preamble to the statutes (of the Working Men's International Association)."[5]

Marx postponed his work on *Das Kapital* to take an active part in the affairs of the International. He hoped to influence the deliberations of its General Council and so spread his doctrines among the organised workers in England and on the Continent. As early as February 1865 he told Dr Kugelmann that the influence of the International "on the English proletariat is direct and of the greatest significance".[6] Marx's plan to use the International as an instrument of revolution in England was clearly revealed in a memorandum of January 1, 1870 in which he wrote:

"Although revolutionary *initiative* will probably come from France, England alone can serve as the *lever* for a serious *economic* revolution. It is the only country where there are no more peasants and where land property is concentrated in a few hands. It is the only country where the *capitalist form* – i.e. combined labour on a large scale under capitalist masters – embraces virtually the whole of production. It is the only country *where the great majority of the population consists of wage labourers*. It is the only country where the class struggle and organisation of the working class by *Trade Unions* have *acquired* a certain degree of maturity and universality. It is the only country where, because of its domination on the world market, every revolution in economic matters must immediately affect the whole world. If landlordism and capitalism are classical examples in England, on the other hand the *material conditions* for their destruction are the most mature here. The General Council, now being in the *happy position of having its hand directly on this great lever of proletarian revolution*, what folly – we might even say what a crime – to let this lever fall into purely English hands! The English have all the *material* necessary for the social revolution. What they lack is the spirit of *generalisation and revolutionary fervour*. Only the General Council can provide them with this (and) can thus accelerate the truly revolutionary movement here, and in consequence everywhere."[7]

For many years Marx and Engels had collaborated on various enterprises but as far as the International was concerned, Marx had to manage for six years on his own with little help from Engels who was working in Manchester. He could not serve on the General Council of the International and he could assist in its work only

by correspondence. He and Lizzie Burns joined the International as individual members but he made no attempt to organise a branch in Manchester. He told Marx that – except for Samuel Moore and Dr Gumpert – he could get no local support for the International.[8] Marx had also asked Ernest Jones to form a committee in Manchester[9] but Jones was unsuccessful and returned 11 of the 12 membership cards that had been sent to him.[10] After Engels moved to London, Eugène Dupont and Edward Jones formed a Manchester branch of the International.[11] In 1864 Engels had just secured his partnership in the firm of Ermen and Engels and if he had openly supported the International, Godfrey Ermen might have accused him of neglecting his duties at the office.

Moreover when the International was established, Engels doubted whether it would survive for long. He thought that there would soon be a clash between the English trade unionists on the General Council and some of the more revolutionary supporters of the International on the Continent.[12] By the spring of 1865 he had changed his mind. He congratulated Marx on the "enormous advance of the International"[13] and he told Weydemeyer that the International was "progressing splendidly".[14] It was only after he had moved to London in 1870 that Engels was elected to a seat on the General Council of the International.

In a letter to Engels,[15] Marx explained how he had come to be involved in the affairs of the International. Some representatives of the workers in London and Paris had recently co-operated to protest against the oppression of the Poles after the failure of their rising in 1863. A deputation of workers from Paris, led by the engraver Henri-Louis Tolain – "a very decent chap" – had visited London and arrangements had been made by George Odger[16] and Randal Cremer[17] to hold a public meeting in St Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864. How little Marx knew about the trade union leaders in London may be seen from his reference to Odger as the "president" instead of the secretary of the London Trades Council and to Randal Cremer as the "secretary of the masons union", whereas he was actually a carpenter. But Marx was probably not far from the truth when he described the organisers of the meeting on September 28 as "the actual labour kings of London".[18] He was impressed by the fact that they were "the same people who had prepared such a tremendous reception for Garibaldi and who (had) thwarted Palmerston's plan for a war with the United States by 'monster meetings in St James' Hall'."[19]

Marx stated that Victor Le Lubez had asked him to recommend a speaker to address the meeting on behalf of the German workers. This young man was "an excellent intermediary between the

English and French workers" as he had been brought up in Jersey and London. Marx recommended J. G. Eccarius to Le Lubez. Eccarius was a German tailor who had worked in England for many years. He had been a member of the Communist League and had contributed an article on the tailoring trade in London to Marx's *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue* in 1850.[20]

It was only at the last moment that Marx was invited to attend the meeting in St Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864.[21] He told Engels that he usually declined such invitations but that, on this occasion, he had accepted because many influential leaders of English trade unions would be present and because the French delegates (though "an insignificant lot") were genuine representatives of the Paris workers[22] – and Marx and Engels had long looked to Paris as the city in which a call to the barricades would one day give the workers of Europe the signal to overthrow their oppressors. Marx was given a seat on the platform in St Martin's Hall but he was not asked to speak.

It was decided at the meeting on September 28 to establish the Working Men's International Association with a General Council which was to meet in London. This Council was not a democratically elected body. Although the original members were elected at the meeting at which the International was founded, those members who were subsequently appointed were co-opted by the Council itself. Engels explained later that the Council was not composed of members elected as representatives of branches of the International or of affiliated societies. "The Council was empowered to add to its numbers – and everyone so added became an integral part of the Council. . . ."[23]

The Council – which Maltman Barry regarded as "the collective wisdom of the Association"[24] – had two functions. First it was the centre of a world organisation – a link between all branches of the Association in England and elsewhere. It has been described as "a centralised autocracy issuing mandates like a general to an army".[25] Secondly, it was the headquarters of the English societies affiliated to the International. The attempt to make a single body serve a dual purpose eventually led to criticisms that the General Council was trying to do too much by assuming a "burdensome accumulation of functions".[26]

The meeting appointed a special committee to draw up draft statutes and a statement of policy. Marx was a member of this committee but, owing to illness, he did not attend its earlier meetings. When the committee submitted its report on October 18, 1864 the General Council had before it some draft statutes drawn up by

Major Luigi Wolff[27] and revised by Le Lubez[28] as well as a proposed list of rules prepared by John Weston.[29] The General Council instructed its committee "to put into definite form the preamble and rules and (to) submit the same to the next meeting of the General Council".[30]

Marx attended the next meeting of the committee and promptly drew up a new policy statement which was quite different from the one previously approved by the General Council. He altered the preamble, suppressed the "Principles", and replaced 40 rules with 10 of his own. And for good measure he wrote an Inaugural Address without having been asked to do so. Marx's suggestions were accepted by the committee and by the General Council.[31]

II. Marx and the First International, 1864–70

In the Inaugural Address[32] Marx provided the International with a manifesto couched in sufficiently general terms to be acceptable to the workers' leaders in various countries, who had very different political beliefs and pursued very different aims. It has been described as "nebulous in meaning" but it was also "a model of diplomatic ingenuity".[33] The address had to reconcile such divergent views as those held by the followers of Proudhon, Lassalle, and Mazzini and also the trade unionists in England. "It had to satisfy English trade unionists, who were interested exclusively in winning strikes and cared nothing about their 'historical *rôle*'; French Proudhonists, who were opposed to strikes and to the collectivisation of the means of production, and who believed in cooperative societies and cheap credit; followers of the patriot Mazzini, who was chiefly interested in liberating Italy and who wanted to keep the class struggle out of it."[34]

Marx tactfully refrained from mentioning his own doctrines and the word "socialism" appeared only once. George Howell observed that the address was one which "a Gladstone or a Bright could have accepted with a good conscience".[35] Marx realised that he would first have to gain the confidence of the General Council before he could try to convert any members of the Council to his own doctrines. To do this he energetically promoted the expansion of the International. In 1866 he declared that he had "to lead the whole society".[36] Only occasionally did he neglect the International – as in the spring of 1867 when he was absent from the General Council for four months correcting the proofs of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. In 1868 Marx stated that, despite his financial difficulties, he could not leave London for Geneva (where he could live more cheaply) because, if he did so, "at this critical time, the

whole labour movement, which I influence from behind the scenes, would fall into very bad hands and go the wrong way".[37] And in 1870 he complained: "My time is so taken up with the International work that I do not get to bed before three in the morning."[38]

Slowly but surely Marx strengthened his intellectual ascendancy over the General Council of the International. He was able to delay until 1871 the formation of a Federal Council in Britain of organisations affiliated to the International – a body which he could hardly hope to influence in the way that he had influenced the General Council. In the early days of the International Marx could count upon the support of five German workers – Friedrich Lessner, J. G. Eccarius, Karl Schapper,[39] Georg Löchner,[40] and Karl Pfänder – who had once been members of the Communist League. Eugène Dupont[41] and Hermann Jung[42] were also Marx's allies. And when Engels was elected a member of the General Council in 1870, Marx again had his closest friend by his side.

Marx's supporters also played an important *rôle* in the affairs of the International on the Continent and in America – Johann Philipp Becker in Switzerland and Germany, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Wilhelm Bracke in Germany, Paul Lafargue in France and Spain, and Adolf Sorge in the United States. And "at each congress of the International Association . . . there showed itself a gradually strengthening influence of the Marxian spirit. The congress imperceptibly advocated the ideas of Marx. . . ."[43] In 1867 Marx claimed that the International had become "a power in England, France, Switzerland and Belgium".[44] He boasted to Engels that "when the next revolution comes – and it may perhaps be nearer than it seems – we (that is you and I) have this powerful *engine* in our hands . . . And without any financial resources . . . We may consider ourselves very well satisfied".[45] Some years later, Engels asserted that "the International dominated ten years of one side of European history – the side on which the future lies – and can look back upon its work with pride".[46]

Marx had a facile pen which he readily placed at the disposal of the General Council. He wrote a number of policy statements for the Council which gained some publicity for the Association. They included a letter congratulating Abraham Lincoln on his re-election to the office of President of the United States,[47] two addresses on the Franco–Prussian war, and a highly controversial defence of the Paris Commune.[48] Engels declared that the address on the Commune was an outstanding example of Marx's gift "for grasping clearly the character, the import and the necessary consequences of great historical events, at a time when these events are still in progress before our eyes or have only just taken place.[49]

Engels, too, was occasionally able to help Marx by writing articles or reports. In 1866, at Marx's suggestion he contributed three articles to *The Commonwealth*[50] in which he gave advice to the workers on the question of nationalism with particular reference to the independence of Poland – a problem which was often discussed by the General Council of the International. Engels criticised the view that language should be the sole test of nationality. He considered that the German speaking cantons of Switzerland should stay in Switzerland and that the German speaking inhabitants of Alsace should remain in France. In his view the national aspirations of such peoples as the Poles, the Czechs and the Rumanians should be subordinated to the interests of the great powers. So while he advocated the establishment of an independent Poland he argued that its frontiers should be drawn in such a way as to weaken Russia – the great bastion of reaction – as much as possible, and to strengthen the states in western Europe. To achieve this a multi-racial Poland should be created which would include Lithuanians, White Russians and Little Russians as well as Poles within its frontiers. In the east the Polish frontier of 1772 should be restored but in the west the provinces of Posen and West Prussia should become part of a united Germany.

In 1869, again at Marx's request, Engels prepared a report on the miners' gilds in Saxony for the General Council of the International. These associations were financed jointly by the colliery owners and the miners.[51] Engels argued that "to be genuine workers' societies the miners' gilds must rely exclusively on workers' contributions. Only thus can they become trade unions which protect individual workers from the tyranny of individual masters". He added that "the contributions of the Saxon coalfield owners to the gild funds are an involuntary admission that capital is – up to a certain point – responsible for accidents which threaten the hired worker with mutilation or death during the execution of his duty at his place of work".

Marx also endeavoured to initiate the General Council into the mysteries of Marxian economics. An opportunity arose in connection with some articles which John Weston, a respected member of the General Council, contributed to the *Bee Hive*. Marx told Engels that Weston – "a fine old chap" – had argued that "1. a general rise in the rate of wages would be of no use to the workers, 2. that therefore . . . trade unions have a *harmful* effect".[52] Weston thought that if an employer had to pay higher wages he would raise the price of goods that he manufactured. Inflation would therefore soon reduce the real value – the purchasing power – of the increased money wages.

To refute this thesis Marx gave two lectures to the General Council in June 1865 on "Wages, Price and Profit".[53] He told Engels that "you can't compress a course of political economy into one hour. But we shall do our best".[54] He summarised his views on how "surplus value" was produced and concluded by offering some advice to the trade unionists who belonged to the General Council:

> "Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."[55]

Six months after he had given this lecture, Marx wrote that the International had "made great progress". "We have succeeded in drawing into the movement the one really big workers' organisation, the English trade unions, which formerly concerned themselves *exclusively* with wage questions."[56] But Marx could neither convert the trade union leaders to socialism nor persuade them to adopt a militant policy aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts to induce them to set up a workers' political party. Some years later, Engels – echoing Marx's advice – appealed to the trade union movement to fight for the abolition of the wages system.[57]

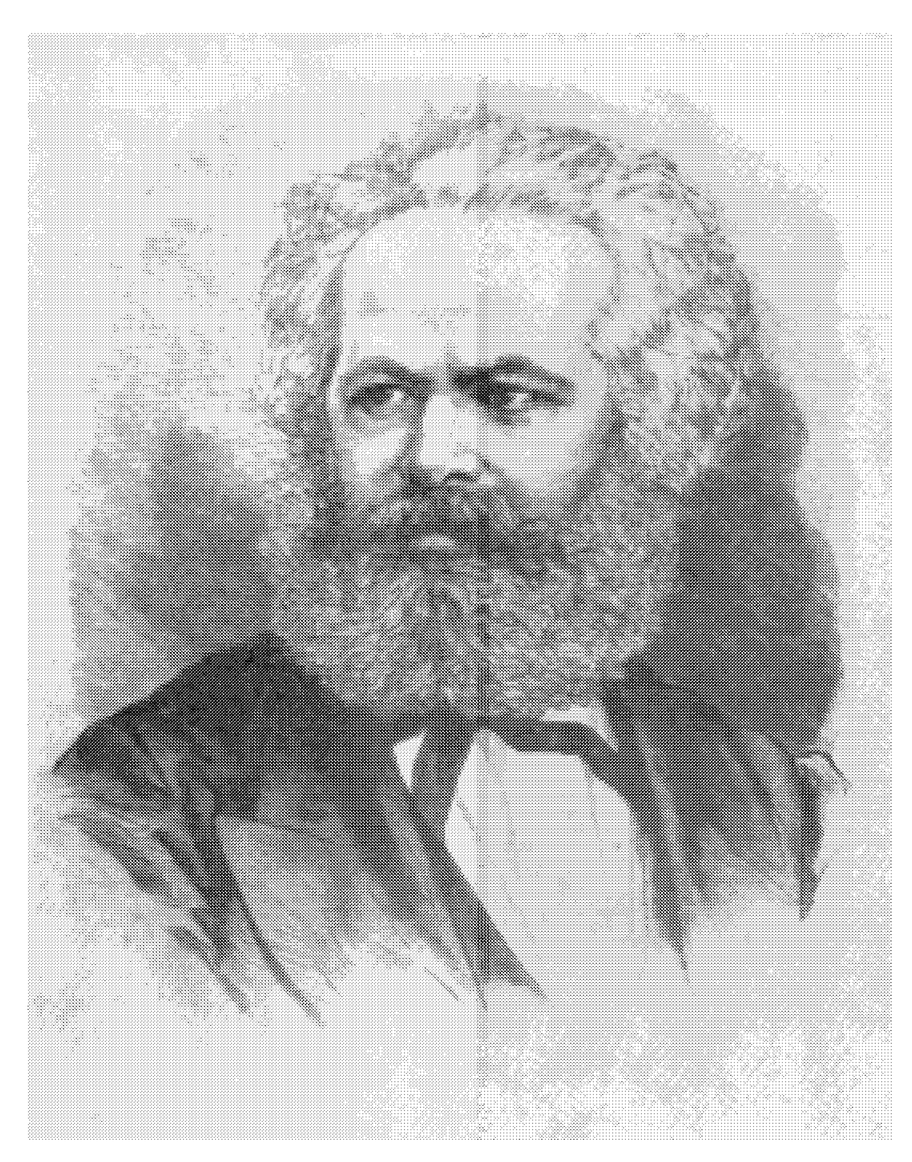
III. The International in England

It is difficult to assess the support which the International received since conditions varied considerably from one country to another. In France and Germany the International was hampered by limitations to the freedom of association and freedom of speech but in England, as Robert Applegarth observed, "we have no need of creeping into holes and corners, lest a policeman should see us".[58] While later Internationals were federations of national socialist parties, the First International was largely composed of affiliated members who belonged to various types of workers' organisations.

The affiliated trade unions in England were not a representative cross-section of the labour movement.[59] Marx indulged in wishful thinking when he claimed that virtually the whole trade union movement supported the International. Indeed in 1870 he admitted that "trade unions and labour organisations held aloof from the International until they were in trouble".[60] And John Hales observed



Friedrich Engels in 1879



Karl Marx in 1871

that "the Association, though established in London . . . had made more progress abroad than here".[61]

Most of the affiliated trade unions in England were small London societies of skilled craftsmen such as tailors, shoemakers, coopers, bookbinders and cigar-makers. The Operative Bricklayers and the Carpenters and Joiners were the only large unions which joined the International. Eleven of the 27 English members of the General Council elected in 1864 belonged to the building trades.[62] Only the stonemasons held aloof. The miners, the textile operatives, and the engineers (except the malleable ironworkers) did not join the International. William Allan, the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, told a parliamentary enquiry that his members had declined to attend a congress of the International held at Geneva. "They believed that the best thing the foreigners could do, would be to organise themselves into trade societies similar to ours and then we could begin to discuss questions with them."[63]

On the Continent, too, support for the International came from craftsmen rather than from factory workers. In 1869, for example, a National Labour Union (affiliated to the International) was established in Holland by cabinet makers, compositors, carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, masons and bricklayers.[64] In Geneva the International was supported by watchmakers, jewellers, carpenters and builders while in the Swiss Jura – Le Locle and La Chaux de Fondes – it was craftsmen who joined the International.[65]

In the early days of the International, its officials had no illusions concerning the support received from the workers in England. John Hales estimated the membership at 8,000; Hermann Jung at 14,000.[66] In July 1866 a conference of trade unionists at Sheffield, attended by 138 delegates, recommended trade unions to affiliate with the International since this organisation was "essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community".[67] A similar resolution was passed by a trade union congress held in Birmingham in 1869.[68] But the trade unions paid little heed to these resolutions.

In 1866, in its third annual report, the General Council gave the names of 33 affiliated trade unions (or branches).[69] At this time there were over 2,000 trade unions (or branches) in the United Kingdom.[70] The whole trade union movement probably had about 1,500,000 members in the late 1860s.[71] Perhaps 50,000 of them belonged to unions affiliated to the International. In 1867 the London Trades Council declined to become an affiliated member, though it offered to co-operate with the International.[72] "The London Trades Council declined to recognise the International even as the authorised medium of communications with trade

societies abroad and decided to communicate with these directly."[73] The International secured very little financial support from the trade union movement in England. By September 1867 only £73 had been obtained from this source.[74]

IV. The International in France

A French section of the International was established in Paris in 1864. Its leaders – Tolain, Fribourg and Limousin – were disciples of Proudhon and had little knowledge of Marx's doctrines. They successfully warded off attacks from rival left wing groups, such as the republicans and Blanqui's followers, and they established several branches of the International in the provinces. At a conference held in London in 1865 the French delegates explained why it was difficult to organise the International in France. Fribourg observed that since there was no right of public meeting in France the supporters of the International "could only meet in small groups of not more than 20; if more met they were liable to be arrested".[75] Tolain declared that "in France they could only meet by stealth and had no means of openly propagating the principles of the Association and therefore could not reach or inspire with confidence those to whom they were personally unknown".[76]

Some workers' "syndicates" became affiliated to the French section of the International.[77] These associations bore little resemblance to trade unions in England. English unions were bodies of skilled or semi-skilled workers which aimed at improving the living standards and working conditions of their members by fighting for higher wages and reduced hours of work. A French syndicate, on the other hand, might be engaged in various activities such as those of a benefit club, a co-operative association, an educational society, an employment agency, a political organisation and a social club. But it might also pursue aims somewhat similar to those of an English trade union.

Marx denounced the leaders of the Paris branch for accepting Proudhon's doctrines in preference to his own. He rebuked Tolain and Fribourg for putting forward these ideas at the congress of the International held in Geneva in 1866. He complained to Dr Kugelmann that the delegates from Paris "had their heads full of the emptiest Proudhonist phrases". "Ignorant, vain, presumptuous, chattering, dogmatic, arrogant, they were on the point of spoiling everything, for they came to the Congress in numbers which bore no proportion whatever to the number of their members."[78] Between 1864 and 1866 the French government had taken no action against the French section of the International. But after the con-

gress at Geneva some documents relating to the transactions of the International in the possession of Jules Gottraux were confiscated by the French police. As Gottraux was a naturalised British subject the Foreign Office protested to the French government and the documents were returned.

The French government believed that the International was largely responsible for the labour unrest in France at this time. But it was probably mistaken. It has been observed that in France "the International was considerably weaker than the government suspected". "Instead of being the tightly-knit, disciplined organisation of over a million members that seemed to be on the verge of undertaking the immediate overthrow of the social order, the International in France was largely made up of a paper membership; it mainly consisted of individuals who had merely voted to affiliate with it at meetings of community and labour organisations. The process seldom went further and individual sections of the International tended to be no more than discussion groups with very little overall ideological, tactical or organisational coherence."[79] But the French government thought otherwise and in March 1868 a court dissolved the Paris branch of the International because it was an unauthorised society of over 20 members. The bookbinder Eugène Varlin promptly set up a new branch of the International in Paris. He and his followers were brought to trial in May 1868 and were sent to prison for three months.

The influence of Tolain and Fribourg declined to some extent and the Paris section of the International came under the control of rather more militant leaders, such as Eugène Varlin and it adopted a more militant policy than before. In March 1870 Varlin informed the General Council that "the Association was being resuscitated in Paris",[80] after being twice dissolved by the authorities. In May 1870 several members of the French branches of the International were arrested in Paris and Lyons but Varlin and two of his friends escaped to Brussels.[81] Despite the militancy of the leadership, the rank and file remained faithful to Proudhon's doctrines. In March 1871 a manifesto issued by the Paris branch of the International supporting the Commune contained proposals which were fully in accordance with Proudhon's views. The manifesto demanded "the organisation of credit, exchange, and cooperation to assure to the worker the entire value of his labour".[82] Engels wrote that the French adherents of the International who were members of the Commune were followers of Proudhon. "Naturally the Proudhonists were chiefly responsible for the economic decrees of the Commune, both for their praiseworthy and their unpraiseworthy aspects."[83]

V. The International in Germany

In Germany the International developed in a different way. A Prussian Law of 1850 – and similar legislation in other states – prohibited societies from joining foreign associations. In a report of 1869 Marx stated that the General German Workers Union supported "the principles of our Association, but simultaneously declared (that) the Prussian law forbade them (from) joining us".[84] German supporters of the International could, however, join as individual members.

Marx and Engels hoped that Wilhelm Liebknecht would set up branches of the International in Germany. But Liebknecht considered that his first duty was to establish a socialist party in Germany. In a report to the London conference of the International in 1865 Liebknecht took a pessimistic view of the future prospects of the International.[85] Marx urged Liebknecht "*very seriously* . . . to enter the Association with some men – few or many, we do not care",[86] and sent him some paid-up membership cards.[87] But this produced no quick results and in May 1866 Marx complained to Engels that "thanks to that ass Liebknecht (good fellow as he is), it is only in Germany that we cannot make any headway".[88] Shortly afterwards, however, Marx appreciated that Liebknecht had tried to recruit German members for the International, particularly among the artisans in Saxony.[89]

Marx did not rely entirely upon Liebknecht's efforts to promote the cause of the International in Germany. He had another ally in the veteran revolutionary Johann Philipp Becker, who had fought against the Prussians in the Baden campaign of 1849.[90] Becker had attended the meeting in London at which the International had been established. From Geneva he set up many branches of the International in Switzerland and then extended his activities to Germany. His journal *Der Vorbote* became the leading German organ of the International. Becker was present at the London conference of the International in 1865 where his speech was "much applauded by those who understood the German language". He stated that the Geneva branch of the International already had 1,500 members.[91] While the conference was in session Becker "received a mandate from the workers of the Solingen factories".[92] This may have been due to Marx's contacts with Carl Klings, a leader of the workers in Solingen.[93] In 1867 the General Council reported that Becker had established some branches of the International in Germany.[94]

Unfortunately for Marx his two main allies in Germany – Becker

and Liebknecht – did not work harmoniously together. Although Becker hailed the establishment of the German Social Democrat Party as a "world-historical event" he challenged its founder Liebknecht, for the leadership of the International in Germany. Engels described the rivalry between Becker and Liebknecht in a letter to T. C. Cuno:

> "For a long time old man Becker has retained his own ideas of organisation, dating from the epoch *before* 1848 – little groups, whose leaders kept in touch in order to give the whole organisation a general trend, a little conspiratorial activity on occasion, and the like. Another idea, likewise dating from that period, was that the central organ of the German organisation had to be located *outside* Germany.
>
> "When the International was founded, Becker took over the organisation of the Germans in Switzerland and other countries. He established a section in Geneva, which was gradually converted into the 'Mother Section of the Groups of German Language Sections' by organising new sections in Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere. It then began to claim the top leadership not only of the Germans living in Switzerland, America, France, etc., but also of the Germans in Germany and Austria. All this was the old method of revolutionary agitation employed up to 1848, and as long as it was based upon the voluntary subordination of the sections, there could be no objection to it. But there was one thing the good soul Becker forgot: that the organisation of the International was too big for such methods and goals. Becker and his friends, however, *accomplished* something and always remained direct and avowed sections of the International." "In the meantime the labour movement in Germany was growing, freeing itself from the fetters of Lassalleanism, and, under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht, it came out *in principle* for the International. The movement became too powerful and acquired too much independent significance for it to be able to acknowledge the leadership of the Geneva Mother Section. The German workers held their own congresses and elected their own executive organs. . . ."[95]

Despite the laws which forbade societies in Germany to be linked with foreign associations the Union of German Workers and Educational Societies became affiliated to the International[96] and when the German Social Democrat Party was founded at Eisenach in 1869 it declared itself to be "a branch of the Working Men's International Association".[97] Although Liebknecht and Bebel, the leaders of the new party, were disciples of Marx and accepted his doctrines, they were more interested in building up a powerful socialist party in Germany than in promoting the growth of the International. They readily paid lip service to the ideals of the

International but they were not prepared to give it very much practical support or financial assistance. At his trial in Leipzig in 1872 Bebel told the court that the International had only about a thousand members in Germany.[98]

This situation led to vigorous exchanges between Marx and Engels and their followers in Germany. In September 1871 Marx complained to Kwasniewsky, a leading socialist in Berlin, that the German branches of the International had not sent a delegate to a recent conference in London and had not paid any subscriptions to the General Council since 1869.[99] When Liebknecht criticised Marx for communicating directly with a local branch of the International in Germany he received a sharp reply. Marx wrote that "since we are here (in London) very dissatisfied with the way in which the business of the International has been conducted (in Germany) I have – on the authority of the General Council – assumed the duty of getting into direct touch myself with the main German centres, and I have already begun to do so".[100] Liebknecht replied that "there is no prospect of securing many individual memberships in Germany and between ourselves I do not think that it matters at all".[101]

Engels now intervened in the debate. He rejected Liebknecht's attitude towards the International in Germany. On December 15, 1871 he wrote:

> "Your opinion that the German members of the International should not pay dues, and that in any case it makes no difference whether the International has many or few members in Germany is the opposite of our own. If you did not collect the annual dues of one silver groschen per person per year, or if you used them up yourselves, you will have to settle this with your own conscience. I fail to understand how you can imagine that other nations should bear your share of the costs, while you are with them, like Jesus Christ, 'in the spirit', and keep your flesh and your money all to yourselves. This platonic relation must certainly come to an end, and the German workers must either *belong* to the International or *not* belong. . . .[102]

Engels followed up this rebuke with another letter to Liebknecht in May 1872:

> "Does the Social Democrat Party intend to be represented at the congress, and if so, how does it plan to be in good standing with the General Council so that its mandate cannot be challenged at the congress? For this purpose it must (*a*) expressly and not just *figuratively* declare itself as the German federation of the International, and (*b*) pay up its dues *in that capacity* before the congress. This matter is getting serious, and we have to know where we stand,

> or else you will compel us to go ahead on our own and consider the Social Democrat Party an alien body, indifferent to the International. We cannot allow, out of motives which are unknown to us but which are surely petty, the mandates of the German workers to be squandered or frittered away. We ask for a prompt and clear cut answer'..[103]

At the same time Engels wrote to T. C. Cuno:

> "The relationship of the German workers' party to the International never was made clear, however. This relationship remained a purely platonic one: there was no actual membership for individuals (with some exceptions), while the formation of sections was forbidden by law. As a result, the following situation developed in Germany. They claimed the *rights* of membership while they brushed aside its *obligations*, and only after the London conference did we insist that henceforth they would have to comply with their obligations."[104]

VI. The International and the Labour Movement

An examination of the minutes of the General Council bears out Marx's claim that one of the main functions of the International was "to counteract the intrigues of capitalists – always ready in cases of strikes and lock outs, to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman".[105] A few years previously a strike of gas workers in London had been broken by importing bakers from Germany who were used to working in great heat.[106]

In 1866 the journeymen tailors in London struck for higher wages and the masters recruited workers on the Continent to replace those who were on strike. Marx boasted that, as a result of intervention by the International "the London masters' manoeuvre was foiled; they had to lay down their arms and meet their workers' just demands".[107] When the tailors' strike spread to Edinburgh, Engels warned Marx that 57 German tailors had arrived in that city.[108] Marx wrote to several German newspapers (on behalf of the International) to appeal to German tailors not to go to Edinburgh as strike-breakers.[109] The International also sent two emissaries to Scotland who drove a wedge between the master tailors and their foreign workers. Marx considered that "the whole affair has greatly benefited us in London".[110]

In 1871 the engineers, joiners and construction workers of Newcastle upon Tyne – organised in a Nine Hours League – stopped working for five months to secure a shorter working day. On August 8 a deputation of strikers led by John Burnett met the General Council of the International and asked for its help to prevent strike-breakers from being brought to Newcastle from

Belgium and from the royal arsenal in Denmark. Marx declared that "the misfortune was that the trade unions and labour organisations held aloof from the International until they were in trouble and then only did they come for assistance". The cigar-maker James Cohn (the International's correspondence secretary for Denmark) went to the Continent to try to stop foreign engineers from acting as strike-breakers in Newcastle. But he was not a formal delegate of the International. His expenses were paid by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.[111] The International not only attempted to stop the flow of strike-breakers to England from the Continent. It also acted as an agent for trade unions which sent money to workers on strike in France, Belgium and Switzerland.[112]

Although Marx appreciated that the International was making its mark in the labour movement by intervening in strikes, he hoped to persuade the trade union leaders that the cause of the workers could be served equally effectively by political action. The London conference of the International (with Engels as chairman) declared in 1871 "that in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indisolubly united".[113]

The demand for the extension of the franchise gave Marx the opportunity for which he was seeking. The agitation in favour of a new Reform Act was being organised by the Reform League and Marx tried to secure the election of as many of his supporters as possible on to the committee of this association. In this way, he hoped to influence the reform movement from behind the scenes just as he was influencing the General Council of the International. At first his plan seemed to be succeeding. On May 1, 1865 he wrote to Engels:

> "The great success of the International Association is this: the Reform League is our work. The working men on the inner Committee of Twelve (6 middle-class men and 6 working men) are all members of our Council (including Eccarius). We have baffled all attempts of the middle class to mislead the working class. The movement in the provinces is this time wholly dependent on that of London. Ernest Jones, for example, had despaired till we set the ball rolling. If we succeed in re-electrifying the political movement of the English working class, our Association, without making any fuss, will have done more for the working class of Europe than has been possible in any other way. And there is every prospect of success."[114]

A year later, when two open air meetings were held in London in support of the reform of the franchise, Marx declared that "the workers' demonstrations in London, which are marvellous compared with anything we have seen in England since 1849, are purely

the work of the *International*. Mr Lucraft, for instance, the leader in Trafalgar Square, is one of our Council".[115] This was followed by a meeting in Hyde Park although it had been prohibited by the authorities. Some park railings were smashed and there was a scuffle between the constables and the demonstrators. Marx thought that this confrontation between the police and the demonstrators might lead to a rising of the workers in London. He told Engels that "if the railings – and it was touch and go – had been used offensively and defensively against the police and about twenty of the latter had been knocked out, the military would have had to 'intervene' instead of only parading. And then there would have been some fun. One thing is certain; these thick-headed John Bulls, whose brainpans seem to have been specially manufactured for the constables' bludgeons, will never get anywhere without a really bloody encounter with the ruling powers".[116] But the "really bloody encounter" never took place and Marx's hopes that the agitation for electoral reform would culminate in a popular revolt were doomed to disappointment.

In 1869 Marx wrote to Engels that the General Council of the International had been instrumental in establishing a new militant left-wing organisation called the Land and Labour League which demanded "the nationalisation of land as a starting point". The Basel congress of the International had recently approved the abolition of private ownership of land, Marx joined the Land and Labour League and his friend Eccarius became its "active secretary". Marx described the new association as a working-class party which had "broken away completely from the middle classes".[117]

Besides having a close associate of Marx as its secretary the Land and Labour League had ten members of the General Council of the International on its executive committee. The programme of the association, drawn up by Eccarius after consulting Marx, included not only the nationalisation of land but also shorter hours for workers and universal suffrage.[118] The Land and Labour League, however, made little impact on the political scene and Marx failed to secure another political organisation of workers which he could influence from behind the scenes.

VII. The International and the Irish Question

At the same time Marx used the unrest in Ireland as a means of provoking the working class in England to greater militancy in politics. In 1867 a rising in Ireland was put down while in England the Fenians failed to seize Chester castle but succeeded in freeing two of their number from a police van in Manchester. They killed

a police officer in doing so. Marx told Engels that he was encouraging the English workers to support the Fenians.[119] When the murderers of the Manchester policeman were sentenced to death Marx drew up a plea for clemency which was adopted by the General Council of the International on November 20, 1867 and sent to Gathorne-Hardy. The memorial had no effect and three of the five convicted Fenians were hanged on November 23.[120] On November 30 Engels wrote to Marx about the executions. He complained that in reporting them "the English press has again behaved in a shameful manner". On the Sunday after the executions the Catholic priests in Manchester and Salford had declared from their pulpits that "these men were *murdered*".[121]

On November 26, 1867 the General Council again debated the Irish question. Marx proposed to take part in the discussion. He intended to compare "the political executions at Manchester" with "the fate of John Brown at Harper's Ferry" and to denounce the notion that "the English had a divine right to fight the Irish on their native soil, but every Irish (man) fighting against the British government in England to be treated as an outlaw".[122]

In a letter to Engels describing the debate, Marx explained that, owing to the execution of the Fenians in Manchester, he would have felt obliged "to hurl revolutionary thunderbolts instead of soberly analysing the state of affairs and the movement as I had intended". In the circumstances Peter Fox addressed the meeting instead of Marx. Fox proposed what Marx regarded as an "absurd and meaningless resolution". Marx persuaded the General Council to refer the resolution to its standing committee for further consideration.[123]

In December 1867 the Fenians tried to free two of their leaders by blowing a hole – with a cask of gunpowder – in the wall of Clerkenwell prison. The explosion caused 12 deaths, while 120 persons were injured. Marx, in a letter to Engels, denounced the Fenians for their "utter stupidity". He argued that the workers in London, who had hitherto "shown much sympathy for the Irish"[124] would be alienated by this outrage.[125] Shortly afterwards Marx gave a lecture to the German Workers' Educational Association in London on the Irish question.

In 1869 there was a fresh wave of unrest in Ireland and a campaign was mounted in England to secure an amnesty for the Fenian prisoners. Marx encouraged the International to support this campaign. A member of the General Council of the International – J. J. Merriman – was one of the speakers at a rally held in Hyde Park on October 24 to demand the release of Irish political prisoners. At a meeting of the General Council on November 16

Marx opened a debate on the Irish question. He vigorously denounced Gladstone's Irish policy and demanded an amnesty for the Fenian prisoners.[126] The discussion was resumed on November 23 and there was a heated debate. Mottershead praised Gladstone and criticised the resolutions put forward by Marx on Ireland.[127] Marx wrote to Engels that "Muddlehead" had made "a long rambling speech". In the end Marx's resolutions were accepted with only minor changes.[128] Shortly afterwards – on November 29, 1869 – Engels wrote to Marx that the election of O'Donovan Rossa, an Irish prisoner, to a seat in Parliament was "a great event". He declared that it would "make the Fenians abandon their fruitless conspiratorial tactics and staging of minor coups, in favour of practical activities which, though seemingly legal, are more revolutionary than all they have done since their unsuccessful insurrection".[129]

By 1870 Marx had come to the conclusion that the Irish question was a factor of fundamental importance for the future of the capitalist system in Britain. It was far more than the struggle of an oppressed people for independence. It was the key to the downfall of the aristocracy and the middle classes in England. In 1870 Marx drew up for the General Council of the International a memorandum on "the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class". He argued that "Ireland is the bulwark of the English landed aristocracy" and that the overthrow of the great landlords in Ireland would herald their downfall in England as well. "Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of farming, Ireland steadily sends its surplus workers to the English labour market and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class." In Britain the workers were divided into an English and an Irish proletariat and their hostility was "the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organisation". "It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power."[130]

In the circumstances Marx urged the International "everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken the consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but the first condition of their own social emancipation". Finally Marx claimed that the agitation in favour of an amnesty for the Fenians had forced Gladstone to agree to an enquiry into the treatment of the Irish prisoners.

VIII. Engels and the General Council, 1870–2

Of all the duties that Marx undertook on behalf of the International none gave him greater satisfaction than the composition of addresses on behalf of the General Council. The addresses, which sometimes received considerable publicity, enabled Marx to give to the world his views on the vital issues of the day, such as the Irish question, the Franco-Prussian war, and the Paris Commune. Marx saw himself as the embodiment of the international labour movement. He believed that all over the world the workers would cherish his pronouncements as coming from a leader who would one day deliver them from the oppression of the capitalists.

In 1870 Marx and Engels were able to collaborate in a way that had not been possible during the twenty years that Engels had lived in Manchester. When Engels settled in London he was elected to the General Council of the International and was able to shoulder part of the burden that Marx had hitherto carried alone. For two years Engels devoted much of his time to the International. As a military critic Engels was able to advise the General Council on the war on the Continent after the fall of Metz. As a linguist he could assist the International with its foreign correspondence. And as corresponding secretary for Spain and Italy Engels was able to give Marx valuable assistance in his efforts to resist the spread of Bakunin's influence among the workers in those countries.

In January 1871 Engels addressed the General Council on the policy that the English workers should adopt with regard to the situation on the Continent now that France had been defeated by Prussia. He declared that the opportunity for English military intervention on the side of France had passed away. He argued that England was no longer in a position to meddle in the affairs of the Continent or even to defend herself against "Continental military despotism". He appealed to the English workers to press the British government to recognise the new French Republic.[131]

Engels's appearance on the General Council exacerbated the differences between the revolutionary Marxists and the moderate trade union representatives. Engels had a poor opinion of the English workers and was exasperated by their lack of revolutionary fervour. During the general election of 1868 he had complained that the factory workers had disgraced themselves by voting for "any Lord Tom Noddy or any parvenu snob" rather than for men like Ernest Jones who had their interests at heart.[132] In 1871 Engels annoyed the trade union representatives when he criticised the English workers for failing to give financial aid to the French

refugees from the Commune.[133] He quarrelled with John Hales over a request from the *Graphic* to send an artist to make sketches of the members of the General Council in session,[134] and he accused Hales of bias in writing the minutes of the Council's proceedings. This dispute led to Hales's resignation as secretary in June 1872.[135]

For their part the trade union leaders were ill at ease in the presence of a smartly dressed wealthy retired "cotton lord" who bore himself like a Prussian guardsman. Engels could run an office and keep junior clerks in their place, but he was out of his depth in dealing with working-class members of the General Council of the International. He failed to treat them as equals in debate but expected them to accept his point of view without question. Engels lacked understanding and tact when dealing with the workers and his outspoken comments gave offence to the leaders of trade unions.

IX. The International and the Paris Commune, 1871

The latent hostility on the General Council of the International between Marx and Engels on the one hand and the trade union representatives on the other came out into the open when the workers of Paris rose in revolt against the French government. They gained control of the city, and proclaimed the Commune on March 28, 1871. Engels described the events leading to the establishment of the Commune in a speech to the General Council of the International on March 21.[136] For years Marx and Engels had argued that the outbreak of the class struggle and the downfall of the capitalist system were inevitable. Now they hoped that the crisis which they had predicted had at last arrived. Before the revolutions of 1848 Marx had declared that the signal for revolution on the Continent would be "the crowing of the Gallic cock". He had not changed his mind. He and Engels still believed that a rising of the workers in Paris would spread to the rest of France and to other countries as well. While Marx hailed the Paris Commune as the work of "our heroic Party comrades",[137] Engels was more cautious and merely claimed that the Commune was "beyond doubt the child of the International intellectually".[138] Engels was particularly interested in the military aspect of the Commune's activities. His advice "to fortify the north side of the heights of Montmartre on the Prussian side" was passed on to the Commune by Marx.[139] On April 11, 1871 Engels reported to the General Council of the International that since the Commune had taken over responsibility for the defence of Paris from the central committee of the National Guard "there had been talk and no action".

"The time for action against Versailles had been when it was weak, but that opportunity had been lost and now it seemed that Versailles was getting the upper hand and driving the Parisians back." Although Engels took a gloomy view of the military prospects of the Commune at this time, he argued that "the work-people – 200,000 men – (were) far better organised than at any other insurrection".[140]

Marx, on the other hand, was more interested in the significance of the political and economic activities of the Commune. In April 1871 he wrote: "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians." "The present rising in Paris – even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society – is the most glorious deed of our party since the June insurrection in Paris."[141] A few days later he declared: "The struggle of the working-class against the capitalist class has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world historic importance has been gained."[142] By May 23 Marx realised that the end was in sight. But he was confident that "the principles of the Commune were eternal and could not be crushed; they would assert themselves again and again until the working classes were emancipated".[143]

Marx's dream did not come true. The Commune gained little support outside Paris – risings in Lyons and Marseilles were soon put down – and the city was cut off from the outside world by a German army and the forces of the Republic. Thiers stamped out the Commune as ruthlessly as Cavaignac had crushed the workers in June 1848. The army of Versailles entered the doomed city on May 21, 1871 and between 20,000 and 25,000 people were killed in the indiscriminate slaughter that followed. The defenders of Paris made their last stand at the "Wall of the Communards" at Père Lachaise cemetery where – as Engels wrote – "the breech-loaders could no longer kill fast enough; the vanquished were shot down in hundreds by *mitrailleuse* fire".[144] The London *Times* declared on May 29 that there was no precedent for the way in which "the Versailles troops have been shooting, bayonetting, ripping up prisoners, women and children during the last six days".[145] The Communards, for their part, were responsible for the execution in cold blood of 64 hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris. The murder of the hostages horrified the civilised world and Engels's mother rebuked her son for supporting a régime which was capable of doing such a thing. Engels was quite unabashed and replied: "An enormous fuss has been made of the shooting of a few hostages in the Prussian manner and the destruction of

a few palaces, again in the Prussian manner – and all other accusations are false – but nobody raises an eyebrow when 40,000 men, women and children are massacred by the Versailles troops."[146] But in an article in *Der Volksstaat* in 1874 Engels qualified his approval of the shooting of hostages and the burning of palaces by declaring that he was not prepared to defend every violent act committed by the supporters of the Commune.[147]

Marx had to make the best of a bad job and within a few days of the fall of Paris he gave the world his assessment of the achievements of the Commune. On May 30, 1871 he read to the General Council of the International his address on the subject. The Council gave its approval without any discussion and decided to print 1,000 copies. In this pamphlet – entitled *The Civil War in France* – Marx declared that although the Commune had not set the world on fire it had been a brilliant dress rehearsal for world revolution. He declared that the administration of Paris by the Commune showed how a communist state might be organised in the future. He urged socialists to profit from the experience gained from the Commune – an experience that had been dearly bought with the lives of thousands of workers who had fallen in the defence of Paris.

Marx asserted that the essential feature of the Commune – something that distinguished it from all previous forms of government – was "its essentially working class character". The men who administered Paris under the Commune had been "working men or acknowledged members of the working class". "This was the first revolution in which the working-class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative." Councillors and public officials were expected to perform their duties on "workmen's wages" of no more than £240 a year – which was less than the allowance made by Engels to Marx. The army and the police were replaced by a popular militia. The Catholic Church in Paris was disestablished. Its endowments were confiscated. School fees were abolished. Judges and magistrates were elected to office and could be dismissed by a popular vote. A three-year moratorium on debts was proclaimed.

In Marx's view the Paris workers had established machinery of government by which "the economic emancipation of labour" could be achieved. He declared that the Commune had "intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few". "It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators." "It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and labour, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour."

Marx declared that if the Commune had controlled the country districts, it would have freed the peasants from "the tyranny of the village policeman, the gendarme, and the Prefect". It would have put "enlightenment by the schoolmaster in place of stultification by the priest". It would have reversed the attempt of the middle classes "to shift on to the peasants' shoulders the chief load of the five milliards of indemnity to be paid to the Prussians".

Marx praised the Commune for being "emphatically international". A German had been appointed Minister of Labour, a Hungarian Minister of Education. "The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris." Marx also praised the economic and social policy of the Commune. Journeymen bakers had been protected by the abolition of night work. Employers had been forbidden to fine their workers. Factories and workshops which had been closed were to be re-opened by workers' co-operative associations. Marx claimed that the Commune had wrought a wonderful change in Paris. Crime had declined and the prostitutes had vanished.[148]

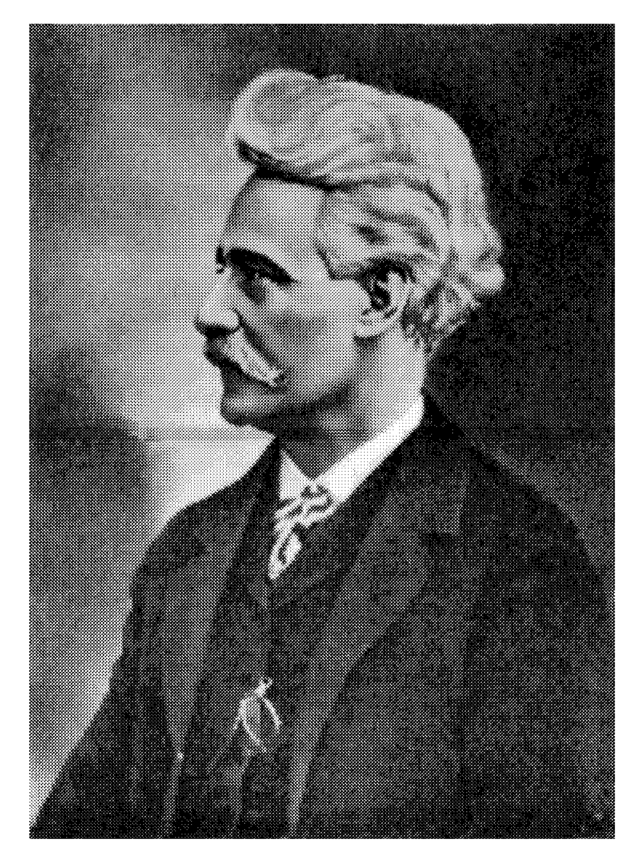
Marx's pamphlet brought him – and the International – more publicity than he had expected. Almost overnight he found himself branded as "a dangerous and even desperate advocate of revolution".[149] He declared that his address on the Commune had made "the devil of a noise, and I have the honour to be, at this moment, the best calumniated and most menaced man in London. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years' idyll in my den. The government paper – the *Observer* – threatens me with a legal prosecution. I laugh at these scoundrels".[150]

A few days later Engels wrote to Liebknecht:

> "Here in London there has been an unholy row over the Address. At first it was completely ignored, but that could not last. On Wednesday, June 14, the *Evening Standard* denounced the Address. On the 15th the *Daily News* published an extract from it that was copied by most papers. Then came the *Echo* – on Saturday the *Spectator*, *Graphic*, *Pall Mall Gazette* and a leading article in the *Telegraph* and that was that. On Monday the *Times* followed suit with a really dirty leading article. The *Evening Standard* then mentioned the Address again. Yesterday the *Times* referred to the Address once more and now we – and we alone – are the talk of the whole of London."[151]

On June 6, 1871 Jules Favre, the French Foreign Minister, sent a despatch to the French ambassadors in European capitals. He instructed them to urge upon the states to which they were accredited the desirability of prohibiting the International which was a revolutionary association responsible for setting up the


Laura Lafargue (née Marx), 1846–1911


Paul Lafargue, 1842–1911



Eleanor Marx, 1855–1898

Commune in Paris. In Britain the Foreign Office received no written representations from the French Ambassador concerning the International[152] but Henry Bruce,[153] the Home Secretary, caused enquiries to be made on the subject. His secretary approached Karl Marx who readily supplied him with copies of various addresses issued by the International.[154]

In February 1872 the Spanish government appealed to Britain to ban the International, which it described as "a powerful and formidable organisation" which "flies in the face of all the traditions of mankind" and which "effaces God from the mind". The Spanish government declared that "if the evil is to be expelled, it is necessary that all governments should unite their efforts to do so".[155] That the Spanish government was determined to stamp out the International in Spain itself was shown clearly a few months later when the congress of the Spanish section of the International, held at Saragossa, was dissolved by the authorities.[156]

The Spanish note led to a debate in the House of Commons on April 12, 1872. Opponents of the International, such as Baillie Cochrane, quoted some of the more lurid passages in Marx's pamphlet on the Commune. They asserted that it was from London that the Commune had received orders to burn Paris and murder its Archbishop. They declared that the International "desired to abolish marriage, denied God and all rights of property, and preached assassination". They appealed to the government to save the masses from being indoctrinated "with crime and treason". They demanded protection against those who aimed at the violent overthrow of existing society.

The Home Secretary replied that although the doctrines propagated by the International were mischievous, it was better that these "dangerous ideas" should be advocated openly rather than secretly by an underground movement. Freedom of expression was allowed in England and the International had kept within the law. He thought that an association which had only about 8,000 members was hardly likely to become a danger to national security.[157] The British government took no action with regard to the International in England, though in Ireland the police harassed those who tried to organise branches of the International in Dublin and Cork. The activities of the Royal Irish Constabulary doubtless pleased the Pope who regarded the leaders of the International as "the incarnation of evil".[158] The Foreign Secretary informed the Spanish government that "the revolutionary designs which form part of the Society's programme are believed to express the opinion of the foreign members rather than those of the British workmen, whose attention is turned chiefly to questions affecting wages".

Foreign refugees who incited "insurrection against the Government of their respective countries" were liable to expulsion.[159] Immediately after the debate in the House of Commons, Marx drew up a declaration on behalf of the General Council which denied the allegations made against the International by Baillie Cochrane. Marx denounced Baillie Cochrane's speech as one which exhibited "a wilful and premeditated ignorance of what he is talking about".[160]

Although the Home Office left the International alone it drew the line at admitting Marx to British citizenship. Marx was a stateless person, having given up his Prussian citizenship. In 1861 he had tried, but without success, to recover it. Now he sought British naturalisation. In 1874 two Scotland Yard detectives reported that Marx was "the notorious German agitator, the head of the International Society, and the advocate of communistic principles. This man has not been loyal to his own King and Country".[161] Marx realised that "it is very likely that the British Home Minister, who like a sultan, decides on naturalisation, will upset my plans".[162] He was right, for his application was rejected.

Soon after writing *The Civil War in France*, Marx again gave his views on the lessons to be learned from the Commune. At a banquet to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the founding of the International, Marx declared that the experience of the Commune had shown that there must be a transitional period between the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of a communist society. This phase in the development of communism would be "a dictatorship of the proletariat".[163] Engels repeated the phrase twenty years later in his introduction to a new edition of *The Civil War in France*. He wrote:

> "Of late the Social Democratic philistine[164] has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."[165]

Although Engels regarded *The Civil War in France* as a brilliant essay he realised that Marx had ascribed to the Commune policies which it had never carried out. He explained that Marx had "turned the *unconscious* tendencies of the Commune into more or less concrete conscious plans and, in the circumstances, this was justifiable and even necessary.[166]

On March 18, 1872 a public meeting was held in London to celebrate the first anniversary of the establishment of the Paris Commune. It was organised by "members of the International,

the Democrats of London, and the Refugees of the Commune". The following resolutions, drawn up by Marx, were passed:

> 1. "That this meeting assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the 18th March last, declares, that it looks upon the glorious movement inaugurated upon the 18th March 1871, as the dawn of the great social revolution which will for ever free the human race from class rule.
> 2. "That the incapacity and the crimes of the middle classes, extended all over Europe by their hatred against the working classes, have doomed old society no matter under what form of government – Monarchial or Republican.
> 3. "That the crusade of all governments against the International, and the terror of the murderers of Versailles as well as of their Prussian conquerors, attest the hollowness of their successes, and the presence of the threatening army of the proletariat of the whole world gathering in the rear its heroic vanguard crushed by the combined forces of Thiers and William of Prussia."[167]

It is hardly surprising that the whole-hearted support given by Marx and Engels to the revolutionary government in Paris – and the admission of exiled members of the Commune to the General Council of the International – should have shocked the majority of the trade union leaders in England. For some years Marx and Engels had tried to work with the trade union representatives on the General Council in the hope of converting them to socialism. Now the English members of the Council were drifting away. They refused to be associated with those who advocated atheism and republicanism and who condoned the shooting of hostages and the burning of the Tuileries. Industrial output was expanding while unemployment was falling at this time so that there were fewer strikes and fewer opportunities for the General Council to intervene in industrial disputes. So while Bebel, Liebknecht, Garibaldi and Bakunin on the Continent defended the Commune, most of the English trade union leaders were not prepared to support the Commune. Odger and Lucraft repudiated Marx's address on the Commune and resigned from the General Council of the International. When he gave up his post as secretary of the General Council in the summer of 1872 – after his quarrel with Engels – Hales complained that the General Council was "filled with distrust, mistrust and suspicion, and possessed nothing of an international spirit".[168]

In January 1870 Marx had declared that it would be a crime to let the trade union movement – "this great lever of proletarian revolution"[169] fall into purely English hands. In April 1870 he had written that "to hasten the social revolution in England is the most

important object of the International Working Men's Association".[170] But his hold on the "lever of proletarian revolution" – never very firm – fell from his grasp in October 1870 when an independent Federal Council for English branches of the International was set up. Marx had little influence over it and his hold over the labour movement dwindled and eventually disappeared. It is clear from a letter which Jenny Marx wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht that Marx was under a great strain – owing to overwork and financial worries – in the summer of 1872. She wrote: "You cannot imagine what we have had to go through here in London since the fall of the Commune". She complained of the "endless sorrows and distress", which had given Marx "no rest by day or by night".[171] Friedrich Lessner later recalled that, at this time, Marx's "household expenses kept on increasing, especially after the Commune". "In his house one could always meet a number of French emigrants who had to be accommodated and maintained."[172] Shortly before Jenny Marx had written to Liebknecht, Marx had told Danielson that it was his intention to withdraw from the International in September 1872.[173] It was in that month that Marx and Engels attended the congress of the International which was held at The Hague. There he castigated the English trade union leaders who were no longer prepared to listen to his advice. "When I denounced these fellows," he declared, "I knew that I was letting myself in for unpopularity, calumny etc., but such consequences have always been a matter of indifference to me."[174]

The English workers showed little sympathy for the exiles from Paris, who sought refuge in London from the terror of the reaction in France. In July 1871 the General Council of the International set up a refugees committee to help the émigrés. Marx and Engels, who remembered their own unhappy experiences as exiles in London in 1850, did what they could to help the refugees. At that time Marx wrote that "London is overrun with refugees, whom we have to look after".[175] In August 1871 Engels complained to the General Council that "the working class of England had behaved in a disgraceful manner; though the men of Paris had risked their lives, the working men of England had made no effort to sympathise with them or to assist them".[176] In February 1872 a deputation of refugees told the General Council that "the French government was landing men on the English shores every day with scarcely any clothes to wear and absolutely penniless, and the refugees here in London were in despair. They had no funds, and did not know what to do. The Council had collected money for them and had given them from £5 to £10 per week, until a week

ago and now that had fallen off".[177] In April 1872 Engels wrote to T. C. Cuno: "We have more than a hundred helpless emigrés of the Paris Commune (*literally helpless*, for no people ever feel so helpless abroad as do the French) and what they did not eat up, we sent to a fine fellow in Cork, Ireland,[178] who founded the International there and was rewarded by being excommunicated by the priests and the bourgeoisie and ultimately ruined. We have no money left just now."[179]

At the end of 1872 Engels admitted that he and Marx had lost whatever influence they might have had over the labour movement in England. He bemoaned the fact that things were "shockingly bad in the movement here – worse than they ever were, as is to be expected with such industrial prosperity".[180] At the first conference of the English branches of the International, held in Nottingham in July 1872, it was resolved that the English Federal Council should correspond directly with other federal councils and not through the General Council. At the same time that Marx's influence over the trade union movement in England declined there was a violent clash between the supporters of Marx and the followers of Bakunin on the Continent. Abandoned by both the trade unionists and the anarchists Marx realised that the days of the International were numbered.

X. Bakunin and the International

Mikhail Bakunin,[181] who was largely responsible for the fatal split in the International, had a long career of revolutionary activity behind him. He had never practised any profession or earned a regular income, but had lived the life of a revolutionary vagabond. Born in 1814, Bakunin had spent his childhood on a country estate in Russia. He had attended the artillery school at St Petersburg, and had been gazetted as an ensign. As a young man he had been strongly influenced by Hegel's philosophy. He realised that the reactionary society in which he lived was stifling his intellectual development and like some other progressive Russians – Alexander Herzen and Ivan Turgenev, for example – he preferred exile abroad to life at home under the Czar.

In 1840 Bakunin went to Berlin where he fell under the spell of the Young Hegelians. Here he met Engels for the first time. In 1842 Bakunin wrote "a brilliant essay in the popular art of turning the respectable Hegel into a philosopher of revolution".[182] In 1844 in Paris he met Marx whom he admired for "his knowledge and for his passionate and earnest devotion to the cause of the proletariat". But Bakunin added that he and Marx never

became friends. "Our temperament did not allow it."[183] On a brief visit to Brussels at the end of 1847 Bakunin once more met Marx and Engels. He was scornful of their efforts to foster revolution through the Democratic Federation and the Communist League and wrote to Georg Herwegh that Marx and his followers were "plotting their usual mischief". Bakunin condemned their "vanity, malice, squabbles, theoretical intolerance and practical cowardice". The Democratic Federation he dismissed as "the greatest humbug imaginable" and he accused Marx of "ruining the workers by making theorists of them".[184]

As soon as the Orleans monarchy fell in France in February 1848 Bakunin hastened to Paris to join the National Guard. When the flames of revolution spread to central Europe he was off to Breslau in the hope of taking part in a Polish rising. But the revolt never materialised and Bakunin moved on to Prague where he attended a congress of Slavs and agitated in favour of a movement to free the various Slav peoples from Russian and Austrian domination. Once more nothing was achieved. In the autumn of 1848 Bakunin was in Berlin where he again met Marx.[185] They did not see each other again until 1864.

Having failed to stir up either a Polish or a Czech rising, Bakunin turned his attention to the revolution in Germany. Marx later declared that "the only praiseworthy thing that can be reported about his activity during the revolution is his participation in the Dresden insurrection in May 1849".[186] Bakunin – like Richard Wagner – joined the defenders of the barricades who were supporting the Frankfurt constitution against the Prussian and Saxon troops which had been sent to restore order. The rising failed and Bakunin was arrested. Eight years elapsed before he was free again. He was imprisoned in Saxony before being handed over to the Austrians who, in turn, handed him over to the Russians. Eventually he was sent to Siberia. He escaped in 1861 and reached London safely. Engels wrote to Marx that he was delighted that "the poor devil" had gained his freedom.[187] In 1862 Marx told Engels that he had not seen Bakunin, although Bakunin was living in London.[188]

Bakunin did not settle in London. He wandered from country to country looking for opportunities to stir up trouble and ever ready to foment any revolution that seemed likely to occur. When the Poles were in revolt in 1863 a small legion of Polish exiles was recruited in Paris by Colonel Lapinski – described by Marx as "undoubtedly the most gifted Pole whom I have ever met, and a man of action to boot".[189] Bakunin attached himself to Lapinski's expedition. An English vessel was chartered to take the Poles to

the island of Gothland in the Baltic but the captain refused to proceed any further than Copenhagen. A Danish crew took the ship to Malmö and there the venture ended as a hopeless fiasco. After a brief stay in Stockholm – where the local radicals gave a banquet in his honour – Bakunin moved on to Italy. Here he paid his respects to Garibaldi in Caprera and settled in Florence.

In November 1864 Bakunin was in London for a brief visit and bought a suit from the German tailor Friedrich Lessner, who was one of Marx's most faithful followers. When Marx heard from Lessner that Bakunin was in London he suggested that they should meet. The International had just been established and Marx may have hoped to enrol Bakunin as a recruiting agent on the Continent for the new association. On the following day Marx wrote to Engels: "I must say that I was very pleased with him – more so than on previous occasions." "On the whole I think that he is one of the few people who has not declined after 16 years but has progressed."[190] In 1870 in a letter to Bracke and the committee of the German social democrat party in Brunswick, Marx alleged that, when he saw Bakunin in 1864, he "took him into the Association, for which Bakunin promised to work to the best of his ability".[191] If this statement is correct, it is surprising that, in his letter to Engels (written so soon after the meeting) Marx should have failed to mention that Bakunin had joined the International.

Bakunin had no intention of devoting his energies to the expansion of the International. His autocratic temperament would not permit him to play second fiddle to Marx and he aspired to lead a revolutionary movement himself. His concept of revolution differed from that of Marx and Engels. They believed that the factory workers in advanced industrial countries like England would be the spearhead of revolution, while Bakunin assigned this *rôle* to the down-trodden peasants of underdeveloped countries like Russia, Italy, and Spain. Again, Marx and Engels considered that the era of cloak and dagger conspiracies was over, and that revolution should now be openly advocated by public associations like the International. But Bakunin believed that a successful revolution could be promoted only by a handful of dedicated militants organised in an underground movement and in 1865 he established a secret society in Florence called the "Brotherhood". He does not seem to have had much success as a revolutionary in Florence and in October 1865 he moved on to Naples, where he established another underground organisation called the International Brotherhood.

The objects of the International Brotherhood were set forth in Bakunin's *Revolutionary Catechism*, which has been described as

"a critical turning point in the development of his political thought".[192] He now rejected nationalism as an agent of revolution and advocated "the radical destruction of all existing institutions" throughout the world. Centralised states should be replaced by small autonomous communes; religion should be replaced by atheism; and the right to inherit property should be abolished. Bakunin proposed that all classes should be equal and that "free marriage" should be allowed.[193] This was the doctrine of anarchism and Marx and Engels had no difficulty in dismissing it as fit only for "a children's primer". Engels denounced Bakunin's plans as "a potpourri of Proudhonism and communism" and explained that their fundamental error was to regard the state, instead of capitalism, as the main social evil, which should be abolished. Marx declared that Bakunin was "a man devoid of theoretical knowledge", whose ideas on politics and economics were "a hash superficially scraped together from the Right and the Left".[194]

In the autumn of 1867 Bakunin left Italy for Switzerland. He arrived in time to attend a peace congress which opened in Geneva on September 9. Invitations had been extended on a generous scale to "all friends of free democracy" so that many different opinions were represented at the congress. Marx was deeply suspicious of any new international organisation that might rival the International and he called the organisers of the Geneva Congress "peace windbags" and "asses".[195] He told the General Council that, in his opinion, any of its members who attended the Geneva peace congress should go as private individuals and not as official representatives of the International.[196] The General Council accepted this advice but the next congress of the International – held at Lausanne – did not. The following resolution was passed at Lausanne.

> "Considering that the prime and principal cause of war is pauperism and lack of economic balance, that to eliminate wars it is not sufficient to disband standing armies, but it is also necessary to change the organisation of society to bring about a more just distribution of products, this Congress adheres to the League Congress provided the latter accept the above principles."[197]

By attending the peace congress at Geneva and by delivering one of the main speeches there, Bakunin was playing a new *rôle*. For some time he had been engaged in organising secret societies like the "Brotherhoods" in Italy, but now, as an avowed anarchist, he openly advocated revolution in his speeches and writings. His new image as a public figure, however, was a little tarnished since he continued to dabble in underground movements and dark

conspiracies – some of which appear to have existed only in his fertile imagination. In his address to the peace congress Bakunin denounced the existing system of "centralised states" and advocated the establishment of a federal United States of Europe, which would be made up of communes, provinces and nations.

The Geneva congress set up a League of Peace and Freedom and Bakunin served on its executive committee. It was clear from the acrimonious debates at the congress that a wide gulf separated the right wing middle class pacifist delegates and the left wing radicals, socialists and revolutionaries. Bakunin tried to convert the committee to his own way of thinking and by the middle of 1868 he had achieved some success. The committee adopted a programme demanding the elimination of religion from political institutions, the founding of a federal United States of Europe; and the reorganisation of society so as to secure an "equitable division of wealth, labour, leisure, and education".[198]

The reference in the programme to the elimination of the proletariat suggested that – as far as the social question was concerned – Bakunin was drawing closer to Marx, who had often demanded the emancipation of the workers and the abolition of class rule. In the summer of 1868 Bakunin joined the "Romance Branch" of the International in Geneva. He hoped to persuade the League of Peace and the International to amalgamate and it was his ambition to become a leader of the enlarged organisation. He endeavoured to secure the co-operation of J. P. Becker who was a friend of Marx and an influential member of the International in Switzerland. In August 1868 the committee of the League of Peace voted in favour of making an alliance with the International. But in September the congress of the International, meeting in Brussels, rejected the proposed alliance and invited members of the League of Peace to join one of the branches of the International.[199] At the second congress of the League of Peace, held shortly afterwards, Bakunin and 14 of his followers resigned when it became clear that they were in a small minority and could not hope to dominate the proceedings.

In September 1868 when Bakunin left the League of Peace, he was publicly pledged to support the International which he had recently joined. But it never occurred to him simply to serve the association as a member of its Geneva branch. He yearned to be at the heart of a revolutionary movement and he craved for a position of leadership in the International. He decided to challenge what he chose to regard as the autocratic powers of the General Council and he demanded a greater measure of autonomy for the local branches. He seems to have hoped to transfer the General

Council from England to Switzerland and to achieve a dominant position in the International for himself. On leaving the League of Peace he immediately established a new organisation called the International Social Democratic Alliance. At first its only members were a handful of Bakunin's friends. Bakunin declared that members of the Alliance would also be members of the International. He saw the Alliance as a ginger group which would train dedicated political missionaries to carry the gospel of the International to the ends of the earth. The headquarters of the Alliance was in Geneva where Bakunin co-opted five members of the local branch of the International to serve on his executive committee. The most important was J. P. Becker, an old friend of Marx and Engels and the leader of the International in Switzerland and parts of Germany. But Becker did not appreciate Bakunin's far-reaching aims.

At first Marx could not believe that the Alliance – "this shit"[200] – posed a serious threat to the International. Marx regarded Bakunin as a charlatan who was pretending to lead a powerful revolutionary organisation whereas, in fact, the only support that the Alliance enjoyed came from a tiny clique of his supporters. But Marx received a rude awakening on December 15, 1868 at a meeting of the General Council when a letter from J. P. Becker was received. Becker stated that an International Alliance of Social Democracy had been founded in Switzerland and it had joined the Interntional.[201] The General Council asked Marx to draw up a declaration repudiating the "interloping society".[202] After the meeting Marx went home in a state of considerable agitation.[203] He worked far into the night making critical marginal notes on the programme of the Alliance,[204] which he dismissed as a "pure farce".[205] Then he wrote a letter to Engels asking for his advice. Marx denounced Bakunin for "being so condescending as to wish to take the workers' movement under *Russian* leadership". Marx claimed that he had known all about Bakunin's intrigues but had refrained from mounting a counter-attack out of consideration for his old friend Becker, who had always been a loyal supporter of the International. Marx considered that Becker, "whose propagandist zeal at times runs away with his head",[206] had been an innocent victim of Bakunin's machinations. But now that Bakunin was making a serious bid to gain for himself a position of influence in the International, Marx declared that "our association cannot commit suicide to oblige old Becker".[207]

In his reply Engels dismissed the Alliance as a "Russian intrigue" and a "swindle" with a programme that was beneath contempt. He considered that it would do more harm than good to attack Bakunin – "you must never lose your temper with a

Russian" – and he advised Marx to tell the Alliance politely that it could not join the International but that its members could belong to both organisations. In any case Engels thought that the Alliance was "stillborn" and had no hope of survival.[208] Marx agreed with this assessment of the situation and wrote that he had "handled the affair in a tactful manner – just as you advised".[209] On December 22, 1868 Marx wrote a public declaration, on behalf of the General Council, full of "thoroughly reasoned" arguments,[210] explaining why the Alliance could not be admitted to the International.[211]

There the matter rested for over two months. In that period Bakunin strengthened his position in Switzerland by securing control over the "Romance Federation", which was a union of 30 French speaking branches of the International. It published a journal called *L'Égalité*. At the conference in Geneva at which this federation was established Bakunin met James Guillaume, a young schoolmaster from Le Locle, who became his devoted disciple. Guillaume's propaganda among the radical workers of the Swiss Jura – and the success of his journal *Progrès* – gave Bakunin a firm foothold in this district. And early in 1869 Bakunin was boasting that his Alliance had gained more converts in Italy and Spain in a few weeks than the International had gained in four years.[212]

Despite these successes Bakunin was now ready to accept the ruling of the General Council and to agree to the demise of the Alliance. A new approach was made to the International at the end of February 1869. Marx sent the letter to Engels for his observations.[213] Engels replied that Bakunin had made a "complete retreat". He was glad to learn that Marx proposed to ask the Alliance for details of its membership. This, he thought, would be like pouring "a bucket of cold water over their gabbling heads".[214]

On behalf of the General Council Marx wrote to the Alliance on March 9, 1869. He noted that it was proposed to wind up the Alliance as an independent organisation and he agreed that branches of the Alliance might be enrolled as branches of the International provided that the phrase "equalisation of classes" (in the programmes of such branches) was changed to "abolition of classes".[215] In April 1869 the Geneva section of the Alliance changed its statutes to meet Marx's condition and it became a branch of the International. In June the central bureau of the Alliance formally announced its own dissolution and on July 27 the General Council admitted the Geneva branch to the International.[216] Although Bakunin and his followers had now publicly declared that the Alliance was dissolved, its organisation survived and it continued to propagate Bakunin's views in the branches of the International

which it controlled. Moreover the secret "Alliance" – Bakunin's most faithful disciples – also survived as an underground movement. Marx and Engels had gained a hollow victory. They had forced the Alliance to alter its statutes and to announce its dissolution. But Bakunin now controlled an active revolutionary movement within the International which he was still determined to dominate. Engels had no illusions concerning Bakunin's ambitions at this time. Only a few days after the Geneva branch of the Alliance was admitted to the International he wrote: "It is quite clear that fatty Bakunin is behind all this." "If this damned Russian really thinks that he can secure the leadership of the workers' movement then the time has really come when he should be firmly put in his place."[217]

By September 1869 Bakunin was ready to challenge the authority of the General Council. Marx declared that Bakunin, who was "in his element as an intriguer",[218] hoped to secure "the transformation of the International into his personal instrument".[219] Bakunin attended the fourth congress of the International which was held at Basel. Since Marx was absent there was no personal confrontation between the two rivals who both aimed at controlling the General Council. Although he could count on only about a dozen votes, Bakunin was confident that his personality and powers of oratory would sway the delegates in whatever direction he chose. The clash between the General Council and Bakunin's followers came over a motion approving the abolition of the right of inheritance. Eccarius submitted a report, written by Marx on behalf of the General Council, which stated that it was more important to abolish private property than the right of inheritance. If property were nationalised – and the congress had just resolved to support state ownership in land – then the question of inheritance would not arise.[220] Bakunin's eloquent attack upon Marx's report secured its rejection. But his own resolution on inheritance was also defeated. Thus the congress failed to reach a decision on this vexed question. Bakunin however had the satisfaction of seeing the congress reject a proposal submitted by the General Council with Marx's express approval. No wonder that the unhappy Eccarius declared that "Marx will be extremely displeased".[221]

For two years after the Basel congress Marx and Bakunin were locked in a struggle for mastery over the International. When their rivalry was at its height at the end of 1871 Engels wrote to Lafargue: "I shall be very glad when this whole business is finished once and for all. You cannot imagine how much work, correspondence etc., it has involved for us. Mohr (Marx), Serraillier and I have been unable to attend to anything else for weeks."[222] A few months later

he admitted that "the Bakunist rubbish cannot be cleared away in one day; it is quite enough that the process of clearing it out has at last begun in good earnest".[223] At first Bakunin delegated to his lieutenants the task of harrying Marx and the General Council. Instead of taking the initiative and following up the advantage gained at Basel, he moved to Locarno in the hope of enjoying "a year of silent, studious and lucrative retirement".[224]

Left to their own devices, Bakunin's followers in Geneva and Le Locle launched a vitriolic press campaign against the General Council. In one article after another in *L'Égalité* and *Le Progrès* the General Council was accused of "neglecting extremely important matters", such as the production of a bulletin. The General Council was attacked for failing to adopt a definite policy with regard to the rival socialist parties in Germany and for neglecting to set up a federal council for England so as to give itself more time for the important task of keeping in contact with all branches of the International. Marx rightly attributed these attacks to members of Bakunin's Alliance who still considered that it was "their special mission to usurp the supreme authority of the International Association". In January 1870 he answered the criticisms of the two newspapers in a memorandum which the General Council sent to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland. Marx forwarded copies of this memorandum – with a covering letter entitled "Confidential Information" – to all branches of the Association.[225]

XI. The International in Spain

In 1870 Bakunin had a firm base in Geneva and in the Swiss Jura for his manoeuvres against Marx. His attempts to extend his influence elsewhere had their greatest success in Italy and Spain where, as Marx observed, "the real conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed".[226] These were poor backward countries in which there was a sharp contrast between the wealth of the landowners and the Church and the poverty of the peasants and the artisans. In both states the instability of the government and the corruption of its officials gave little hope that the situation would improve. Militant extremists could readily find men who were prepared to support any political movement that offered a possibility of removing the evils of poverty and oppression. And both countries had a long tradition of organising revolution through underground movements. In Italy the *carbonari* had played its part in preparing the way for the risings of 1848. In Spain in 1871 there was a secret society called *el Tiro Nacional*. Paul Lafargue, in a letter to Engels, declared that he had come

across its members in all the villages that he had visited. "It is a veritable army, every member must have at his disposal a musket, a certain quantity of powder and bullets and must obey the orders of the Madrid *directorio*."[227] Bakunin's love of underground movements stood him in good stead in Italy and Spain where he could hope to infiltrate and eventually control existing secret revolutionary organisations. By appointing him corresponding secretary for these countries, the General Council gave Engels the task of stopping the advance of Bakunin's doctrines and of keeping the workers' organisations loyal to the International. Engels complained of having "to write long letters, one after another in Italian and Spanish, two languages I barely understand".[228]

When Queen Isabella of Spain was forced to abdicate in 1868, Bakunin – writing on behalf of the Geneva branches of the International – sent an address to the Spanish workers appealing to them to follow up the political revolution with an economic revolution.[229] In the autumn of 1868, after visiting Bakunin in Locarno, Guiseppi Fanelli[230] – a veteran of the rising in Lombardy in 1848 – went to Spain, where in co-operation with André Sastelica, he founded branches of the International in Barcelona and Madrid. In 1869 the Spanish branches were represented at the Basel congress of the International by G. Sentiñón and Pellicer. Bakunin took the opportunity to enrol them in the Geneva section of his Alliance and in his secret society as well. They subsequently persuaded some of their friends in the International to join them in establishing a branch of the secret Alliance in Barcelona. By July 1871 the International had expanded sufficiently in Spain to warrant the calling of a national conference in Barcelona. The conference – dominated by Bakunin's supporters – set up a Spanish Federal Council; appointed Francisco Mora as general secretary; and established a journal called *La Federacion*.

In August 1871 the Spanish Federal Council, fearing prosecution by the government, fled to Lisbon,[231] but in the following month it was found possible to hold a second conference of the Spanish branches of the International in Valencia. Anselmo Lorenzo was elected to represent the Spanish branches at a conference of the International in London. He later recalled that he had been welcomed in London by Marx who had expressed "great satisfaction with what we had achieved in Spain".[232]

Sagasta, the Spanish Minister for Home Affairs, issued a decree in January 1872 dissolving the branches of the International but the police were lax in enforcing the decree. At this time Bakunin explained to G. T. Morago, one of his staunchest supporters, how he planned to gain control over the International. By April 1870

Morago had become "the moving spirit of the Alliance in Spain".[233]

Meanwhile Paul Lafargue, forced to leave France after the fall of the Paris Commune, had been working in Spain as Marx's emissary. His letters to Engels show how – in co-operation with Francisco Mora and Pablo Iglesias – he tried to combat Morago's propaganda on behalf of the Alliance.[234] Engels and Lafargue exaggerated their achievements in Spain. In December 1871 Engels boasted that the "internal struggles of the Spanish International" had been "finally settled in our favour";[235] in February 1872 he told Becker that he was quite confident of success in Spain;[236] and in March 1872 he assured Laura Lafargue that, owing to her husband's efforts, the Marxist cause had gained "victory all along the line".[237]

Despite the ban on their activities, the Spanish branches of the International held their third conference in Saragossa in April 1872. In a message to the conference the General Council congratulated the Spanish branches on having made the International "a real force in Spain".[238] The conference was disbanded by the authorities but was left in peace when it continued to meet in private. Lafargue claimed that the Marxists had vanquished Bakunin's followers.[239] Engels also asserted that at Saragossa "our people won a victory over the Bakunists".[240] The very opposite was true. Although the conference had rejected some Bakunist resolutions it had elected a new Spanish Federal Council which was dominated by Bakunin's followers. Two leading supporters of Marx – Anselmo Lorenzo and Francisco Mora – were no longer members of the Council. Engels admitted at this time that in Catalonia – Spain's only industrial province – the Bakunists controlled the International and its journal *La Federacion*.[241]

In July 1872 Marx and Engels, on behalf of the General Council, wrote to the Spanish branches that the Council held proofs of the existence in Spain of "a secret society called the Alliance of Social Democracy". The activities of the Alliance were denounced as "treason against our association".[242] Marx's followers now broke away from the Spanish Federation and their new Madrid Federation was recognised by the General Council. Engels denounced the old Federal Council because many of its members belonged to "a secret society hostile to the International". Lafargue's mission had failed because when he left Spain at the end of July 1872 the International was split into hostile factions and only a small minority of the branches supported the General Council in London. The politically conscious workers had found the doctrines of Bakunin and Proudhon more palatable than those of Marx. Engels

could not derive much satisfaction from the contemplation of his work as corresponding secretary for Spain.

XII. The International in Italy

Engels was equally unsuccessful in Italy, where Bakunin proved to be as dangerous an enemy as in Spain.[243] Bakunin was favourably placed to promote his revolutionary agitation, since he had lived in Florence and Naples and had "many personal friends in Italy",[244] some of whom had been enrolled in his secret societies. From the shores of Lake Maggiore he kept in touch with his followers. Engels, on the other hand, had few reliable agents in Italy. In Turin, Carlo Terzagli, the editor of *Proletariato Italiano*, turned out to be a police informer. In Milan the Austrian engineer Theodor Cuno – organiser of a workers' union and editor of *Il Martello* – was betrayed to the police by supporters of Bakunin and was expelled from Italy.[245] In Naples Engels corresponded with Carlo Cafiero, a well-to-do young man whom he had met in London.[246] Engels considered Cafiero – who had reorganised the Naples section of the International in 1871 – to be "a good fellow" but "weak". He told Laura Lafargue in March 1872 that he would cease to write to Cafiero "if he doesn't improve soon".[247] Two months later Cafiero visited Bakunin and fell completely under his spell. On June 12, 1872 he wrote to Engels that he had been converted to Bakunin's views.[248]

Numerous associations of workers had flourished in Italy in the 1850s and 1860s – trade societies, ex-servicemen's associations, political clubs, friendly societies and social clubs. Many were inspired by Mazzini and Garibaldi and supported the movement for Italian unification and independence. At first the International held few attractions for the Italian workers. In 1871, however, the rise and fall of the commune in Paris gave the supporters of the International an opportunity to launch a recruiting campaign in Italy. Engels declared that the Italian workers were deserting Mazzini who had condemned the excesses of the Commune and were now prepared to follow supporters of the Commune such as Garibaldi, Bakunin and Marx.

Although they were attacked by the Pope[249] and by Mazzini[250] – and proscribed by the government[251] – many branches of the International were set up in Italy. A police report estimated the membership of the association at nearly 32,500 in 1872. Engels told the General Council in November 1871 that the International was making "immense strides" in Italy.[252] At the same time he wrote to Carmelo Palladini that "the spontaneous movement of

the proletarian masses in support of our Association has been more pronounced and more enthusiastic in Italy than anywhere else".[253]

Engels' satisfaction with the situation in Italy was shortlived. By January 1872 he realised that he was fighting a losing battle for he admitted that in Italy "the Bakunists are for the present the masters of the situation within the International".[254] At this time Vitale Regis,[255] a member of the Italian section of the International in London, visited Switzerland and Italy on behalf of the General Council. He reported that Bakunin's agents were very active in northern Italy and he warned Engels that Terzaghi was not to be trusted.[256] In March 1872 Engels complained to Laura Lafargue that "in Italy the journalists, lawyers and doctors have pushed themselves so much to the fore that up to now we have never been able to come in direct contact with the workers".[257] But he claimed that "the teachings of the pretended leaders – doctors, lawyers, journalists – had not any influence upon the real working class".[258] In May 1872 he wrote that "in Italy the attempts of the aristocracy and middle class to put themselves forward as the true representatives of the working class continued with unabated impudence".[259] In June 1872 Engels told Cuno that "the Italians must gain a little more experience and must learn how absurd it is for so backward a people of peasants to presume to tell the workers in great industrial states how to gain their freedom".[260]

Meanwhile, when Mazzini died in March 1872, many of his followers found a new leader in Bakunin, who "became the oracle of the Italian proletariat".[261] Engels's discomfiture was complete when Cafiero succeeded in uniting most of the branches of the International in Italy in a single federation. At a conference held in August 1872 at Rimini nearly all the branches broke off relations with the General Council.[262] They decided to boycott the forthcoming congress of the International at The Hague. Instead they proposed to attend a conference at Neuchâtel that was being organised by Bakunin's supporters in Switzerland. Only four Italian branches – Rome, Milan, Turin and Ferrara – remained faithful to the General Council. Bakunin was now virtually master of the International in Italy.

XIII. The Hague Congress, 1872

As Bakunin's followers gained more and more ground – particularly in Spain and Italy – Marx and Engels decided to hit back and to expel those who persistently challenged the authority of the General Council. They made their preparations well in advance

of the congress of the International which was held at The Hague in 1872. Since the Franco–Prussian war had prevented the holding of a public congress in 1870 or in 1871, the General Council called a private conference of branch delegates in London instead. It met between September 17 and 23 1871. As far as possible Bakunin's followers – such as the Romance Federation in the Jura district – were excluded. Firmly guided by Engels – who acted as chairman – the London conference resolved:

> "That the existing branches and societies shall . . . no longer be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists etc., or to form separist bodies under the names of sections of propaganda, Alliance of Democratic Socialism etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association."[263]

James Guillaume promptly organised a meeting of Bakunin's followers in Switzerland as a counterblast to the recent conference in London. This was held at Sonvillier in November 1871. The conference demanded the immediate calling of a public congress of the International and attacked what it regarded as the autocracy of the General Council in London. The "Sonvillier Circular", signed by 16 delegates, declared that:

> "If there is an undeniable fact attested a thousand times by experience, it is the corrupting effect of authority on those in whose hands it is placed . . . The functions of members of the General Council have come to be regarded as the private property of a few individuals . . . They have become in their own eyes a sort of government; and it was natural that their own particular ideas should seem to them to be the official and only authorised doctrine of the Association, while divergent ideas expressed by other groups seem no longer a legitimate expression of opinion equal in value to their own, but a veritable heresy."

The "Sonvillier Circular" demanded that the General Council should be stripped of the powers that it had exercised in the past and should become "a simple office for correspondence and statistics".[264]

Marx and Engels replied to the "Sonvillier Circular" in a pamphlet entitled "Fictitious Splits in the International" which was approved by the General Council on March 5, 1872 and subsequently published in Geneva. The title of the pamphlet was a curious one since the splits in the International far from being fictitious were very real. In this circular to branches of the International Marx and Engels gave a detailed account – from their point of view – of Bakunin's efforts to gain control over the Inter-

national. They denounced Bakunin as an anarchist who had "taken nothing from the socialist system except a set of slogans". They concluded their attack on Bakunin's Alliance by declaring that

> "All socialists see anarchy as the following programme: once the aim of the proletarian movement, i.e. abolition of classes is attained, the power of the state, which serves to keep the great majority of producers in bondage to a very small exploiter minority, disappears, and the functions of government become simple administrative functions. The Alliance draws an entirely different picture. It proclaims anarchy in proletarian ranks as the most infallible means of breaking the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. Under this pretext, it asks the International, at a time when the old world is seeking a way of crushing it, to replace its organisation with anarchy."[265]

While this war of words was proceeding, Marx and Engels prepared their plan of campaign for the forthcoming public congress of the International at The Hague. Their object was to amass enough evidence against Bakunin to ensure his expulsion from the International. From his correspondents in Spain and Italy – particularly from Paul Lafargue – Engels obtained proofs of the activities of the Alliance through which Bakunin was plotting to undermine the authority of the General Council. Marx, for his part, sought to discredit Bakunin by laying his hands on a letter written by Sergei Nechaev to Lyubavin. Bakunin had agreed to translate the first volume of *Das Kapital* into Russian and Lyubavin had secured for him an advance of 300 roubles from a St. Petersburg publisher. Bakunin had translated only a small part of the book when he dropped the project. But he failed to return the 300 roubles. Nechaev wrote a letter to Lyubavin threatening him with all sorts of unpleasant consequences if he tried to recover the 300 roubles. Marx had recently been in correspondence with a Russian student named N. F. Danielson, who had asked to see any amendments to the first volume of *Das Kapital* which Marx proposed to make for the Russian translation. In August 1872 Marx asked Danielson to borrow Nechaev's letter from Lyubavin. Danielson succeeded in doing so and the compromising letter came into Marx's hands.

The last congress of the International met on September 2, 1872 in a "common dancing hall" – the Concordia – in the Lombardstraat at The Hague. For the first time Marx and Engels put in an appearance at a public congress of the International. They knew that the votes of the German and French delegates alone would give them a comfortable majority. Theodor Cuno, who met Engels for the first time at The Hague, described him as "a tall bony man

with sharp cut features, long, sandy whiskers, ruddy complexion, and little blue eyes. His manner of moving and speaking is quick, determined and convinces the observer that the man knows exactly what he wants and what will be the consequences of his words and action. In conversation with him one learns something new with every sentence he utters".[266]

The congress appointed a committee to examine the charges brought by Marx and Engels against Bakunin and his followers. The committee reported that, on the evidence of documents procured by Lafargue, it was clear that a secret society had existed within the International in Spain. And when Marx read Nechaev's letter to Lyubavin, the committee was satisfied that "Bakunin had used fraudulent measures for the purpose of appropriating all or part of another man's wealth – which constitutes fraud – and further, in order to avoid fulfilling his engagements, had by himself or through his agents had recourse to menaces".[267] On receiving the committee's report the congress expelled Bakunin and his henchman Guillaume from the International.

Although Marx and Engels had got their way it was a hollow victory since the Congress not only banished Bakunin but it banished the General Council as well. For some time Marx had been determined to lay down the burden of trying to run the International and to keep its divergent elements together. His health was deteriorating under the strain. So he decided to secure the removal of the General Council to a place as far away from London as possible – just as in 1850 he had secured the transfer of the central committee of the Communist League from London to Cologne. The proposal to transfer the seat of the General Council from London to New York – supported by Marx, Engels and nine other members of the General Council – was accepted by the congress at The Hague on September 6, 1871 by a narrow majority. Marx hoped that the new General Council would be free from both right wing and left wing pressure. Neither the English trade union leaders nor the followers of Bakunin were likely to have any influence over a General Council meeting in New York. But the new General Council survived for only two years. When Sorge, its general secretary, resigned in 1874 – as branches of the International in America were quarrelling among themselves – Engels wrote that now "the old International is entirely wound up".[268]

For two years Engels had worked hard to relieve Marx of some of his responsibilities in connection with the International. He had regularly attended meetings of the General Council and had undertaken a heavy correspondence on its behalf. But it had not been a very successful phase of Engels's career. His tactlessness had helped

to alienate Hales and other trade union leaders and he had failed to prevent Bakunin from dominating the International in Spain and Italy.

NOTES

1 For documents on Karl Marx and the First International see *Karl Marx und die Gründung der I. International. Dokumente und Materialen* (1964).
2 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 13, 1851 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 1, p. 148.
3 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 196.
4 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 1, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 263.
5 F. Engels to A. Sorge, September 12 and 17, 1874 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963).
6 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, February 23, 1865 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 31.
7 Karl Marx, "The General Council of the Working Men's International Association to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (January 1, 1870) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (Progress Publishers, Moscow), pp. 401–2.
8 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 12, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 270.
9 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 13, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 237.
10 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 9, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 268. In 1868 P. Shorrocks wrote to the General Council of the International from Manchester that the local workers had "little faith in London". But he offered to "endeavour to get adhesion to the International" (*The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8 (February 26, 1868), p. 194).
11 Frank Hall, *A Northern Pioneer. The Story of J. R. Lancashire* (1927), p. 116 and pp. 134–5.
12 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 7, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 200.
13 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 3, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 265.
14 F. Engels to J. Weydemeyer, March 10, 1865 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 71.
15 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 194–9.
16 For George Odger see the *Bookbinders' Trade Circular*, April 28, 1877.
17 For W. Randall Cremer see H. Evans, *Sir Randall Cremer. His Life and Work* (1909).
18 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, November 29, 1864 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 65.
19 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, November 29, 1864 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 62.
20 J. G. Eccarius, "Die Schneiderei in London . . ." in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, Heft 5–6 (May–October

1850): new edition with introduction by Karl Bittel, 1955, pp. 293–303.

21 W. Randall Cremer to Karl Marx, September 28, 1864 in Robert Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 364.

22 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, November 29, 1864 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 65.

23 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (April 16, 1872), p. 153.

24 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (July 2, 1872), p. 243.

25 S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Social Democracy in Europe* (1913), p. 68.

26 H. Collins, "The International and the British Labour Movement. Origin of the International in England" in *Labour History*. Bulletin No. 9, Autumn 1964, p. 35.

27 Major Luigi Wolff, a follower of Mazzini, had been Garibaldi's Adjutant. In 1871 he was exposed as an informer in the pay of Napoleon III.

28 Le Lubez was expelled from the General Council of the International in 1866.

29 John Weston, a carpenter, was a former disciple of Robert Owen.

30 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (October 18, 1864), p. 42.

31 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 198–9 and *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (November 1, 1864), pp. 43–4.

32 Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6, pp. 277–89.

33 Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement* (1909), p. 180.

34 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 266.

35 G. Howell to W. Morrison, April 23, 1872 (Howell Collection: Bishopgate Institution, London). See also George Howell, "The History of the International Association" in the *Nineteenth Century*, July 1878, pp. 26–7 and F. M. Leventhal, *Respectable Radical. George Howell and Victorian Working Class Politics* (1971), p. 53.

36 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, October 13, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 42.

37 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 6 and 17, 1868 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 64–5.

38 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, September 14, 1870 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 113.

39 Schapper had quarrelled with Marx and Engels in 1852 but had returned to the orthodox communist fold six years later.

40 Georg Löchner was a member of the General Council of the International between 1864 and 1867 and between 1871 and 1872.

41 Eugène Dupont moved from London to Manchester in 1870.

42 Hermann Jung ceased to support Marx's policy with regard to the International after the congress held at The Hague in 1872.

43 Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement* (1909), p. 180.

44 Karl Marx to Siegfried Meyer, April 30, 1867 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 73–6.

45 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 11, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 420.

46 F. Engels to Adolf Sorge, September 12 and 17, 1874 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 114.

47 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow): Central Council meeting of November 29, 1864, pp. 51–4. For the reply from Charles Francis Adams (the American Ambassador in London) see pp. 68–9.

48 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow): General Council meeting of May 30, 1871, pp. 356–412. The Address was published in London as a pamphlet (*The Civil War in France*) in 1871.

49 Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 1871 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow): introduction by F. Engels to the third German edition of 1891, p. 7.

50 F. Engels, "What have the Working Classes to do with Poland?" in *The Commonwealth*, March 24 and 31, and May 5, 1866.

51 F. Engels, "Report on the Miners' Gilds in the Coalfields of Saxony" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 390–7: see also the *Bee Hive*, February 27, 1869 and *Der Social Demokrat*, March 17, 1869.

52 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 20, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 272.

53 Karl Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit* (1898: new edition – Progress Publishers, Moscow – 1970).

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55 Karl Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970), p. 55.

56 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, January 15, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 33.

57 F. Engels, "Trade Unions" in *The Labour Standard*, May 28, 1881 and in F. Engels, *The British Labour Movement* (1934), p. 18.

58 Quoted by Henry Collins, "The International and the British Labour Movement. Origin of the International in England" in *Labour History*, Bulletin No. 9, Autumn 1964, p. 34.

59 For the First International in England see H. J. Collins and C. Abramsky, *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement . . .* (1965); H. J. Collins, "The English Branches of the International" in Briggs and Saville, *Essays in Labour History* (1967); H. J. Collins, "The International and the British Labour Movement. Origin of the International in England" in *Labour History*, Bulletin No. 9, *Autumn* 1964; and R. Harrison, *Before the Socialists: Studies in Labour and Politics*, 1861–81 (1965).

60 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (August 8, 1871), p. 254.

61 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (October 5, 1869), p. 166.

62 H. J. Collins, "The International and the British Labour Movement. Origin of the International in England" in *Labour History*, Bulletin No. 9, Autumn 1964, p. 27.

63 *Organisation and Rules of Trade Unions. First Report* (Parliamentary Papers, XXXII, 1867), Questions 993–6.

64 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (October 26, 1869), p. 172.

65 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), pp. 358–60.

66 Hales was referring to "bona fide members in England who have paid subscriptions": see a speech by Henry Bruce (Lord Aberdare), the Home Secretary, in the House of Commons on April 12, 1872 (*Hansard*, Vol. 210, 1872, col. 1183). For Jung's estimate see *L'Echo de Verviers*, February 20, 1866 and *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6, p. 359.

67 *Report of the Conference of Trades Delegates of the United Kingdom held in . . . Sheffield . . . in 1866 . . .* (Sheffield, 1866), p. 72.

68 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70. (August 31, 1869), p. 151.

69 *The Bee Hive*, September 14, 1867 and *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8. The non-trade union affiliated societies were the German Workers Educational Association, the French branch, the Polish Exiles; and the National Reform League.

70 *The United Kingdom First Annual Trades Union Directory* (1861: reprinted 1968) gave a list of 2,154 trade unions organisations (i.e. trade unions or branches of trade unions) in 405 towns. In 1871 the 44 principal trade unions in Great Britain had 224,000 members: see M. G. Mulhall, *The Dictionary of Statistics* (1899), p. 570.

71 In 1868 the trade unions which sent delegates to the first Trade Union Congress had a membership of 118,000 (M. G. Mulhall, *The The Dictionary of Statistics* (1899), p. 813).

72 *The Times*, January 9, 1867 and *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, pp. 90–1.

73 Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (1919), p. 236 (note).

74 In the financial year ending August 31, 1867 the General Council of the International had an income of £63 15s 8½d including contributions of affiliated bodies (£15 15s 10½d) and individual members (£9 18s 7d) and a loan of £2 10s 0d. The General Council had 9s 9d in hand. The balance sheet is given in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, p. 311 and in *The Bee Hive*, September 21, 1867.

75 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow): meeting of the Standing Committee with the Continental Delegates, London, September 25, 1865, p. 232.

76 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6, p. 234.

77 For syndicalism in France see Paul Louis, *Histoire du mouvement syndical en France* (1920).

78 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, October 9, 1866 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 39–40.

79 E. Schulkind, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (The Historical Association, 1971), p. 12.

80 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes* (Progress Publishers, Moscow), Vol. 3, 1868–70 (March 15, 1870), p. 218.

81 Varlin was in Paris again at the time of the Commune and he was shot by the troops from Versailles on May 28, 1871.

82 S. Bernstein, *The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France* (1965), p. 34.
83 Introduction by F. Engels to Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (edition of 1891: new edition issued by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 17–18.
84 "Report of the General Council of the fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes* (Progress Publishers, Moscow), Vol. 3, 1868–70, p. 339.
85 Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Report on the Working Class Movement in Germany" (1865) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), Vol. 1, 1864–6, pp. 251–60. Karl Marx acknowledged the receipt of the report in a letter to Liebknecht of November 21, 1865. He wrote (in English): "As to your report, I could *not* lay it before the conference because I was too personally introduced into it" (Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 66).
86 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, November 21, 1865 (*ibid.*, p. 67).
87 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Liebnecht, January 15, 1866 (*ibid.*, p. 70).
88 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 17, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 334.
89 Karl Marx to F. Engels, June 9, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 338.
90 F. Engels, "Johann Philipp Becker" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 17, 1886: reprinted in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967), pp. 117–26.
91 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6: London conference, September 25, 1865, pp. 237–8.
92 H. Jung to the editor of *L'Echo de Verviers*, February 20, 1866 in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (Appendix), p. 361.
93 Karl Marx to Carl Klings, October 4, 1864 and Karl Marx to Carl Siebel, December 22, 1864 in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 31, pp. 417–18 and p. 436.
94 "Third Annual Report of the Working Men's International Association" in *The Bee Hive*, September 14, 1867 and in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, p. 302.
95 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno, May 7–8, 1872 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 105.
96 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (December 15, 1868), p. 53.
97 R. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International* (1965), p. 181.
98 *Der Volkstaat*, March 20, 1872.
99 Karl Marx to Kwasniewsky, September 25, 1871 in Boris Nikolajewsky, "Karl Marx und die Berliner Sektion der I. Internationale" (*Die Gesellschaft*, Vol. 3, 1933, pp. 260–1).
100 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, November 17, 1871 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), pp. 142–3.
101 Wilhelm Liebknecht to Karl Marx, December 8, 1871 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 146 (note 14).
102 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, December 15, 1871 in Wilhelm

Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), pp. 146–7 and M. M. Drachkowitch (ed.), *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* (1966), p. 34.

103 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, May 15–22, 1872 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 167 and M. M. Drachkowitch (ed.), *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* (1966), p. 34.

104 F. Engels to T. C. Cuno, May 7–8, 1872 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–1895* (1963), p. 105.

105 Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (1866) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6, p. 341. For the intervention of the International in industrial disputes see an article by E. S. Beesly in *The Fortnightly Review* and an interview with Applegarth in the *New York World*, May 21, 1870.

106 H. Collins, "The International and the British Labour Movement. Origin of the International in England" in *Labour History*, Bulletin No. 9, Autumn 1864, p. 28.

107 Karl Marx, "A Warning" in the *Oberrheinischer Courier*, May 15, 1866.

108 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 1, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 329.

109 Karl Marx to W. Liebknecht, May 1, 1866 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), pp. 73–5. Marx's "A Warning" was enclosed in this letter. See also *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1864–6, pp. 367–8.

110 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 10, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 332.

111 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 August 8, 1871), pp. 252–7 and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (1919), p. 316.

112 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. III, 1868–71, pp. 385–6.

113 *Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association assembled in London from 17th to 23rd September 1871* (1871): reprinted in *The General Council of the First International:Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1, pp. 440–50.

114 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 1, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 263: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 494.

115 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 7, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 343.

116 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 27, 1866 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 351–2.

117 Karl Marx to F. Engels, October 30, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 232. For the Land and Labour League see R. Harrison, "The Land and Labour League" in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Social History*, 1953, No. 3.

118 J. G. Eccarius, *Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men of Great Britain and Ireland* (1869): see *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 345–51.

119 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 2, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part

III, Vol. 3, p. 445. He wrote. "The trial of the Fenians in Manchester has had just the results that we desired. You will have seen what a scandal 'our people' have made in the Reform League. I have tried by every means in my power to provoke this demonstration of the English workers in favour of Fenianism."

120 Karl Marx, "The Fenian Prisoners in Manchester . . ." in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, pp. 179–80 and pp. 312–13. See also Paul Rose, *The Manchester Martyrs; the story of a Fenian Tragedy* (1970).

121 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 30, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 455.

122 Karl Marx in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, pp. 253–8.

123 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 30, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 254–8.

124 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 14, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 463.

125 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 17, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 465.

126 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (meeting of November 16, 1869), pp. 178–83.

127 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (meeting of November 23, 1869 – wrongly dated November 26), pp. 186–8.

128 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 26, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 250.

129 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 29, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 251.

130 The circular was summarised by Karl Marx in a letter to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, April 9, 1870 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), pp. 504–8.

131 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (January 31, 1871), pp. 112–17. Engels wound up the debate at a meeting held on March 14, 1871 (pp. 154–6).

132 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 18, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 126: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), pp. 499–500.

133 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (August 8, 1871), p. 256.

134 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (November 21, 1871), p. 43. Engels stated that the *Standard* and the *Scotsman* had printed accounts of the quarrel.

135 See the preface to *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, p. 22. For a time Engels kept his own record of the proceedings of the General Council. At a meeting of the General Council on June 11, 1872 Engels "protested against the Secretary having any power to decide what should go into the Minutes and what should be excluded" (*ibid.*, p. 218). John Hales was expelled from the International by the General Council on May 30, 1873).

136 *General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1, pp. 160–1.

137 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, April 12, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 123.

138 F. Engels to A. Sorge, September 12–17, 1874 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33 (1966), p. 642: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 114.
139 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 227.
140 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–71, pp. 170–1.
141 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, April 12, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 123.
142 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, April 17, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 125.
143 *General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (May 23, 1871), p. 200.
144 Introduction (1891) by F. Engels to Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 1871 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 16.
145 E. Schulkind, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (The Historical Association, 1971), p. 34.
146 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 229. The figure "40,000" was an exaggeration.
147 F. Engels, "Programme der blanquistischen Kommuneflüchtlinge" in *Der Volksstaat*, November 73, June 26, 1874.
148 Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 1871 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).
149 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 272.
150 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, June 18, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 126.
151 F. Engels to W. Liebknecht, June 22, 1871 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. by Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 131.
152 Gladstone told the House of Commons on May 21, 1872 that "no such despatch has been received at the Foreign Office" (*Hansard*, Vol. 210, 1872, col. 401). Favre's views on the International were presumably conveyed orally to the British Foreign Secretary.
153 Later Lord Aberdare.
154 Karl Marx to A. O. Rutson, July 12, 1871 in R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 427–8.
155 Señor de Blas to Señor Rances y Villanueva (Madrid, February 9, 1872): communicated to Earl Granville on February 24, 1872. See *Correspondence with the Spanish Government respecting the International Association of Workmen* (Parliamentary Papers, 1872, LXX, p. 715).
156 F. Mora to the General Council of the International, April 8, 1872 in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (April 23, 1872), p. 162.
157 *Hansard*, Vol. 210, 1872, cols. 1183–1210.
158 Statement by Karl Marx to the General Council of the International on July 25, 1871 in *The General Council of the International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1, p. 242.
159 Earl Granville to Mr Layard in *Correspondence with the Spanish Government respecting the International Association of Workmen* (Parliamentary Papers, 1872, LXX), p. 720.
160 The declaration of the General Council of the International appeared in the *Eastern Post*, April 27, 1872 and was also published as a leaflet. See *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (meeting of April 16, 1872), pp. 155–9.

161 Report by Sergeant Reimers and Superintendent Williamson of Scotland Yard, August 17, 1874 in the Public Record Office and in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), E. 85. See also R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 460–1. When Marx asked why his application had been rejected, Robert Willis replied that the Home Office was under no obligation to give any explanation for its decision.

162 Karl Marx to A. Sorge, August 4, 1874 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33 (1966), p. 634: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 112.

163 R. Payne, *Marx* (1968), p. 431.

164 In the German version "Social-Democrat philistine" was changed to "German philistine" by the leaders of the Social Democrat Party: see H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels Profile* (1970), p. 285.

165 F. Engels's introduction of 1891 to a new edition of Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 1871 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 22.

166 F. Engels to Eduard Bernstein, January 1, 1884 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Bernstein's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 238.

167 *The International Herald*, March 30, 1872, reprinted in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, p. 414. A leaflet advertising the meeting is reproduced in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, p. 125.

168 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (July 9, 1872), p. 251.

169 Karl Marx, "The General Council of the Working Men's International Association to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (January 1, 1870) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 401–2.

170 Karl Marx to Siegfried Meyer and August Vogt, April 9, 1870 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 32 (1965), p. 669: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 507.

171 Jenny Marx to W. Liebknecht, May 26, 1872 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. by G. Eckert, 1963), pp. 168–70.

172 F. Lessner in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 162.

173 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, May 28, 1872 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 217.

174 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, May 18, 1874 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 135. Marx had declared at The Hague that the "so-called leaders of the English workers" had been "more or less bought by the bourgeoisie and the government".

175 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, July 27, 1871 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 128.

176 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (August 1871), p. 251. On December 19, 1871 Hermann Jung told the General Council that "there was no money in hand for the refugees and it was necessary that something should be done as the men were starving". Charles Dilke had given him £5 for the refugees. See *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (December 19, 1871), p. 65.

177 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (February 6, 1872), pp. 96–7.

178 John de Morgan. On April 9, 1872 J. Patrick McDonnell informed the General Council of the International that De Morgan had been "completely ruined". "Previous to his connection with the International he had a good connection as a teacher of elocution, but every one of his pupils had been taken from him, and he had been discharged from a situation he held in an Academy where he had given the greatest satisfaction - solely because of the action that he had taken." "The police were watching his house day and night, and were warning people not to have anything to do with him. The evident intention was to drive him out of Cork." The General Council issued a declaration on "Police Terrorism in Ireland" which alleged that the British government was attempting "to nip in the bud the establishment of the International in Ireland by putting into practice all that police chicanery which the exceptional legislation and the practically permanent state of siege there enabled it to exercise". See *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (April 9, 1872), pp. 148–50.

179 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno, April 22–3, 1872 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33 (1966), pp. 447: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 102.

180 F. Engels to A. Hepner, December 30, 1872 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33 (1966), p. 553: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 112.

181 The Bakunin archives are in the International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam). They were used by Max Nettlau in his manuscript biography of Bakunin. Fifty copies were duplicated and one of them is in the British Museum. See Max Nettlau and James Guillaume, *Michel Bakounine: Oeuvres* (six volumes, 1895–1913); James Guillaume (ed.), *L'Internationale: documents et souvenirs* (four volumes, 1905–10); and E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937).

182 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 110. Bakunin's article entitled "Reaction in Germany . . ." appeared anonymously in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, October 1842.

183 Quoted in E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937). pp. 129–30.

184 Quoted in E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 146.

185 Karl Marx, who was then editing the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, passed through Berlin when travelling to and from Vienna. He was in Vienna between August 28 and September 7, 1848.

186 Karl Marx to J. P. Becker, August 2, 1870 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 293.

187 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 27, 1861 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 46.

188 Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 25, 1862 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 55.

189 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 12, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 155.

190 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 4, 1864 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 199.

191 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 (enclosure) in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, pp. 102–5.

192 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 318.

193 E. H. Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–19.

194 Karl Marx to F. Bolte, November 23, 1871 and F. Engels to Theodor

Cuno, January 24, 1872 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 90–1 and p. 96.

195 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 4, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 417.

196 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8 (August 13, 1867), p. 152.

197 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 2, 1866–8, p. 368 (note 198). The point of view expressed in this resolution was given to the Geneva peace congress in a speech by Eugène Dupont.

198 Quoted in E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 336.

199 The resolution of the congress of the International (held in Brussels in 1868) was as follows: "The delegates of the International consider that the League of Peace has, in view of the work of the International, no *raison d'être*; they invite this society to join the International, and its members to apply for admission to one of the branches of the International". See E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 339.

200 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 15, 1868 (evening. after midnight) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 141.

201 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, p. 53.

202 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 15, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 141.

203 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 19, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 143.

204 Karl Marx, "Remarks to the Programme and Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 379–83.

205 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 (enclosure) in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 103.

206 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 (enclosure) in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 103.

207 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 15, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 141.

208 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 18, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 142–3.

209 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 19, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 143.

210 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 102.

211 Karl Marx, "The International Working Men's Association and International Alliance of Socialist Democracy": approved by the General Council on December 22, 1868: see *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. III, 1868–70, pp. 387–9.

212 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 14, 1869 (reference to a letter from Henri Perret to J. G. Eccarius) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 168.

213 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 5, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 164–5.

214 F. Engels to Karl Marx, March 7, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 166.

215 Karl Marx, "The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the International Alliance of Socialist Demo-

cracy" (March 9, 1869) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 310–11.

216 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70 (meeting of July 27, 1869), pp. 133–5.

217 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 30, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 214–16.

218 Karl Marx to Friedrich Bolte, November 23, 1871 in Karl Marx and F. Engels. *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 91.

219 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 104 (enclosure).

220 Karl Marx, "Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 322–4. The report was endorsed by the General Council on August 3, 1869. See also Marx's speech to the General Council on July 20, 1869 (*ibid.*, pp. 128–32).

221 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 366.

222 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, December 9, 1871 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 31.

223 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, March 11, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 44.

224 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 373.

225 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, p. 407 and Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, March 28, 1870 (enclosure) in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 105.

226 Karl Marx to Friedrich Bolte, November 23, 1871 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 91.

227 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, October 2, 1871 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 26.

228 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, December 9, 1871 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 31.

229 Mikhail Bakunin, *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs de Genève aux ouvriers espagnols* (1868).

230 For Guiseppi Fanelli see Cesare Teofilato, "Guiseppi Fanelli Dalla Giovane Italia al 'Internazionale'" in *Pensiero e Volonta* (Rome), August 1, 1925 and E. Malatesta, "G. Fanelli, ricordi personali" (*ibid.*, September 16, 1925).

231 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1 (statement by Engels at the meeting of August 15, 1871), p. 259.

232 A. Lorenzo, *El Proletariado Militante*, Vol. 1 (1923): English translation (extract) in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 288–91.

233 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, April 12, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 430.

234 F. Engels – *Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 24–47 and Vol. 3, pp. 402–74.

235 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, December 9, 1871 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 29.

236 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 242.

237 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 11, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 45.

238 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 415–16.

239 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, April 12, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 428.

240 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno, April 22, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *Marx e Engels, Corrispondenza con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), p. 187: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 102.

241 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno. April 22, 1872 in G. Del Bo, *op. cit.*, p. 187 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 102–3.

242 F. Engels, "To Spanish Sections of the International Working Men's Association" (July 24, 1872) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 446–9. The address was published in *La Emancipacion*, August 17, 1872.

243 For the International in Italy see Max Nattlau, "Bakunin und die International in Italien bis zum Herbst 1872" in (*Grünberg*) *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1912, pp. 275–325; Cesare Teofilato, "Guiseppi Fanelli Dalla Giovane Italia al 'Internazionale'" in *Pensiero e Volanta* (Rome), August 1, 1925; E. Malatesta (ed.), *Bakunin e l'Internazionale in Italia dal 1864 al 1872* (1928); P. Schebert, *Von Bakunin zu Lenin* (1956); R. Hostetter, *The Italian Socialist Movement*, Vol. 1 *Origins* (New York, 1958); A. Lehning (ed.), *Michel Bakounine et l'Italie* (documents, two volumes, 1961–3); A. Romano, *L'Unita Italiana e la Prima Internazionale 1861–71* (1966); E. Ragionieri, "Engels und die italienische Arbeiterbewegung" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 189–200. For the correspondence between Engels and Italian socialists see Guiseppi Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani 1848–95* (Milan, 1964).

244 Carlo Cafiero to F. Engels, November 24 and December 19, 1871 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), pp. 93–100.

245 Theodor Cuno to F. Engels, April 17, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 178–80 and Theodor Cuno, "Reminiscences" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 206–13.

246 For Carlo Cafiero see M. Cassandro, *Carlo Cafiero* (1946); A. Lucarelli, *Carlo Cafiero . . .* (1947); P. C. Masini, "Carlo Cafiero" in *Volonta*, No. 8–9, 1949, and "Engels e Cafiero" in *Tempo presente*, No. 4, 1965; C. L. Ott, "Carlo Cafiero" in *Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico*, Vol. 3.

247 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 11, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 46.

248 Carlo Cafiero to F. Engels, June 12, 1872 (postscript, June 19) in G. Del Bo, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–25.

249 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (Report of the fifth annual Congress, September 1872), p. 460.

250 Mazzini attacked the International in *La Roma di Popolo*, November 16 and 23, 1871. For Engels's reply see his "Declaration . . . concerning Mazzini's articles about the International" (December 6, 1871) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 350–5.

251 The International in Italy was prohibited by the government on August 14, 1871. Shortly afterwards the Naples branch – the oldest and most active in the country – was disbanded by the authorities.

252 F. Engels, "The Situation in Italy" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 287–90.

253 F. Engels to Carmelo Palladino, November 23, 1871 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), pp. 77–9.
254 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno, January 24, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), p. 136 and in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 99.
255 Regis's "Party name" was Étienne Pechard.
256 V. Regis to F. Engels, March 1, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), pp. 160–4. On April 22, 1872 Engels told Cuno that he had been suspicious of Terzaghi for some time (*ibid.*, p. 186).
257 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 11, 1872 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 46.
258 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (meeting of March 5, 1872), p. 117.
259 F. Engels, "The Saragossa Congress" (report to the General Council, May 7, 1872) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 295–6.
260 F. Engels to Theodor Cuno, June 10, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848–95* (1964), p. 217.
261 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), pp. 418–19.
262 For Engels's criticism of the Rimini conference see his address to the Italian sections of August 23, 1872 in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, pp. 451–2.
263 "Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871" in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1, pp. 447–8.
264 James Guillaume, *L'Internationale: documents et souvenirs* (four volumes, 1905–10), Vol. 2, pp. 232–41.
265 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International*, 1872 in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2, p. 407. The pamphlet was written in French and was first published in Geneva in 1872.
266 Theodor Cuno, "Reminiscences" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 209.
267 E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (1937), p. 432.
268 F. Engels to A. Sorge, September 12–17, 1874 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 114. For the International in the United States see S. Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York, 1962).

10

MARX AND ENGELS: THE LAST PHASE 1870–1883

Engels retired from business in 1869 to devote himself to the cause of socialism. He had always disliked living in Manchester and in 1870 he moved to London where he could more easily act as the military correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and where he could play a more active part in the affairs of the First International. Lizzie Burns readily agreed to the move. Engels wrote that "she has had words with her relations here and she does not want to stay in Manchester any longer".[1]

Jenny Marx helped Engels to find a house. He hesitated to take a lease of three and a half years in the autumn of 1870 because he thought that the fall of France might precipitate revolutions on the Continent requiring his personal attention. Marx assured him that he would be able to dispose of the lease of his house without difficulty if this should be necesssary.[2] Engels moved to 122 Regents Park road in September 1870[3] and lived there until November 1894 when he moved to No. 41 in the same road. He had to wait for twenty years before he could have hot running water in his bathroom and still longer for a new kitchen range.[4] In September 1890 he told Laura Lafargue that his house had "gone into the hands of other agents". "So I raised the question of a water closet and gave notice unless a new kitchen range and a new bath with hot water arrangements was put in." "Today the people have been here to look at the premises and I am informed that these demands of mine will be complied with."[5] From Regents Park Road Engels could walk to Marx's house in Maitland Park Road in a quarter of an hour.[6] Since they lived close to each other their correspondence was now limited to occasions when either Marx or Engels was away from London.

Although Marx and Engels exchanged far fewer letters between 1871 and 1883 than between 1850 and 1870 their later correspondence is not without interest. It provides evidence of Marx's continued financial dependence upon Engels. Marx no longer earned a living as a journalist by writing for the *New York Daily Tribune* or *Die Presse* and he had no regular source of income other than his allowance from Engels. The author of a great work on capital,

Marx was still incapable of balancing his own accounts or of living within his means. In 1868 Marx had complained that the high cost of living in London was "becoming more and more burdensome"[7] and two years later his wife wrote to Engels: "We live in a veritable palace which, in my view, is far too big and far too expensive."[8] But Marx did not move to a smaller house even when two of his daughters left home to get married. Marx continued to amass petty debts. At the end of 1873 he owed his pawnbroker £2 17s in interest.[9]

Engels not only sent Marx regular quarterly remittances but he readily responded to appeals for further financial aid. Indeed he sometimes encouraged Marx to ask for more. In 1873, when Marx was staying in Harrogate, Engels enquired if he was short of funds – "if so, say how much, reckoning liberally".[10] Marx asked for £12[11] and received £15.[12] In 1881 Engels wrote to Marx who was in Argenteuil: "I have some cheques here so that if you are short of cash do not feel embarassed but let me know how much you need."[13] Marx needed £30.[14] Engels told him not to worry "over a paltry £30". He promised to send a cheque to Marx's daughter Eleanor. "But if you need more, let me know and I will write a larger cheque."[15] A few days later Marx wrote that he was still short of money,[16] so Engels sent him £50 instead of £30.[17] Engels's generosity enabled Marx to take lengthy cures at fashionable spas on the Continent. He paid three visits to Carlsbad where one of the main baths has now been named after him. Marx's long visit to Algeria in 1882 and his visit to France to stay with his daughters were also paid for by Engels.

The Marx–Engels correspondence also throws light upon the deterioration of Marx's health in the 1870s.[18] In several letters he gave Engels detailed accounts of his symptoms and of the treatment prescribed by his doctors. Marx suffered from a disease of the liver, from boils and carbuncles, from chest complaints and from a nervous disorder. His visits to Carlsbad proved to be beneficial. In January 1875, for example, Eleanor Marx wrote that her father's health had much improved since he had been to Carlsbad. "He is working hard at the French translation of his book."[19] And in the following October Engels observed that Marx had been "a changed man" since returning from Carlsbad. "He is strong, fresh, cheerful and healthy, and he will soon be able to get down to serious work again."[20] But a few years later Marx wrote to Danielson: "My medical adviser has warned me to shorten my 'working day' considerably if I were not desirous to relapse into the state of 1874 and tte following years when I got giddy and unable to proceed after a few hours of serious application."[21]

In the 1870s Engels expected that Marx – in return for his allowance – would complete *Das Kapital*. But appeals from his friends and his publisher to finish his second and third volumes fell upon deaf ears. And Marx showed no concern when academic critics attacked him for failing to give the world a comprehensive survey of his theories. In 1871, for example, Dühring complained that Marx's writings on economics were a mere collection of fragments and that their author had shown himself incapable of arranging his ideas in an orderly and systematic fashion.[22]

Marx offered various excuses for failing to deliver the manuscripts of his second and third volumes to the publisher. His health was poor and this reduced the time available for working on his book. But he spent time on political activities which might have been devoted to the completion of *Das Kapital*. In the early 1870s his work on behalf of the First International left him little time for research or writing. In 1871 he complained that he was so busy that he could do no work on *Das Kapital*. "Certainly I shall one fine morning put a stop to all this, but there are circumstances, where you are in duty bound to occupy yourself with things much less attractive than theoretical study and research."[23] And in the following year Marx wrote. "I am so overworked and in fact so interfered with in my theoretical studies, that, after September I shall *withdraw* from the *commercial concern* which, at this moment, weighs principally upon my own shoulders, and which, as you know, has ramifications all over the world."[24] The "commercial concern" was, of course, the First International. In 1875 Marx wrote a strong criticism of the programme adopted by the newly united socialist party in Germany at a conference held in Gotha and two years later he contributed a chapter to Engels's book attacking Dühring's views on socialism.

When Marx did turn his attention to *Das Kapital* he gave priority to revising his first volume for the French translation which appeared in 1872.[25] According to his daughter Jenny he worked as hard on the corrections as if he – and not Joseph Le Roy – had been responsible for the translation. "Papa has rewritten it altogether . . . He works every night till two or three o'clock in the morning." A little later she wrote that "the second volume of *Das Kapital* does not progress at all, the French translation . . . takes up the whole of Mohr's time".[26] In 1872 a Russian translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital* was published[27] and a new impression of the German edition appeared.

On resuming work on the manuscripts of his second and third volumes Marx embarked upon new researches to expand what he had written in the 1860s. In 1869 he was in correspondence with

Engels concerning H. C. Carey's criticism of Ricardo's theory of rent[28] and he began to study the land legislation of Ireland. Shortly after retiring from business Engels told Marx that he had been working in the Manchester Free Library and in Chetham's Library where he had found much "valuable source material" on Irish land laws.[29]

At this time Marx undertook new researches into landownership in Belgium[30] and in Russia. He learned Russian and read Flerowski's book on the condition of the peasants, domestic workers, and factory operatives in Russia.[31] He also studied Chernyskevesky's writings on economics.[32] Engels, too, was learning Russian in the early 1870s so as to read Flerowski's book. For some years Marx devoted much of his time to studying Russian economic and social affairs and he became convinced that the future development of the village community (*mir*) would be the decisive factor in the regeneration of Russia.[33] His studies were stimulated by his conviction – shared by Engels – that "it was important that the achievement of power by Social-Democracy in the West should coincide with the political and agrarian revolution in Russia".[34] After Marx's death, Engels found that the printed Russian statistics in his friend's study filled "over two cubic metres" of bookshelf space.[35]

When not immersed in Russian statistics, Marx was engaged in research upon the latest economic developments in the United States. In 1871 he asked Julian Harney – "now Assistant Secretary of the State of Massachusetts" – for information about the way in which public lands were allocated in the United States.[36] In 1876 he asked Sorge to send him recent American book-catalogues as he wished to study works on American farming, land-ownership, finance and banking.[37] Eventually Marx built up a large collection of official American publications on these subjects.[38] In 1878 Marx wrote to Danielson:

> "The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the United States and, above all, during the period of 1873 (since the crash in September) until 1878 – the period of chronic crisis. Transformations – which to be elaborated did require in England centuries – were here realised in a few years.
>
> "The bulk of materials, I have not only from *Russia*, but from the *United States* etc., make it pleasant for me to have a 'pretext' of continuing my studies, instead of winding them up finally for the public."[39]

And in 1880 Marx declared that he was happy that "in present circumstances", the second volume of *Das Kapital* could not be published in Germany. "At this very moment certain economic

phenomena have entered into a new phase – and that means more research for me."[40]

The economic development of Russia and the United States was not Marx's only field of study at that time. In 1880 he made copious notes on a book written by Lewis H. Morgan on the primitive communism of the Iroquois Indians. And he continued to study trade fluctuations in England. In 1879 he wrote to Danielson:

> "I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past and this – quite apart from other modifying circumstances – is easily accounted for by the fact that never before was the English crisis preceded by tremendous (and now already five years lasting) crises in the United States, South America, Germany, Austria etc."[41]

In the 1870s Engels thought that Marx was preparing his second and third volumes for publication. In an article written in 1877 he stated that after the collapse of the First International, "Marx at last found peace and leisure again for resuming his theoretical work, and it is to be hoped that he will soon be able to have the second volume of *Das Kapital* ready for the press."[42]

When Marx died and Engels examined his papers he was astounded at the amount of work that remained to be done on them. He wrote to Bebel in August 1883 that Marx had kept quiet about his lack of progress because he knew that Engels "would have given him no peace, day or night, until the book was finished and in print".[43] Two years later Engels saw some extracts from the correspondence between Marx and Danielson between 1879 and 1881 in which Marx had made various excuses for not completing *Das Kapital*. Engels wrote to Danielson

> "Alas we are so used to these excuses for the non-completion of the work! Whenever the state of his health made it impossible for him to go on with it, this impossibility preyed heavily upon his mind, and he was only too glad if he could only find some theoretical excuse why the work should not then be completed. All these arguments he had at the time made use of *vis-à-vis moi*; they seemed to ease his conscience."[44]

Engels had many other correspondents besides Marx for he exchanged letters with socialist leaders all over the world. "Every day, every post, brought to his house newspapers and letters in every European language, and it was astonishing how he found time, with all his other work, to look through, to keep in order,

and remember the chief contents of them all."[45] His correspondence with Liebknecht, Bebel, Bernstein and Kautsky shows how closely Engels was identified with the fortunes of the socialist movement in Germany. A number of the letters exchanged between Engels and the Lafargues – Paul and Laura – were concerned with the socialist movement in France. And his correspondence with Laura Lafargue is particularly interesting because of the light which it throws upon Engels's private life.

In the 1870s the household at 122 Regents Park Road consisted of Engels, Lizzie Burns and her niece Ellen, nicknamed Pumps. When Lizzie Burns fell ill in September 1877 – she died a year later – Pumps kept house for him. It may be doubted whether she was a very efficient housekeeper. According to Marx she had a flighty disposition and flirted successively with Friedrich Beust, Karl Kautsky and Leo Hartmann before marrying Percy Rosher in 1882.[46] Engels insisted upon the marriage when he learned that Pumps had been seduced. Hitherto Engels had shown no great enthusiasm for the institution of marriage in a bourgeois society. In 1883 Engels told Laura Lafargue that Rosher's father had "forked out the needful"[47] to buy a partnership for his son in a firm of accountants. But the business failed and Pumps, with her husband and daughter returned to 122 Regents Park Road, where Engels supported them. In the end the black sheep of the family were packed off to Canada. Meanwhile, on Marx's death in 1883, Helene Demuth took charge of Engels's household.

The Engels–Lafargue correspondence shows that Engels lived quietly in London immersed in his scholarly researches, his literary work and his voluminous correspondence. In the 1870s he spent "the best part of eight years" studying science and mathematics[48] and he was a regular contributor to German socialist journals.[49] He wrote articles in *Der Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts* attacking those who supported doctrines which differed from those advocated by Karl Marx. After the dissolution of the First International Engels took a less active part in revolutionary politics though he occasionally emerged from his retirement. In January 1875 Engels and Marx spoke at a meeting to celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the Polish rising of 1863.[50] But on the whole Engels was content to remain behind the scenes and to advise his socialist friends in many countries. In particular he watched over the fortunes of the Social Democrat Party in Germany and was in regular correspondence with its leaders. When the socialist press in Germany was closed down by the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 Engels was actively concerned with the establishment of a new weekly (*Der Sozialdemokrat*) in Switzerland.

Engels looked forward to visits from Manchester friends such as Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore. He enjoyed his holidays at the seaside in the company of Schorlemmer, the Roshers, or members of Marx's family. At week-ends he entertained his friends, many of whom were exiles living in England or foreign socialist visitors to London. Edward Aveling wrote that "a list of those who were always welcome at 122 Regents Park Road reads like a condensed epitome of the socialist movement".[51] He mentioned that Liebknecht, Bebel, Bernstein, Kautsky, Paul Singer, Victor Adler and Vera Zasulich were among those who enjoyed Engels's hospitality. In his memoirs Hellmut von Gerlach – then a member of Adolf Stöcker's Christian Socialist Workers' Party – described a "beer evening" at Engels's house. When the German socialists won a by-election, Engels broached a barrel of beer to share with his friends. Hellmut von Gerlach recalled that the company included Germans, Czechs, Magyars, and Russians. His host impressed him as a cheerful Rhinelander – "a truly fine fellow" – who made all his guests feel at home.[52]

A significant feature of the correspondence between Engels and the Lafargues was the constant appeals of Paul and Laura Lafargue for financial aid.[53] Laura's husband was as incapable as her father of earning a living and providing for his family. He was an inveterate cadger. He qualified as a doctor but practised in London for only a short time. He moved to Paris in 1868 and joined the Vaugirard branch of the First International. In 1870 when the German armies advanced upon Paris he fled to Bordeaux. He later claimed that he re-organised the First International in France "decapitated by the siege of Paris".[54] In 1871 he acted as an emissary of the Paris Commune in the provinces.

When the Commune fell, Lafargue moved on to Spain where he worked on behalf of the First International to counter Bakunin's influence over the left wing of the workers' movement. In 1872 Lafargue fled to England to avoid arrest in France owing to his activities on behalf of the Paris Commune. Here he was engaged for ten years in various unsuccessful business ventures, such as making electroplate engravings. In April 1882, when it was safe to do so, Lafargue returned to France where he secured a post with an insurance company. But he was more interested in politics than in the insurance business. He became one of Jules Guesde's most active supporters in the French Workers Party. In the 1880s he tried – with no great success – to earn a living as a free-lance journalist and popular lecturer.

Paul Lafargue considered that by marrying Laura he had become a member of the Marx family and therefore had a claim

upon Engels's purse whenever he was short of money. And Engels seems to have agreed with him. Paul and Laura were married in 1868. By the end of 1874 Paul had borrowed £240 from Engels and wanted to borrow £360 more on the security of a house which he owned in New Orleans. Engels, however, declined to take a mortgage on the property. On December 28, 1874 Lafargue asked for £30 "of which I have the utmost need". In June 1875 he wrote. "It is imperative for me to have the sum of £60: I hope this will be the last time that I shall need to turn to you." Lafargue's hopes were not fulfilled. In the following August Engels gave him £70, only to be asked for a further £55 shortly afterwards. In August 1876 Lafargue wanted "a cheque for £30 as soon as you possibly can". In May 1878 Lafargue acknowledged the receipt of £15 and promptly asked for another £15.

When the Lafargues left England for France in 1882 Paul continued to ask Engels for financial assistance. On June 16, 1882, for example, he wrote that his funds were nearly exhausted. "Would you be so kind as to send me £5 by money order. Make it payable at the Tuileries post office which I pass every morning." A few days later Paul Lafargue wrote to his wife: "As you advised, I said nothing about my money affairs to Engels when I wrote. I hope you will clearly explain to him our situation which can only be put to rights with his help." So Laura wrote to Engels: "We are now seeing about getting our rooms furnished and the truth is that unless you, dear Engels, can send us some money to help us furnish them, I don't see how we are to manage." Engels sent her a cheque. In October 1882 Lafargue asked for 300 francs. In May 1883 he wrote that he had spent £20 which he had recently received and asked for another £12. In January 1884 Laura wrote to her "dear General" that the landlord "is once again about to pounce on us for his quarterly sop and our funds are once again, worse luck, at low water mark". Engels sent £15 – "which I hope will stop the landlord's cravings". These are only a few instances of demands upon Engels's purse to which reference is made in the correspondence between Engels and the Lafargues.

The main changes that occurred in Engels's private life in the 1870s were brought about by the death of his mother and his wife. Engels had a deep affection for his mother and her death in 1873 severed one of his last links with his family in Barmen. Only two years before her death Elise Engels had made a last protest against her son's political activities. She rebuked him for supporting the godless and bloodthirsty régime of the Commune in Paris. Once more she warned Engels of Marx's evil influence over him. After his mother's death Engels's visits to Germany became less frequent.

He had little in common with his brothers, though he was always grateful to Emil for coming to Manchester in 1860 to settle his future with the firm of Ermen and Engels. In his will his only bequest to his relations in Germany was that of a small picture of his father which he gave to his brother Hermann.

The death of Lizzie Burns was a more serious blow. In January 1877 Jenny Marx wrote that Engels was in excellent health and that he did not have a care in the world. This happy state of affairs came to an end in September of that year when Lizzie Burns fell ill. She died a year later on September 12, 1878. Engels married her the day before her death. He felt her loss deeply. Some years later he wrote to Julie Bebel: "My wife was a real child of the Irish proletariat and her passionate devotion to the class in which she was born was worth much more to me – and helped me more in times of stress – than all the elegance of an educated, artistic middle-class bluestocking."[55] Since Marx had offended Engels in 1863 by failing to write a proper letter of condolence when Mary Burns died it may be assumed that he did not repeat the mistake. But whatever Marx did say to Engels on this occasion it was not what he really thought about Lizzie Burns. This was reserved for a letter to one of his daughters. Marx wrote that he was present when Lizzie's effects were being examined. When a small parcel of letters was found, Engels said. "Burn them! I need not see her letters. I know she was unable to deceive me." A certain Mrs Renshaw said to Eleanor Marx afterwards. "Of course, as he had to write her letters, and to read the letters she received, he might feel quite sure that these letters contained no secrets for him – but they might do so for her."[56] It is clear that Marx was contemptuous of the illiterate Irish woman who was held in such high esteem by Engels.

By this time the health of both Karl and Jenny Marx gave Engels cause for anxiety. In an article written shortly after Marx's death Engels stated that, towards the end of his life, his friend had been "almost completely cured of a long-standing liver disease by a thrice repeated treatment at Carlsbad". But Marx also suffered from "a chronic stomach complaint and nervous exhaustion, the effect of which was headaches and mostly persisting insomnia" as well as "chronic throat ailments".[57] Meanwhile Jenny Marx suffered from cancer of the liver. In the autumn of 1881 it seemed doubtful if either had long to live. Jenny Marx died on December 2, 1881, at the age of 67 but Marx rallied, though he was unable to attend his wife's funeral. Engels delivered a eulogy at the graveside. He spoke bitterly of Jenny's sufferings in London in the early years of exile in the 1850s. He denounced "the Government and

the bourgeois opposition, from the vulgar liberals to the democrats" who had "combined in a great conspiracy against her husband, and showered on him the most wretched and base calumnies; the entire press united against him; every means of defence was denied to him, so that for a time he was helpless against the enemies whom he and she could only despise". Engels ended his speech on a triumphant note. Jenny Marx, he declared, had "lived to see the calumny which had showered down upon her husband scattered like chaff before the wind, and to see his doctrines – which all reactionary parties, feudal as well as democratic, had gone to such immense pains to suppress – preached from the rooftops in all civilised countries and in all cultivated tongues".[58]

In 1882 Marx spent several months in North Africa and on the Riviera but the weather was cold and he suffered from another attack of pleurisy. On his way home he visited his daughters in France. On returning to England he went to Ventnor in the Isle of Wight. On January 10, 1883 – in the last letter of the long correspondence with Engels – he wrote that he was worried over the health of his daughter Jenny Longuet. "It is remarkable how every nervous excitement immediately affects my throat."[59] Jenny Longuet died suddenly on January 11, 1883 and her father did not survive her for long. He died peacefully at his home in London on March 14, 1883.

Engels sent letters to many of his socialist friends announcing the death of Karl Marx. To Sorge he wrote:

> ". . . Schorlemmer and I planned to visit Marx on New Year's day[60] when news came that it was necessary for Tussy (Eleanor Marx) to join him at once. Then Jenny's death followed and he came back with another attack of bronchitis. After all that had gone before, and at his age, this was dangerous. A number of complications set in, particularly an abscess of the lung and a terribly rapid loss of strength. Despite this the general course of the illness progressed favourably and last Friday the chief physician in attendance on him, one of the foremost young doctors in London and specially recommended to him by Ray Lankaster, gave us the most brilliant hope for his recovery. Yet anyone who has ever examined lung tissue under the microscope knows how great is the danger of a blood vessel being broken through a suppurating lung. And that is why I had a deathly fear, every morning for the past six weeks, of finding the shades down when I turned the corner of the street.
>
> "Yesterday afternoon at 2.30, the best time for visiting him, I arrived to find the house in tears. It seemed that the end was near. I asked what had happened, tried to get to the bottom of the matter, to offer comfort. There had been a slight haemorrhage, but suddenly he had begun to sink rapidly. Our good Lenchen (Helene

Demuth), who had looked after him better than any mother cares for her child went upstairs and came down again. He was half asleep, she said and I might come in. When we entered the room he lay there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain....

"Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time. The movement of the proletariat goes on, but gone is the central point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at decisive moments to receive always that clear incontestable counsel which only genius and perfect knowledge of the situation could give. Local lights and small talents, if not the humbugs, obtain a free hand. The final victory is certain, but the detours, the temporary and local errors – even now so unavoidable – will grow more than ever. Well we must see it through. What else are we here for? And we are far from losing courage because of it."[61]

Karl Marx was buried in Highgate cemetery in the same grave as his wife. Engels delivered a funeral oration in which he paid a tribute to the friend with whom he had collaborated so closely for nearly forty years. In the course of his speech he declared:

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

"But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

". . . Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few could rival....

"And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers – from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America – and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy. His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work."[62]

There could be no doubt that Marx's mantle would pass on to Engels who had for long been his intimate friend, his leading disciple, and his closest collaborator. "Taking up the weapons which were slipping out of the weary hand of his dying friend, Engels led the working-class movement for many years."[63] After Marx's death no one challenged Engels's position as the leader of the international socialist movement and the trusted adviser of socialists all over the world. Others might lead national Marxist parties but Engels was the uncrowned king of the international socialist movement. He alone had access to Marx's manuscripts. He alone had the experience which enabled him to give authoritative guidance on what doctrines orthodox Marxists should accept and what doctrines they should reject as heretical.

Engels was soon working on Marx's manuscripts with a view to publishing the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*. But his labours were interrupted when he fell ill towards the end of 1883. In December of that year he wrote to Laura Lafargue that he had been in bed for eight weeks and was still unable to walk.[64] In the following June he told Kautsky that, as he could not sit at his desk, he was lying on a sofa and was dictating to a secretary.[65] In the circumstances there appears to have been no serious delay in Engels's work on Marx's manuscripts. In 1887, however, his labours were again interrupted by illness. This time he suffered from inflamation in one of his eyes. He wrote to Laura Lafargue that it was "a weakness brought on by over-exertion of the eye, especially at night time".[66]

NOTES

1 F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 22, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 286.

2 F. Engels to Jenny Marx, August 15, 1870; Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 17, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 368 and p. 370.

3 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, August 18, 1870; F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 20, 1870; Jenny Marx to F. Engels, September 13, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 370–85.
4 For the kitchen range see F. Engels to Eleanor Marx, 1894 in E. Bottigelli, "Sieben unveröffentliche Dokumente von Friedrich Engels" in *Friedrich Engels 1820–1870* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), p. 325.
5 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 26, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2 (1960), p. 403.
6 Formerly 1 Modena Villas: the name of the street was changed in 1868.
7 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, August 10, 1868 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 76.
8 Jenny Marx to F. Engels, September 13, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 385.
9 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 7, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 411.
10 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 5, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 410.
11 Karl Marx to F. Engels, December 7, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 411.
12 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 10, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 413.
13 F. Engels to Karl Marx, July 29, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 504.
14 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 3, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 505. Marx wrote: "I very much regret having to press so hard upon your exchequer . . . I must pay £30 in London on August 15. . . ."
15 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 6, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 507.
16 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 9, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 510.
17 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 11, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 510.
18 See F. Regnault, "Les maladies de Karl Marx. Leur influence sur sa vie et sur ses oeuvres" in *Revue Anthropologique*, 1933, Vol. 43, pp. 293–317.
19 Eleanor Marx to Natalie Liebknecht, January 1, 1875 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. by G. Eckert, 1963), p. 423.
20 F. Engels to W. Bracke, October 11, 1875 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke 1869–80* (1963), p. 83.
21 Karl Marx to F. Danielson, April 10, 1879 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 243 (letter written in English).
22 Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 282.
23 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, November 9, 1871 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 215: this passage was written in English.
24 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, May 28, 1872 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 217: except for the first two words, this passage was written in English.
25 Ten thousand copies of the French translation of Volume 1 of *Das Kapital* were printed and 58,000 were ordered before publication.

Marx met Le Roy in 1882: see Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 24, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 554.

26 Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 281.

27 Translated by H. A. Lopatin and N. F. Danielson: 3,000 copies were printed and 1,000 were sold between March 27 and May 15, 1872.

28 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 26, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 247–51.

29 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 29, 1869 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 251.

30 Karl Marx to César de Pepe, January 24, 1870 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 206.

31 Karl Marx to L. Kugelmann, November 29, 1869 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 95; Karl Marx to F. Engels, February 10, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 275.

32 Karl Marx to S. Meyer, January 21, 1871 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 212: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 82.

33 Karl Marx to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 262.

34 A. Voden, "Talks with Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 329. See also M. Rubel, "Gespräche über Russland mit Friedrich Engels. Nach Aufzeichnungen von Alexei M. Woden" in *Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, XI–XII, April 1971, pp. 11–24.

35 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, June 29, 1883 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 140. Among the writers whose books on the peasants in Russia at the time of the emancipation of the serfs were read by Marx were – Skaldin, Seriyevich, Skrevitsky and Golovachev: see *Marx–Engels Archiv*, Vols. 11 and 12.

36 Karl Marx to S. Meyer, January 21, 1871 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 82.

37 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, April 4, 1876 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 230.

38 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 5, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1 (1959), p. 169.

39 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, November 15, 1878 and April 10, 1879 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 238 and p. 243: these passages were written in English.

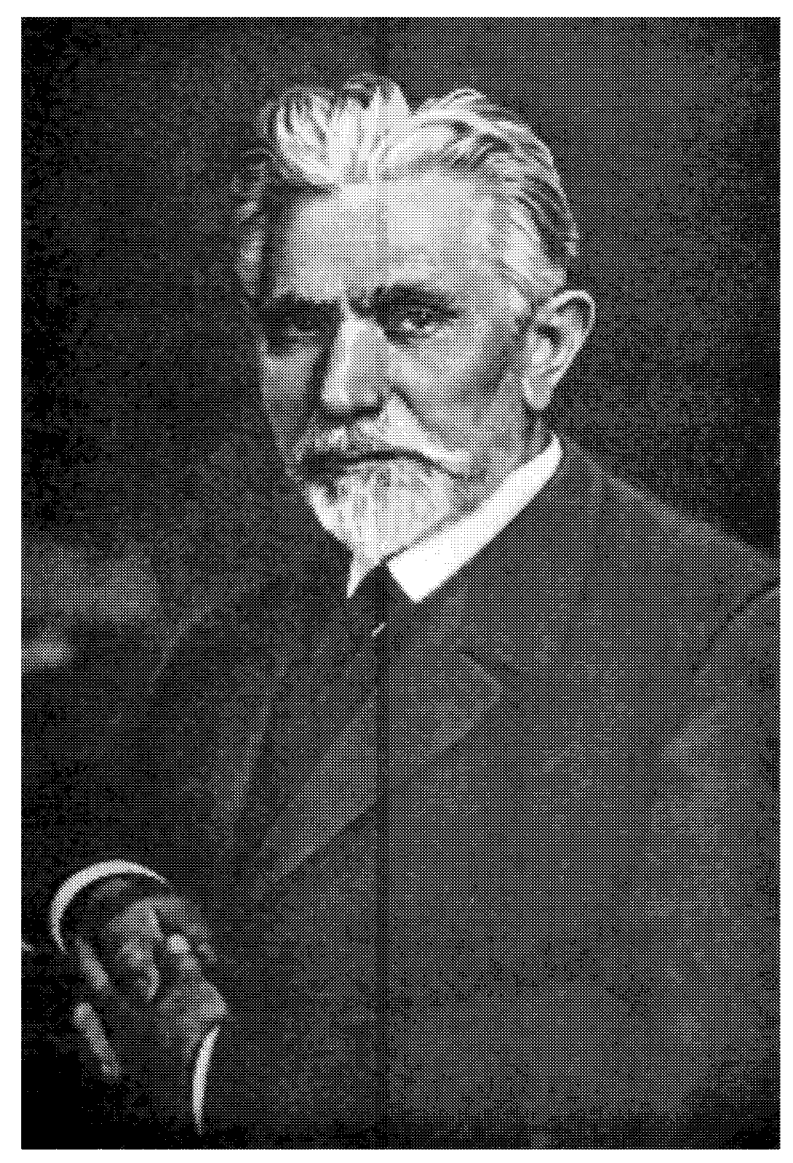
40 Karl Marx to F. Domela-Nieuwenhuis, June 27, 1880 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 253.

41 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, April 10, 1879 in Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 241: the letter was written in English.

42 F. Engels in the *Volkskalender* (Brunswick, 1878): see *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 23.

43 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 30, 1883 in W. Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 164; Marx–Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 279; and F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), p. 81.

44 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, November 13, 1885 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 465.



August Bebel, 1840–1913



Wilhelm Liebknecht, 1826–1900

45 Edward Aveling in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 311.

46 B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 33–4.

47 Engels wrote: "Percy is now partner of Garman and Rosher, chartered accountants, Walbrook House, E.C. Hope he will prosper. His father has at last forked out the needful and set him out, though with the sourest face and the unpleasantest way possible" (F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 13, 1883 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 1 (1959), p. 160).

48 Preface of September 23, 1885 to the second edition of F. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (*Anti-Dühring*), 1878: English translation – *Anti-Dühring: Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 17).

49 Articles written by Engels for *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig) were collected and published as a book in 1894: see F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat"* (1894).

50 Engels described the meeting on Poland in an article in *Der Volksstaat*, March 24, 1875. The speeches delivered by Marx and Engels on this occasion appear in the *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 18, pp. 572–5.

51 E. Aveling, "Engels at Home" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 310.

52 Hellmut von Gerlach, *Von Rechts nach Links* (1937), p. 139. Hellmut von Gerlach's visit to London took place in 1894.

53 For Paul Lafargue see Émile Bottigelli's introduction to *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, *1891–5* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 489–542.

54 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, November 26, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 138.

55 F. Engels to Julie Bebel, March 8, 1892 in W. Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebel's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 522 and F. Engels, *Briefe an Bebel* (1958), p. 216. See also F. Engels to Natalie Liebknecht, December 19, 1870 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 117 ("My wife is a revolutionary Irish woman").

56 Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx* (1966), p. 388.

57 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, May 3, 1883 and *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 355.

58 Robert Payne, *Karl Marx* (1968), pp. 486–7.

59 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 10, 1883 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 589.

60 Karl Marx had been on a visit to Ventnor in the Isle of Wight.

61 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, March 15, 1883 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 134–6 and W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 395–6.

62 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 22, 1883 and *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 348–50.

63 Franz Mehring in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, 1904–5 and in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 362.

64 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 13, 1883 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 159.

65 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 21, 1884 in B. Kautsky (ed.),

Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky (1955), p. 123. See also Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, June 20, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 209.

66 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 21, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 29.

11

THE CHAMPION OF MARXISM 1872–1879

For many years Marx had laid aside his work on capitalism whenever he thought it necessary to refute the errors of his opponents. In the 1870s Engels assumed the mantle of defender of the Marxist faith. He explained that there was now a division of labour between Marx and himself. While Marx was writing "his great basic work", Engels was responsible for "the fight against opposing views".[1] Engels sacrificed his own researches in order to denounce the errors of Bakunin, Proudhon, Blanqui, Dühring, and Höchberg and to criticise the concessions made to the followers of Lassalle when the two German socialist parties united in 1875.

At the same time that he attacked his opponents, Engels expounded Marx's doctrines in simple language which any worker could understand. His essays in defence of Marxism appeared in letters to leading German socialists and in the columns of *Der Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts*.[2] In 1874 *Der Volksstaat* also reprinted Marx's polemic – first published anonymously over twenty years before – criticising the conduct of the Prussian authorities at the trial of the leaders of the Communist League in Cologne in 1852.[3]

I. Anti-Bakunin, 1872–3

Engels's offensive against socialist heretics opened with an attack upon Bakunin and his Alliance of Social Democracy. In a memorandum, written in collaboration with Marx, he denounced Bakunin for his intrigues against the First International. This statement was approved by the General Council of the First International and was published in May 1872.[4] Shortly afterwards Engels drew up a report on the Alliance of Social Democracy, which was submitted to the congress of the First International held at The Hague in September 1872. Engels attacked Bakunin's association for trying "to impose its sectarian programme on the whole International by means of its secret organisation".[5] In 1873 Marx and Engels wrote a report attacking the Alliance of Social Democracy and this was published anonymously as a pamphlet.[6] Shortly afterwards Engels wrote three articles for *Der Volksstaat* in which he condemned the

ineptitude exhibited by Bakunin's followers when they tried to play the part of "practical revolutionaries" in Spain in the summer of 1873.

Marx and Engels had hoped that the Franco-Prussian war would spark off many revolutions on the Continent, but the only insurrections that did occur in the early 1870s were in Paris (the Commune) and in Spain. In 1873 the brief reign of King Amadeus ended with his abdication from the Spanish throne and the establishment of a republic. The re-establishment of the monarchy was not possible at this time since the monarchists were divided between supporters of Queen Isabella's son and supporters of Don Carlos. No sooner had Amadeus disappeared from the scene, than the Carlists rose in revolt in the Basque provinces. The middle class republicans were agreed that the landed estates should be divided into smallholdings but they differed on Spain's future constitution. The right wing republicans proposed to maintain a centralised form of administration, while the left wing favoured the establishment of a federal constitution to give greater autonomy to the provinces. There was also a small but active extreme left wing element in Spanish politics at this time – the revolutionary workers in the manufacturing towns. These workers – like the monarchists and the republicans – were split into rival factions, the most important of which were the Intransigents, the Marxists and the followers of Bakunin. Engels considered that the revolutionary workers should have sunk their differences and should have co-operated during the elections for the constituent assembly. Such co-operation would have ensured the return of some deputies representing the revolutionary workers in the Cortes. A small group of left-wing deputies from Barcelona and other industrial centres might have held the balance of power between rival republican groups. Engels blamed the followers of Bakunin – the Spanish section of the Alliance of Social Democracy – for the lack of unity among the revolutionary workers, which made it impossible to carry out this plan.[7]

The leaders of the Alliance of Social Democracy at first urged their followers to boycott the elections to the constituent assembly. Engels observed that to advise the workers to "abstain from politics under all circumstances, means to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans".[8] The Bakunists in Spain realised their mistake and told their supporters that they should decide for themselves whether to take part in the elections or not. This abdication of leadership threw the revolutionary workers into the arms, not of any bourgeois party, but of the Intransigents.

Bakunin's followers tried to recover the initiative by calling for

a general strike but this proved to be a fiasco. In Barcelona the workers refused to strike. In Alcoy the strikers gained control of the town but were soon ejected by government troops. The Intransigents were now virtually in control of the workers' revolutionary movement in Spain. They demanded the establishment of small autonomous cantons, each responsible for running its own affairs. In several provincial cities such cantons – sometimes modelled on the Paris Commune – were set up, but the republican government quickly suppressed the movement. Only Cartagena – Spain's most important naval base – held out until January 1874.

In the autumn of 1873 Engels contributed three articles to *Der Volksstaat* on recent events in Spain. He argued that Bakunin's Alliance of Social Democracy had been guilty of one blunder after another. It had been a mistake to boycott the elections. When this mistake had been realised a second mistake had been made in leaving the workers free to take part or not to take part in the elections. And it had been a mistake to try and bring about a revolution in Spain by means of a general strike. Engels declared that the followers of Bakunin had flouted every sound principle of revolutionary politics and guerilla warfare. The result of these errors of judgment had been a "senseless splitting of the revolutionary fighting forces". "This enabled the Spanish authorities, with only a handful of troops, to capture one town after another without encountering any serious opposition."[9]

II. Anti-Proudhon, 1872

In 1887 Engels declared that Proudhon had "played much too significant a *rôle* in the European working class movement for him to fall into oblivion".[10] Proudhon's doctrines had exercised a powerful influence upon French socialism in the middle of the nineteenth century and his ideas had spread beyond the frontiers of his native land. "In Belgium," wrote Engels, "Proudhonism reigned unchallenged among the Walloon workers, and in Spain and Italy, with isolated exceptions, everything in the working class movement which was not anarchist was definitely Proudhonist."[11] Proudhon's ideas had appealed to the petty bourgeoisie – craftsmen, shopkeepers, peasants, and smallholders – rather than to the industrial proletariat.

Proudhon came into prominence with his book *Qu'est ce que la propriété?* in which he denounced private property as theft and accused capitalists of exploiting the masses by appropriating the value of their labour through rent, interest and profits. During the Second Republic he put forward an abortive scheme for the

establishment of a bank of exchange to grant interest-free loans to smallholders, artisans and industrialists who produced food or manufactured goods. The ideas which Proudhon put forward in his voluminous writings have been criticised as "incoherent and diffuse", abounding in "paradoxes and apparent contradictions".[12] Proudhon attacked both capitalists and communists – the former for exploiting the workers, the latter for threatening to enslave them.

Proudhon advocated a revolution which would lead to the establishment of a new type of society in which there would be no room for capitalists or landowners. The existing wage system would be abolished. Money would be replaced by vouchers representing units of labour time. Free credit from a state bank would be available to the producers of food and goods. The workers would control the administration, including the police and the law courts.[13] At the end of his life Proudhon advocated a form of anarchism, arguing that, in his utopia, mankind would attain so high a standard of social behaviour that laws and policemen would be superfluous. Bakunin, the leading anarchist on the Continent in the 1870s, hailed Proudhon as "the master of us all".[14]

In 1847, in his pamphlet on *Misère de la Philosophie*, Marx had struck what Engels regarded as "a decisive blow" against Proudhon's doctrines.[15] But the attack was a damp squib rather than a decisive blow and for the next 25 years Marx and Engels had every reason to fear Proudhon as a dangerous rival. At the time of the First International, Proudhon's followers gave Marx and Engels as much trouble as the supporters of Bakunin. Engels observed that "although the Proudhonists in France were only a small sect among the workers, they were still the only ones who had a definitely formulated programme and who were able in the Commune to take over the leadership in the economic field".[16]

In 1872 Engels was alarmed when an attempt was made to introduce Proudhon's ideas to the German workers through a series of articles on the housing shortage in the socialist journal *Der Volksstaat*.[17] The articles were written by Dr Arthur Mühlberger who was the medical officer of health in Crailsheim (Württemberg).[18] Engels wrathfully declared that Mühlberger's "undiluted Proudhonism"[19] represented "an enormous step backwards in comparison with the whole course of development of German socialism".[20] Mühlberger, in his view, was – albeit "unconsciously" – trying to "adulterate" the socialist movement in Germany.[21] Since he had made a detailed examination of the slums of Manchester, Engels regarded himself as an authority on the housing question

and he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht that he proposed to refute "this absurd Proudhonist business".[22]

Dr Mühlberger was one of many writers who discussed the housing shortage in Germany in the early 1870s. The war against France and the unification of Germany was followed by a rapid expansion of the economy. There was a great boom in industry, particularly in coal, iron, steel, railways, and engineering. Over 900 new joint stock companies with a capital of £140 million were founded in the three years 1871–3. The erection of new factories and workshops and the construction of public works suddenly increased the labour force in the towns. The construction industry was busy erecting military installations, imposing office blocks and luxury mansions for the rich. But the construction of flats for the workers failed to keep pace with industrial expansion and the appearance of overcrowded unhealthy slums was one of the most serious social problems which the new Reich had to face. The increase in the number of homeless persons was equally alarming. In Berlin, for example, over 10,000 people were without a roof over their heads in 1871.[23] Dr Mühlberger declared that there was "no more terrible mockery of the whole culture of our lauded century than the fact that 90 per cent and more of the population have no place that they can call their own. The real key point of moral and family existence, hearth and home, is being swept away by the social whirlpool".

Dr Mühlberger, the leading disciple of Proudhon in Germany, favoured Proudhon's solution of the housing problem. This was that the workers should be transformed from tenants into house-owners. "Rent, instead of being, as previously, the tribute which the tenant must pay to the perpetual title of capital, will be – from the day when the redemption of rented dwellings is proclaimed – the exactly fixed sum paid by the tenant to provide the annual instalment for the payment of the dwelling which has passed into the possession of the tenant."[24]

Engels replied to Dr Mühlberger in three articles in *Der Volksstaat*.[25] In the first he declared that in modern industrial towns the workers – like other oppressed classes in the past – always lived in overcrowded and squalid conditions. Far from being an unusual phenomenon, as Dr Mühlberger supposed, the unsatisfactory housing situation in Germany in 1872 was a natural and normal consequence of the rapid industrial expansion of the country.

Engels dismissed Dr Mühlberger's remedies as impracticable. He thought that in England, where single family houses were common, it might be possible for some of the workers to buy their cottages

and become house owners. But on the Continent many workers rented flats in large buildings containing 20 or 30 families. In such circumstances serious difficulties would arise if a worker changed his job or moved to another town. Engels argued that there would always be a housing shortage in a capitalist society. On the other hand in a socialist society there would be no difficulty in solving the problem since the state would simply take over the mansions of the rich so as to house the homeless and the overcrowded poor. "Immediately the proletariat has seized political power such a measure, dictated by the public interest, will be just as easy to carry out as other expropriations and billetings are by the existing state".[26]

Mühlberger also advocated another remedy, already recommended by Proudhon. This was the drastic reduction – and the eventual abolition – of interest on capital. Mühlberger argued that if interest on capital disappeared, the rent which had to be paid for a house would also disappear. Engels retorted that, in a capitalist society, the interest charged by a lender of capital and the rent charged by a landlord were inevitably determined solely by the law of supply and demand. In the past all attempts by governments or churches to reduce interest rates by usury enactments had failed.

III. Anti-Blanqui, 1874

In 1874 Engels wrote a series of articles in *Der Volksstaat* on the activities of the foreign exiles in London. In one of them he commented upon a manifesto signed by 33 French supporters of the Paris Commune, who advocated the doctrines preached by Blanqui.[27] The signatories demanded the overthrow of capitalist states by revolution; the establishment of a communist society; and the replacement of Christianity by atheism. The revolution which they had in mind would be led by a small group of dedicated militants organised as an underground movement. Engels rejected this conception of revolution as being out of date. He held that capitalism would never be overthrown by a small secret society of revolutionaries. It would fall only when the majority of the proletariat supported the cause of revolution. Engels also attacked those who signed the manifesto for supporting every act of violence committed by the Commune in Paris. He rejected the notion that it was possible to justify every execution and every fire for which the Paris Commune had been responsible. He declared that excesses unfortunately occurred during every revolution but that was no reason for attempting to justify them. "Eventually when the turmoil

is over and one can assess calmly the events of the revolution one will have to say: 'We have done much which would have been better undone, and we have not done some things which should have been done – and so mistakes have been made.' "

Engels also criticised the view of communism held by Blanqui's supporters. "In Germany", he wrote, "communists are communists because they see clearly the goal towards which they are striving, despite all the half-way houses and compromises for which historical developments and not the communists must be held responsible. Their aim is to abolish classes and to set up a society with no private ownership of land or the means of industrial production. But the 33 followers of Blanqui are communists because they imagine that once *they* have taken the vital decision to revolt, the half-way houses and compromises can be short-circuited, and communism will be established at once. . . ." Engels dismissed this point of view as naïve and childish.

Finally the 33 signatories of the manifesto thought that religion could be abolished and atheism established by a stroke of the pen. Engels observed that "a great many things can be decreed on paper without ever being carried out" and that "to prohibit an undesirable belief by law is the surest method of encouraging its survival". Engels's comments upon the policy advocated by Blanqui's followers show that he had his feet planted firmly on the ground and that he fully recognised that those who gained power after a revolution would have to take account of human nature when trying to put their extreme policies into practice.

IV. Anti-Lassalle, 1875

In the early 1870s it might have been expected that Engels would have denounced those who advocated Lassalle's views as vigorously as he attacked the followers of Bakunin or Proudhon. But Engels's criticisms of the Lassalleans were confined to private warnings to his socialist friends in Germany and they were not made public at this time. With some reluctance Marx and Engels curbed their natural desire to attack the supporters of Lassalle's movement because they had no wish to imperil the efforts that were being made in Germany to unify the two rival socialist parties. The Social Democrat Party, established at Eisenach in 1869 had secured the support of only some German socialists. Others still belonged to the General German Workers Union which had been founded by Lassalle. Liebknecht and Bebel, the leaders of the Social Democrat Party, were Marxists while the General German Workers Union accepted Lassalle's political programme. Marx and Engels

would have welcomed an opportunity to cross swords with the Lassalleans who advocated the establishment of state-aided producers' co-operatives. But Liebknecht and Bebel opposed a public denunciation of Lassalle's supporters. In May 1873 August Bebel warned Engels that it would be a grave mistake to suppose that a ruthless assault upon the Lassalleans could be made "without causing serious injury to the Party". "I quite agree that the Lassalle cult must be rooted out and that Lassalle's errors must be exposed – but only with circumspection." Bebel added that since Marx and Engels were living in London they were not in a position to make an accurate assessment of the political situation in Germany.[28]

Liebknecht and Bebel were trying to establish a single socialist party by uniting the Social Democrat Party and the General German Workers Union. As practical politicians they were prepared to compromise on matters of principle so as to secure the unification that they desired. They were ready to make concessions both to the Lassalleans and to the *Volkspartei* (People's Party). But Marx and Engels were firmly opposed to making any concessions to the Lassalleans which would involve tampering with the basic tenets of the Marxist faith.

Various circumstances paved the way for the union of the two German socialist parties in 1875. Schweitzer's retirement from politics in 1871 deprived the Lassalleans of their ablest leader. In February 1874 when the Reichstag met after a general election the 10 socialist members – seven supporters of the Social Democrat Party and three Lassalleans – agreed to form a single parliamentary group. Shortly afterwards the Prussian government deprived the Lassalleans of their party organisation by dissolving the General German Workers Union. In the circumstances they were ready to come to an understanding with Liebknecht and Bebel.

In March 1875 Marx and Engels read in *Der Volksstaat*[29] the terms of a policy statement which was to be discussed at Gotha by representatives of the two German socialist parties. This draft programme would be the basis of an agreement for unification. Engels warned Bebel against accepting a programme which made far too many concessions to the Lassalleans. He declared that Hasenclever, Hasselmann and Tölcke – supporters of Lassalle's movement – had repeatedly rejected overtures from the Social Democrat Party. "Now a babe in arms can see that these gentlemen must be in a devilish fix if they come to us of their own accord with an offer of reconciliation". Engels suggested that the Lassalleans "ought to have been received with extreme coolness and caution". "It should have been made clear to them that if they

wanted unification they must drop their sectarian slogans and their demands for state aid for industrial co-operative enterprises." Engels declared that the draft programme "shows that we are a hundred times superior to the Lassalleans as far as theoretical arguments are concerned but we are much inferior to them in political cunning. Once again 'honest folk' have been thoroughly cheated by dishonest characters."

Engels denounced the proposed statement of socialist policy on various grounds. He criticised its acceptance of Lassalle's assertion that "society is divided into two groups – the working class and all other classes which are only a mass of reactionaries".[30] Engels held this to be historically inaccurate. "If the lower middle-class democrats in Germany were really a part of a 'reactionary mass' how could the Social Democrat Workers' Party co-operate for years with the People's Party? How can *Der Volksstaat* follow the political line of the lower middle class democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one insert in the Gotha programme seven demands which are taken word for word from the programme of the People's Party?"

Engels warned Bebel that it would be folly to include Lassalle's "iron law of wages" in the draft programme. He considered the "law" to be out of date. "Marx has shown that the laws of wages, far from being 'iron laws' are highly elastic and that Lassalle was quite wrong in imagining that his catchphrase was the solution to a complex problem." And that Lassalle's demand for state aid for industrial co-operative enterprises should be included in the draft programme was, in Engels's view, an unwarranted concession to the Lassalleans, especially since Wilhelm Bracke had recently "exposed the utter folly of the plan".[31] (Yet in 1864 in the inaugural address of the First International, Marx had written: "To save the industrial masses, co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and consequently to be fostered by national means.")[32]

The vague reference in the draft programme to a future "international brotherhood" was, in Engels's view, a very poor substitute for the unequivocal assertion that socialism was an international movement. The Communist Manifesto had urged the workers of the world to unite against their oppressors and this was still a cardinal principle of Marx's policy. Again, Engels complained that "nothing is said in the Gotha programme about the organisation of the workers in trade unions. And this is a very important matter since the trade unions are the real class organs of the proletariat. It is trade unions which enable the workers to fight their daily battles with the capitalists. It is trade unions which are the training

ground for the workers. And trade unions are so firmly entrenched that they simply cannot be destroyed even by the most powerful reaction – such as the reaction in Paris just now. In view of the strength of the trade union movement in Germany the unions should undoubtedly be mentioned in the Gotha programme and a place should be left free for them in the organisation of the Socialist Party."

Engels complained that "a lot of muddled *democratic* demands have found their way into the Gotha programme". The referendum, religious toleration, and academic freedom were "the stock in trade of every middle-class liberal programme and they look somewhat out of place in our programme". Engels also objected to the demand for the establishment of a "free state" since, in his view, "a state automatically dissolves itself and vanishes when a socialist society is established". "The state is merely a temporary phenomenon which socialists can use in the revolutionary struggle."

Finally Engels criticised the demand in the draft programme for "the removal of all social and political inequalities". He argued that it was inevitable that there should be some inequalities in the standard of life in different countries and regions. "The inhabitants of mountain districts will always live in a different sort of way from the townsman." Engels dismissed "the notion that socialist society is a society of *equals*" as an out of date idea derived from the old French revolutionary slogan: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Engels warned Bebel that if "this weak and flabby programme was adopted by a united socialist party, neither he nor Marx would be able to recognise the new party". Indeed they might "be forced to decline to accept any responsibility whatsoever for the actions of the Party".[33]

Karl Marx followed up Engels's attack upon the draft socialist programme by a detailed denunciation of his own. On May 5, 1875 he sent Wilhelm Bracke a memorandum entitled *Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei* and in a covering letter he asked Bracke to pass on his criticisms to Liebknecht, Bebel, Geib and Auer. He stated that if the programme were adopted he and Engels would issue a public statement repudiating it.[34]

Neither Engels's letter to Bebel nor Marx's memorandum to Bracke and his colleagues were made public in 1875. Soon after Marx and Engels had written their criticisms of the draft programme, representatives of the two German socialist parties came to an agreement on the founding of a united party. In the circumstances all concerned considered that it would be in the best

interests of the new party to keep silent about their differences regarding the programme adopted at the Gotha conference.[35]

Liebknecht, Bebel and Bracke were not surprised that Marx and Engels should have attacked the inclusion of some of Lassalle's proposals in the Gotha programme. This was to be expected. And after the programme had been adopted both Bebel and Bracke assured Engels that they agreed with many of his objections to it.[36] But they had kept quiet rather than endanger the success of the negotiations for the establishment of a united socialist party.

But what did surprise Liebknecht and Bebel was that Marx and Engels should have attacked not merely the policy advocated by the Lassalleans but also some of the cherished doctrines of the Social Democrat Party. The Eisenach programme of 1869, for example, had included a demand for the establishment of a democratic republic – a "free people's state". The Party's journal was called *Der Volksstaat* (The People's State) and August Bebel had attempted in his book *Unsere Ziele* to show that a socialist society could be established within the framework of a democratic republic. Now Engels had reminded Bebel that – according to Marx – the state would have only a brief life after a successful revolution and would soon disappear. Neither Liebknecht nor Bebel relished the prospect of a public controversy on the future of the state in a socialist society and this was another reason for suppressing any reference to the criticisms of the Gotha programme by Marx and Engels.

Once the Gotha programme had been accepted and the two German socialist parties had been united Marx and Engels made the best of a bad job and accepted the situation. Half a loaf was better than no bread. It was preferable for the socialists to unite under a dubious banner than for them to remain divided. Marx and Engels did not come out into the open with their criticisms of the Gotha programme and they thought better of their threats to have nothing to do with the newly-united party. In October 1875 Engels again wrote to Bebel vigorously attacking the Gotha programme as "disorganised, confused, muddled, illogical, and ridiculous". But he ended his letter on a conciliatory note. "You are quite right when you say that unification is an experiment in political education and that in these circumstances a real measure of success may be anticipated. To have achieved unity is in itself a great triumph even if it lasts for only a couple of years. But there can be no doubt that unity could have been purchased at a much lower price."[37]

V. Anti-Dühring, 1878[38]

No sooner had the Social Democrats and the Lassalleans formed a united workers' party in Germany under the banner of the Gotha programme than there was a danger of a split in the party. The new party was attracting to its ranks some trade unionists and some bourgeois intellectuals who had formerly fought shy of joining a working class organisation. There was even room in the party for a Bavarian aristocrat like Georg Heinrich von Vollmar auf Veltheim. Although Marx and Engels themselves came from middle-class families they did not extend a very warm welcome to the bourgeois converts to socialism. In 1877 Marx attacked them as a "gang of half-mature students and super-wise doctors of philosophy who want to give socialism a 'higher, ideal' turn – that is to say, to replace its materialist basis (which calls for serious objective study by anyone wanting to make use of it) by modern mythology with its godesses of justice, equality and fraternity".[39] And nine years later Engels attacked the young intellectuals – such as Max Quarck – "who hover about the boundary land between our Party and the *Katheder-Sozialismus*,[40] take jolly good care to keep clear of all the risks involved by being connected with our Party, and yet expect to reap all the benefits that may accrue from such connection".[41] Marx and Engels were particularly suspicious of wealthy recruits to the party such as Karl Höchberg[42] and Paul Singer.[43] A rich banker's son and the owner of a clothing factory might be well-meaning philanthropists but they were hardly likely to be wholehearted supporters of the principles of the Communist Manifesto. Engels was always opposed to Höchberg's form of philanthropic socialism but in later years he accepted Paul Singer as a reliable socialist colleague and welcomed him to his home.[44]

When Höchberg subsidised the publication of *Die Zukunft* Marx wrote to Bracke criticising this new socialist periodical. "Its main effort is directed towards replacing an understanding of materialism by ideological phrases such as 'Justice' etc. Its programme is a wretched one. And the review promises to indulge in phantasies of social utopias of the future. The first results of a bourgeois buying himself into the party are far from happy."[45] A little later Marx declared that Höchberg was "a 'peaceable' evolutionary and he really expects proletarian emancipation to come only from the 'educated bourgeoisie' – i.e. people like himself".[46] For his part Engels warned his socialist friends in Germany that they would be making a great mistake if they allowed "students and other ignorant know-alls to be regarded as the intellectual representatives of the

Party and to send forth into the world great quantities of utter nonsense".[47]

Some of these intellectuals found a prophet in Dr Eugen Dühring, a blind scholar who had lectured at the University of Berlin since 1863.[48] Dühring came to the fore in the early 1870s as the exponent of a new brand of socialism. His weakness as a scholar was that he imagined himself to be an expert in a wide range of academic disciplines. He had a facile pen and he wrote confidently on philosophy, history, economics, mathematics and various branches of science. He was a self-opinionated man who did not mince his words when he crossed swords with those holding views which differed from his own, even if they were scholars with established reputations in the academic world.

Marx and Engels had known about Dr Dühring since he had reviewed the first volume of *Das Kapital*.[49] Engels had found Dr Dühring's article "highly amusing" and he had dismissed the author as a "vulgar economist".[50] But Marx had adopted a more charitable attitude towards Dr Dühring. He believed that academic economists were ignoring *Das Kapital* and he encouraged Engels to make the book known in Germany by writing anonymous reviews which were sent – through his friends – to the editors of various newspapers. Marx was pleased that a University lecturer should have broken the conspiracy of academic silence over *Das Kapital*. He told Engels in January 1868 that Dr Dühring had given *Das Kapital* a "very decent" review – "particularly as I have dealt so severely with his master Carey".[51] "It says a good deal for the fellow that he virtually accepts my section on 'Original Accumulation'." Marx thought that Dr Dühring had reviewed *Das Kapital* because the book contained some "kicks in the pants" for Professor Roscher whom he cordially disliked as one who blocked "all his avenues of advancement".[52]

Two months later Marx wrote to Dr Kugelmann: "I can now understand the curiously embarrassed tone of Dr Dühring's criticism. He is ordinarily a most bumptious cheeky boy, who sets himself up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. He has published, first (proceeding from Carey) a *Kritische Grundlegung der Volkswirtschaftslehre*[53] (about 500 pages), and secondly, a new *Natürliche Dialektik*[54] (against the Hegelian dialectic). My book has buried him from both sides. He gave it a notice because of his hatred for Roscher. . . . But never mind. I must be grateful to the fellow, since he is the first expert who has said anything at all."[55]

By the early 1870s the "cheeky bumptious boy" had made a name for himself as a scholar of extreme left-wing views, who had

repeatedly criticised his senior colleagues at the University. According to Engels it was about 1875 that Dr Dühring "suddenly and rather clamorously announced his conversion to socialism, and presented the German public not only with an elaborate socialist theory, but also with a complete practical plan for the reorganisation of society". "And Dr Dühring openly proceeded to form around himself a sect, the nucleus of a future separate party."[56]

That Dr Dühring should have secured the support of Johann Most was perhaps to be expected. Most held extreme left-wing views and eventually became an anarchist. Marx wrote that "every change of the wind blows him first in one direction and then in another like a weathercock".[57] But that men like Bebel, Bracke and Bernstein should (even for a time) have fallen under Dr Dühring's spell was surprising. Bebel – Liebknecht's closest ally – declared in an article in *Der Volksstaat* that one of Dr Dühring's works on economics was the best book on the subject since Marx wrote *Das Kapital*. Bracke referred to Dr Dühring as a "party comrade"[58] and declared that Dr Dühring was a scholar of great learning and reasoning powers, who had genuine sympathies for the socialist cause.[59] And Bernstein was so impressed by one of Dr Dühring's books that he distributed copies of it to the leading socialists in Germany.

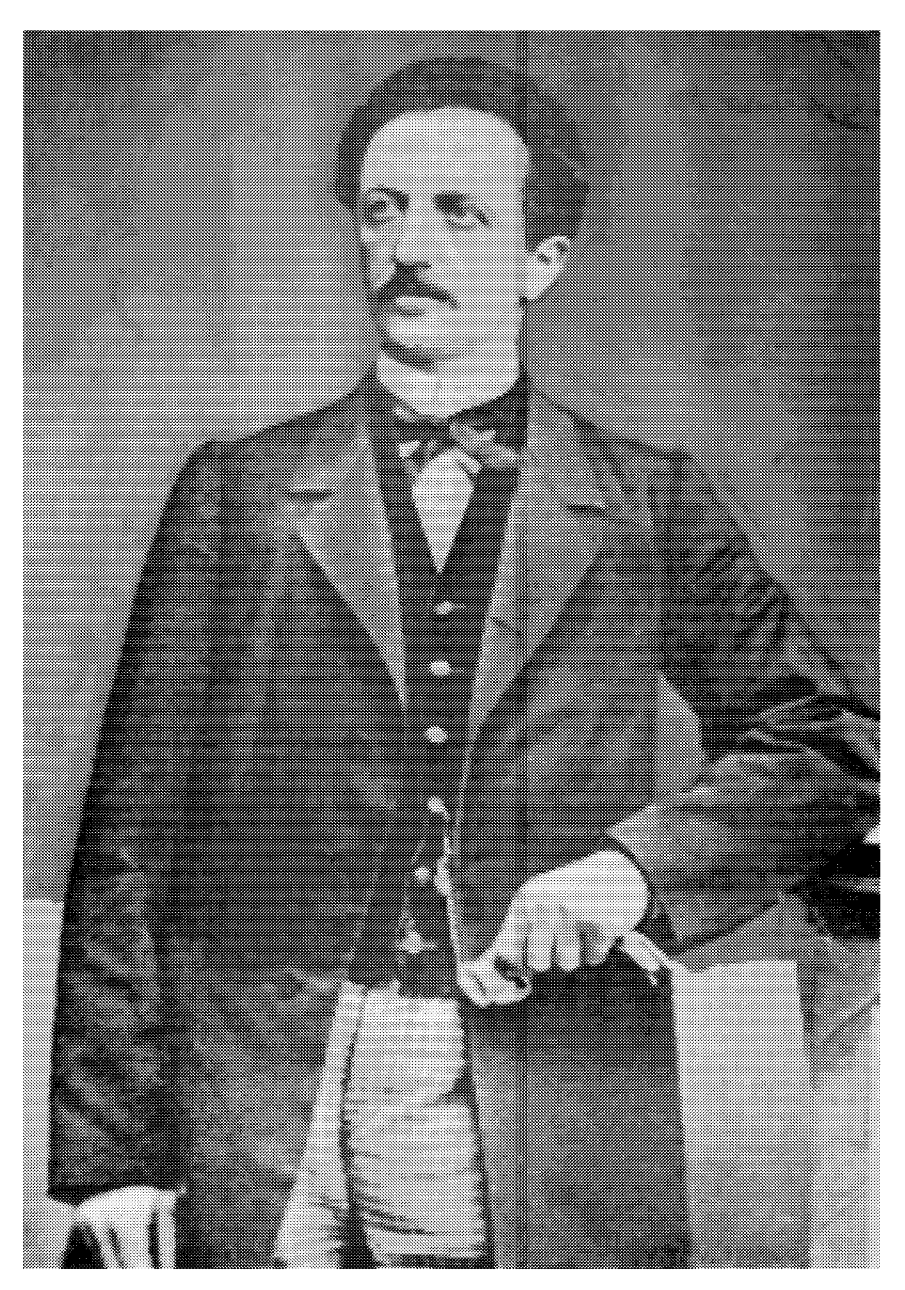
As Dr Dühring gathered round him a faithful clique of enthusiastic admirers, Liebknecht became increasingly alarmed and more than once urged Marx and Engels to refute Dr Dühring's heretical doctrines. Engels wrote that Liebknecht and his colleagues "thought this absolutely necessary in order to prevent a new occasion for sectarian splitting and confusion from developing within the Party, which was still so young and had but just achieved definite unity".[60]

In May 1876 Marx told Engels that he had ignored Liebknecht's request since the correction of the errors of so insignificant a "scribbler" as Dr Dühring was only a "minor chore" unworthy of his personal attention.[61] Now he had changed his mind since he was satisfied that Dr Dühring did pose a threat to the adoption of his own doctrines by all German socialists. Marx now insisted that Dr Dühring's heretical views "must be ruthlessly exposed".[62] He himself was too busy with his researches on economics so the task of attacking Dr Dühring fell to Engels. With some reluctance Engels embarked upon a project which eventually took up much more of his time than he had originally anticipated.

Engels complained to Marx in a letter of May 1876 that "you can lie in a warm bed studying Russian agrarian conditions in general and ground rent in particular, without being interrupted,



Mikhail Alexandrovitch Bakunin, 1814–1876



Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825–1864

but I am expected to put everything else on one side immediately, to find a hard chair, to swill some cold wine, and to devote myself to going after the scalp of that dreary fellow Dühring."[63] In August 1876 Wilhelm Bracke warned Engels that if Dr Dühring were to be attacked "it will have to be done *soon* or else it will be too late".[64] A few months later Marx wrote to Liebknecht that Engels was working on his polemic against Dr Dühring. "This is a great sacrifice on his part since to do this he has had to postpone work that is much more important."[65]

Engels's first article on Dr Dühring appeared in *Vorwärts* on January 3, 1877. But it was not until April in the following year that Engels was able to tell Bracke that his articles on Dr Dühring ("what an ignorant windbag he is!") had been completed.[66] And it was only in July 1878 that the series of articles was concluded in *Vorwärts*. What began as "a minor chore" had ended as one of Engels's major works – a classic account of Marx's philosophy.

Various difficulties delayed the publication of Engels's articles attacking Dr Dühring. Engels complained that Liebknecht – who had asked Engels to refute Dr Dühring's doctrines – was not publishing the articles every week as had originally been planned. There were gaps in the dates of publication and sometimes only a part of an article was printed.[67] Moreover Dr Dühring's supporters tried to stop the publication of the articles. In 1877 at a conference of the Social Democrat Party, held at Gotha, Johann Most submitted a motion that no more of Engels's articles on Dr Dühring should appear in *Vorwärts*. But an amendment, proposed by August Bebel, was passed which allowed the articles to continue, though in future they would appear in the literary supplement of the paper.[68] Eventually on July 7, 1878 – shortly before the whole socialist press in Germany was closed down under the Anti-Socialist Law of October 21, 1878 – the last of Engels's articles appeared.

Engels's articles were soon published as a book which came to be known simply as *Anti-Dühring*. One chapter – a criticism of Dr Dühring's *Critical History of Political Economy* – was contributed by Karl Marx.[69] According to Karl Kautsky *Anti-Dühring* had little impact upon socialist opinion in Germany when it first appeared. Almost immediately after it was published in 1878 the Anti-Socialist Law came into force and members of the Social Democrat Party had other things to do than to read Engels's book.[70] But Engels later boasted that in the long run the banning of *Anti-Dühring* at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law had greatly increased its sales.[71] In 1888 the socialist journal *Der Sozialdemokrat* declared that – after Marx's work on capital – *Anti-Dühring*

was "the most important and instructive book in our party literature".[72]

Anti-Dühring was a very different type of polemic from Marx's attacks upon his enemies. In *Herr Vogt* Marx had crushed an opponent by the sheer virulence of his vituperation. The quarrel between Marx and Vogt was soon forgotten and so was Marx's book. But in *Anti-Dühring* Engels was not content to refute a heresy. Having disposed of Dr Dühring he proceeded to give a clear exposition of Marx's doctrines. As Engels explained in 1885 "the 'system' of Herr Dühring which is criticised in this book ranges over a very wide theoretical domain; and I was compelled to follow him wherever he went and to oppose my conceptions to his. As a result, my negative criticism became positive; the polemic was transformed into a more or less connected exposition of the dialectical method and of the communist world outlook fought for by Marx and myself – an exposition covering a fairly comprehensive range of subjects."[73] Engels's *Anti-Dühring* eventually exercised a powerful influence upon German speaking socialists and especially upon the young intellectuals. Karl Kautsky later recalled that "only after the publication of Engels's *Anti-Dühring* did we begin to make a thorough study of Marx's doctrines and to think and act like Marxists".[74]

It is not necessary to discuss in detail either Dr Dühring's new philosophy of socialism or the arguments brought forward by Engels to refute Dr Dühring's doctrines. Probably Engels was mistaken in supposing that Dr Dühring threatened the onward march of Karl Marx's ideas in Germany. Engels's greatest success as the champion of Marxism was achieved against one of the least important of his opponents. Dr Dühring did not rank, either as a thinker or as an agitator, with Proudhon, Lassalle, or Bakunin. His influence over the German socialist intellectuals would almost certainly have declined even if *Anti-Dühring* had never been written. Dr Dühring remained in the public eye for a time because his feud with the University of Berlin reached its climax with his dismissal from his lectureship. His licence to teach in a Prussian university was withdrawn. According to Liebknecht he was literally starving to death in 1876.[75] Supporters of academic freedom such as Louis Viereck denounced the University authorities as reactionaries. In some quarters Dr Dühring came to be regarded as a martyr who had been punished for daring to attack the German university system. Engels thought that Dr Dühring had been the victim of a "despicable injustice".[76] The outcry concerning Dr Dühring's dismissal and the controversy between Engels and Dr Dühring were soon forgotten. Dr Dühring sank into obscurity and his name survived

only because it appeared in the title of a book which shattered his pretensions to be regarded as a serious socialist thinker.

The success of *Anti-Dühring* was followed by the still greater success of *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*. This pamphlet consisted of three chapters from *Anti-Dühring*. It appeared first in 1880 in a French translation by Paul Lafargue. In 1883 it was published in German,[77] and in 1892 there was an English translation by Edward Aveling. By this time the pamphlet was circulating in ten languages. Engels claimed that no other socialist work – "not even our Communist Manifesto or Marx's *Capital*" – had appeared in so many languages. Paul Lafargue assured Engels that his pamphlet had had "a strong influence on the theoretical development of French socialism"[78] and "a decisive effect on the direction of the socialist movement in its beginnings".[79] In Germany 20,000 copies were sold in nine years. *Socialism Utopian and Scientific* was one of the most widely read socialist pamphlets in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This brilliant "propaganda brochure" proved to be the climax of Engels's long career as a socialist agitator.[80]

VI. Anti-Höchberg, 1879

When Engels agreed to refute Dr Dühring's views in *Vorwärts* he told Liebknecht that this was the last occasion on which he would interrupt his researches to write for the press unless exceptional circumstances made it imperative for him to do so.[81] The necessity arose sooner than he had expected Shortly after his last article on Dr Dühring appeared, the Anti-Socialist Law was passed in Germany outlawing the Social Democrat Party and banning its publications. But new socialist journals were soon established abroad. One was the *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, launched in Zürich in 1879 and subsidised by Dr Karl Höchberg. Since Höchberg – in Kautsky's words – "rejected Marx's philosophy and had no understanding of Marx's economics"[82] his journal was hardly likely to commend itself to Marx and Engels.

In the summer of 1879 Karl Höchberg and Paul Singer visited London to seek the co-operation of Marx and Engels in publishing the journal. Both were wealthy recruits to the Social Democrat Party whom Marx and Engels regarded with considerable suspicion. Marx decided that Höchberg was "an emotional driveller" who had "bought himself into the party with his money",[83] while Singer had "a petty-bourgeois paunch".[84] At first Marx and Engels were not unfavourably disposed towards the new journal but as soon

as they realised that its editorial policy would be under Höchberg's control, they hastily withdrew their support. They had had a poor opinion of *Die Zukunft* – a journal edited by Dr Höchberg – and they had no reason to suppose that his new venture would be any better. Engels warned Bebel that Höchberg was "an utterly unpolitical fellow who is not even a *Social Democrat* – only a social *philanthropist*". He considered that the proposed review would not support Marx's doctrines but would be a vehicle for propagating the views of Höchberg and the "professional socialists".[85]

The fears of Marx and Engels were amply justified when they saw the first number of Dr Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*. This contained an anonymous article entitled "Reflections on the Social Movement in Germany".[86] There were three stars at the end of the article and it was generally assumed that this indicated that Höchberg, his secretary Bernstein, and C. A. Schramm accepted responsibility for the views expressed in it. According to Bernstein the article had been written by Dr Karl Flesch, who had been friendly with Höchberg in his student days.[87]

The article declared that "under the pressure of the Anti-Socialist Law, the Social Democrat Party had shown that it is not prepared to follow a path leading to violent, bloodthirsty revolution, but is determined – despite some breaches of the law and even acts of violence in the past – to pursue a course of peaceful reform". The image of the party in the future should not be that of "a riff raff with a mania for barricades" but of an organisation determined to secure reforms by strictly legal means. A policy of restraint would make the Social Democrat Party acceptable to many members of "the educated and property owning classes". The article recalled that Lassalle had hoped that his political programme would appeal not merely to the workers but also to democrats, intellectuals and those who believed in the brotherhood of man. The Anti-Socialist Law had given the German socialists a breathing space for reflection upon the outcome of their policy in the past. By praising the Paris Commune the leaders of the Social Democrat Party had emphasised the revolutionary character of socialism. This had been a grave mistake since it had brought the wrath of the middle classes upon the heads of the socialists and had made it impossible for well disposed members of the bourgeoisie to support the workers movement. Indeed, by unnecessarily provoking the middle classes, the socialists had encouraged Bismarck to secure the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law through the Reichstag. The writer of the article advised the socialists to forget about establishing a utopia in the remote future and to concentrate their attention on the attainment of realistic reforms in their own

day. By seeking election to local councils and by establishing co-operative societies they might hope to achieve limited reforms. The article assumed that it would be possible to transform a capitalist society into a socialist society by a series of moderate reforms.

When Engels read this article he wrote to Marx that they should state "their precise reasons for being absolutely unable to co-operate with a journal over which Höchberg exercises any influence whatsoever". He was angry that the article should actually assert that "the Germans have made a mistake in turning the socialist movement into a mere workers' movement and by aggravating the middle classes have only themselves to blame for the Anti-Socialist Law".[88] Marx realised that the "*Jahrbuch* twaddlers" must be attacked "sharply and ruthlessly".[89] And to Sorge he wrote that Karl Höchberg and his followers were "professional socialist rogues", "nonentities in theory and useless in practice", and "wretched counter-revolutionary windbags".[90] Engels agreed to write a reply to the *Jahrbuch* "three star" article[91] and this took the form of a "Circular Letter" – signed by Marx and Engels – and addressed to Liebknecht, Bebel and other socialist leaders in Germany.[92]

In the Circular Letter Engels denounced Höchberg and his friends for suggesting that the German socialists should reject revolution and advocate peaceful reform and that the proletarian character of the socialist movement should be diluted with middle-class democrats. Engels argued that Höchberg's supporters were no better than the long forgotten "true socialists" of the 1840s who had failed to appreciate the significance of the class struggle and had tried to hide their inability to produce a policy by using vague high-sounding phrases such as "a true love of humanity". While admitting that there might be a place for middle-class supporters in the Social Democrat Party, Engels argued that "to be of use to the proletarian movement these people must bring real intellectual elements into it". But most of the bourgeois converts to socialism in the 1870s had not advanced the movement in the slightest. They had failed to study Marx's works. Each convert tried to adapt the principles of Marx's doctrines to his own preconceived ideas.

"If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois etc. prejudices with them, but should wholeheartedly adopt the proletarian outlook. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are chock full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In such a petty bourgeois country as Germany

these ideas certainly have their justification – but only *outside* the Social Democrat Party.

"If these gentlemen constitute themselves into a social-democratic petty bourgeoisie party they have a perfect right to do so. One could then negotiate with them and form a coalition with them according to circumstances. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst is incomprehensible to us. . . .

"As for ourselves, in view of our whole past there is only one course open to us. For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power in history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution. It is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle cry: 'The emancipation of the working classes themselves.' We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic big bourgeois and petty bourgeois. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen – that is, bourgeois and not proletarian – then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it, and to dissolve the bonds of the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass. . . ."

There was no breach between Marx and Engels and the Social Democrat Party. When Engels wrote his "Circular Letter" to Liebknecht and Bebel he was preaching to the converted. Most of the party's leaders were as opposed to the views expressed in the "three star" article in Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* as Marx and Engels had been. Bebel doubted whether a couple of dozen socialists in the whole of Germany supported the policy advocated in the article. And he assured Engels that Höchberg – despite his generous gifts to the Social Democrat Party – exercised no influence over the policy of the party.[93] In December 1880 Bebel and Bernstein travelled to England – at Höchberg's expense – to visit Marx and Engels. This visit – which Bebel called his "road to Canossa" – restored the confidence of Marx and Engels in the leadership of the Social Democrat Party. Meanwhile Dr Höchberg's health was declining and he retired from his political activities in 1883. Only three numbers of his *Jahrbuch* appeared. He died in June 1885,

having lavished a fortune on the socialist cause. By giving timely financial aid to Bernstein and Kautsky he had helped two exceptionally able young socialists to gain experience in politics and journalism at an early stage in their careers.[94]

NOTES

1 F. Engels, *Zur Wohnungsfrage* (first published in *Der Volksstaat* and then as two pamphlets in 1872–3: in a second edition of 1887 the two pamphlets were printed together): English translation – F. Engels, *The Housing Question*, 1872 (edited by C. P. Dutt), p. 10.

2 These were the official journals of the Social Democrat Party. Both were published in Leipzig. Wilhelm Liebknecht edited *Der Volksstaat* and was joint editor of *Vorwärts*.

3 Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (Basel, 1852: Boston, U.S.A., 1853): new edition with introduction by F. Engels, 1885: English translation – Karl Marx, *The Cologne Communist Trial* (ed. R. Livingstone, 1971).

4 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale* (Geneva, 1872). English translation in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (Progress Publishers, Moscow), pp. 356–409.

5 F. Engels, *Rapport fait au Congrès de la Haye au nom du Conseil Général sur l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste* (August 1872), printed in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 5, 1871–2 (Progress Publishers, Moscow), pp. 461–76. English translation: *Report on the Alliance of Socialist Democracy presented in the Name of the General Council to the Congress at The Hague* (*ibid.*, pp. 505–18).

6 The pamphlet *L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* was published anonymously in London in 1873. It has been attributed (i) to Engels (by Gustav Mayer), (ii) to Marx and Engels (*Marx-Engels Verzeichnis*, Berlin 1966), and (iii) to Marx, Engels and Lafargue (by Max Nomad). German title, *Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale Arbeiterassociation (Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 18, p. 327.

7 For the First International in Spain see C. Marti, "La Première Internationale à Barcelona" in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 4, 1959. For the activities of Paul Lafargue in Madrid in 1872 on behalf of the Marxists see *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959). Lafargue helped to establish the New Madrid Federation which supported the First International and issued the socialist journal *La Emancipation*.

8 F. Engels to T. F. Cuno, January 24, 1872 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 97.

9 F. Engels, "Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den Aufstand in Spanien im Sommer 1873" in *Der Volksstaat*, Numbers 105, 106 and 107 (October 31, November 2 and 5, 1873): reprinted in F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" 1871–5* (Berlin, 1894), F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 2 (1964), pp. 536–55 and *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 18, pp. 476–511. An anonymous article on Spain which appeared in *Der Volksstaat* on

March 1, 1873 has been attributed to Engels. It was entitled "Die Republik in Spanien": see *Friedrich Engels 1820–70* (Schriften des Forschungs institut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971, pp. 313–7).

10 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), preface to the edition of 1887, p. 10.

11 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 9.

12 S. Bernstein, *The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France* (1965), p. 19.

13 S. Bernstein, *The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France* (1965), p. 25–6.

14 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 9.

15 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 21.

16 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 9.

17 Dr Arthur Mühlberger (1847–1907) wrote two books on Proudhon in the 1890s: *Studien über Proudhon* (1891) and *P. J. Proudhon. Leben und Werke* (1899).

18 A. Mühlberger, "Zur Wohnungsfrage" in *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig), Numbers 10 to 13 (February 3 to 14, 1872), Numbers 15 (February 21, 1872) and Number 19 (March 6, 1872): subsequently reprinted as a pamphlet.

19 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 79.

20 F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 21.

21 F. Engels to August Bebel, June 20, 1873 in W. Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 20. English translation Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 345.

22 F. Engels to W. Liebknecht, May 7, 1872 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 163.

23 A. Damaschke, *Die Boden reform* (1922), p. 433.

24 Quoted in F. Engels, *The Housing Question, 1872* (ed. C. P. Dutt), p. 27 and p. 32.

25 F. Engels, "Zur Wohnungsfrage" in *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig), Number 51 to 53 (June 26–July 3, 1872), Numbers 103 and 104 (December 25–28, 1872), Numbers 2 and 3 (January 4 and 8, 1873). A second series of articles by Engels entitled "Nachtrag über Proudhon und die Wohnungsfrage" appeared in *Der Volksstaat*, Number 12 and 13 (February 8 and 12, 1873) and Numbers 15 and 16 (February 19 and 22, 1873). Both the first and the second series of articles were printed separately as pamphlets in 1872 and 1873. A second edition (both series of articles printed together) appeared in 1887. English translation: F. Engels, *The Housing Question* (ed. by C. P. Dutt).

26 F. Engels, *The Housing Question* (ed. by C. P. Dutt), p. 36.

27 F. Engels, "Programme der blanquistischen Kommuneflüchtlinge" in *Der Volksstaat*, Number 73, June 26, 1874 (in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 18, pp. 528–35).

28 August Bebel to F. Engels, May 19, 1873 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 14.

29 *Der Volksstaat*, March 7, 1875.

30 For this slogan see F. Mehring, "Zur Geschichte eines Schlagwortes" in *Neue Zeit*, Vol. 15 (ii), pp. 515 *et seq.*

31 Wilhelm Bracke, *Der Lassallesche Vorschlag* (1873).

32 "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association"

(1864) in *The General Council of the First International*, Vol. 1, 1864–6 (*Documents of the First International*) (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 286.

33 F. Engels to August Bebel, March 18–28, 1875 (written on March 18 and sent on March 28 to reach Bebel after he left prison on April 1) in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965) pp. 27–35.

34 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Bracke, May 5, 1875 in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke*, 1869–80 (1963), pp. 45–6 (letter) and pp. 47–70 (*Randglossen*). The memorandum (*Randglossen*) was seen by Geib, Auer and Liebknecht but not by Bebel. Bracke returned Marx's manuscript to Engels in June 1875 (see W. Bracke to F. Engels, June 28, 1875: *ibid.*, p. 77). Engels published an abbreviated version of the *Randglossen* in 1891 in *Die Neue Zeit* (Vol. 1, No. 18) under the title "Kritik des Gothaer Programms". The complete text was published in 1927: English translation – Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971) which includes a translation of Marx's letter to Bracke, May 5, 1875 (pp. 9–10).

35 For the German text of the Gotha programme of 1875 see W. Mommsen (ed.), *Deutsche Parteiprogramme* (1960), pp. 313–14: English translation in V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–1890*) (1966), Appendix A, pp. 333–4.

36 August Bebel to F. Engels, September 21, 1875 (reply to Engels's letter of March 18–28, 1875): F. Engels to August Bebel, October 12, 1875 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 35–9. Wilhelm Bracke to Karl Marx, May 10, 1875 and W. Bracke to F. Engels, May 10, May 27 and June 28 1875 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–1880* (1963), pp. 74–80.

37 F. Engels, October 12, 1875 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 37–9. For the unification of the two German socialist parties see F. Oelssner, *Das Kompromiss von Gotha und seine Lehren* (1955) and Erich Kundel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um die revolutionäre Arbeitereinheit. Zur Geschichte des Gothaer Vereinigungskongresses von 1875* (1962).

38 See D. Rjasanov, "Fünfzig Jahre Anti-Dühring" in *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, Vol. 2 (1928). Dr Dühring was born in 1833 and died in 1921.

39 Karl Marx to Adolph Sorge, October 19, 1877 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 116.

40. "Academic Socialists."

41 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, January 17, 1886 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), pp. 331–2.

42 For Höchberg see article by Eduard Bernstein in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, July 2, 1885.

43 For Paul Singer see article by Eduard Bernstein in *Der wahre Jacob*, February 14, 1911.

44 Karl Kautsky in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 169.

45 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Bracke, October 23, 1877 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–1880* (1963), p. 52.

Die Zukunft was published in Berlin between October 1877 and November 1878.

46 Karl Marx to Adolph Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 120.

47 F. Engels to J. P. Becker, January 11, 1878 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 34, p. 20 and H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels Profile* (1970), p. 213.

48 For Dr Dühring see articles in the *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 3, Year 1921 (1927), p. 68 and the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 4 (1959), p. 157.

49 Eugen Dühring's review of *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, appeared in the *(Hildburgerhauser) Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntnis der Gegenwart.*

50 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 7, 1868 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 4.

51 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 8, 1868 (first letter) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 5.

52 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 8, 1868 (second letter) in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 6.

53 *Critical Foundation of Economics.* Marx wrote *Nationalökonomie* instead of *Volkswirtschaftslehre.*

54 *Natural Dialectic.*

55 Karl Marx to Dr L. Kugelmann, March 6, 1868 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954): English translation – K. Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 63. In a letter to Siegfried Meyer (July 4, 1868) Marx wrote: "The only thing that has appeared in the camp of official political economy is the report by Dr Dühring (*Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin, an adherent of Carey's) printed in the *Hildburghauser Ergänzungsblätter.* The report is faint-hearted, but on the whole, sympathetic" (Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 74).

56 F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (Chicago, 1905), p. v.

57 Karl Marx to A. Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 119.

58 Wilhelm Bracke to F. Engels, August 2, 1875 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–80* (1963), p. 90.

59 Wilhelm Bracke to F. Engels, May 2, 1877 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–80* (1963), p. 130.

60 F. Engels, Anti-Dühring. *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, 1878 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), preface to the first edition, p. 9.

61 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 5, 1877 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 405.

62 Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 25, 1876 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 433.

63 F. Engels to Karl Marx, May 28, 1876 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 436.

64 Wilhelm Bracke to F. Engels, August 2, 1876 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–80* (1963), p. 169.

65 Karl Marx to W. Liebknecht, October 7, 1876 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 204.

66 F. Engels to Wilhelm Bracke, April 30, 1878 in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–80* (1963), p. 169.

67 F. Engels to W. Liebknecht, April 11, 1877 in Wilhelm Liebknecht,

Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 213. On April 11, 1877 Karl Marx wrote to Wilhelm Bracke that Engels was "highly dissatisfied with the way in which *Vorwärts* has been printing his articles against Dühring . . . Engels has sent Liebknecht a warning letter. . . ." (Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke*, 1869–80 (1963), pp. 118–19).

68 G. Eckert in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1963), p. 199.

69 Engels printed Marx's chapter in an abridged form in the first (1878) and second (1895) editions of *Anti-Dühring* but it was published in full in the third edition (1894).

70 Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955).

71 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, 1878 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959); introduction to the second edition, 1885, p. 13.

72 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 16, 1887.

73 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, 1878 (Moscow, 1959), pp. 13–14.

74 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 551. See also Karl Kautsky's comments on *Anti-Dühring* in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 4. Kautsky wrote that "no book has played a greater part in promoting an understanding of Marxism" than Engels's *Anti-Dühring*.

75 Wilhelm Liebknecht to Jenny Marx, undated letter probably written in 1876. See Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 207.

76 F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, 1878 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), introduction to the second edition, 1885, p. 15.

77 The German edition included an appendix ("The Mark") which, as Engels explained in his introduction to the English translation, "was written with the intention of spreading among the German socialist party some elementary knowledge of the history and development of landed property in Germany".

78 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, July 12, 1885 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959), Vol. 1, p. 297.

79 *Ibid.*, June 26, 1894, Vol. 3, p. 335.

80 *The Sozialdemokrat* (February 22, 1883) announced the forthcoming publication of Engels's *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* in an article entitled "A new Propaganda Brochure".

81 F. Engels to Eduard Bernstein, July 26, 1879 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernstein's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 8.

82 Karl Kautsky's introduction of 1935 to *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (ed. B. Kautsky, 1955), p. 3. Karl Kautsky described Dr Höchberg as "an opponent of Marxism and the class struggle" (*ibid.*, p. 8).

83 Karl Marx to A. Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 119.

84 In later years Paul Singer was a welcome guest in Engels's house: see Karl Kautsky in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 169.

85 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 4, 1879 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 45.

86 "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland" in

Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik, edited by Dr Ludwig Richter (i.e. Karl Höchberg), Zürich, 1879, Year I, Part I, p. 75.

87 E. Bernstein in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 23.

88 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 9, 1879 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 495.

89 Karl Marx to F. Engels, September 10, 1879 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 497.

90 Karl Marx to A. Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 120.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

92 Marx and Engels to Bebel, Liebknecht and others (Circular Letter), September 1879: Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 48–63: English translation of Part III of the Circular Letter in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 388–95.

93 August Bebel to F. Engels, October 23, 1879 (reply to the Circular Letter from Marx and Engels) in Werner Blumenberg (ed.) *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 63–7.

94 For Karl Höchberg see articles in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, July 2, 1885 (obituary by E. Bernstein) and September 27, 1890 (last number).

12

ENGELS AS HISTORIAN[1]

Just as Engels had anticipated the Communist Manifesto in his "Principles of Communism" so he had anticipated Marx's doctrine of historical materialism in his book on the English workers. Before his partnership with Marx began, Engels had attributed to economic causes the class structure of England in the 1840s. He had explained that the bourgeoisie was the dominant class in English society and that it not only controlled the national economy in its own interests but also used every social institution to serve its own ends. Thus "the whole legal system has been devised to protect those who own property from those who do not".[2] The dominant middle classes were in constant conflict with the oppressed proletariat. Engels confidently predicted that this conflict would end in a revolution and in the triumph of the workers.

These ideas were embodied by Marx and Engels in their theory of history which they worked out in Brussels in 1846 when they were writing *The German Ideology*. They declared:

> "It is quite obvious from the start that there exists a materialistic connection of men with one another, which is determined by their needs and their mode of production, and which is as old as men themselves. This connection is ever taking new forms, and thus presents a 'history' independently of the existence of any political or religious nonsense which would hold men together on its own."[3]

The German Ideology was not published at this time but in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 "the theory was applied in broad outline to the whole of modern history".[4]

The doctrine of historical materialism was based upon three propositions. First, in any society it is economic factors – the ways in which food, clothing and shelter are produced – which ultimately determine all other aspects of life such as social customs, laws, politics, philosophy, and art.

Secondly, the history of man is the history of class struggle.[5] In every society there is a dominant class which owns the means of production and a subject class which owns no property. Slaves in the ancient world, serfs in the middle ages, and factory operatives

in the nineteenth century were oppressed classes. Engels declared that Marx had discovered "a great law of motion of history" which had "the same significance for history as the law of the transformation of energy has for natural science".[6] According to this "law" all the political, religious or philosophical conflicts recorded in history were really "struggles of social classes" and were brought about by conflicts of an economic nature.

Thirdly, Marx and Engels believed that history had recorded the evolution of society to a predetermined end. Hegel had seen history as the working of the Absolute Mind and as the record of progress towards the realisation of a Divine purpose. Marx and Engels accepted Hegel's view of historical progress but, since they were atheists, they did not believe that God had had any influence upon history. They thought that a succession of class struggles was bringing mankind inexorably towards a dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a classless communist society.

In 1852 in a letter to Weydemeyer, Marx explained that he claimed no credit for discovering "either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them". "Bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes long before me, and bourgeois economists had portrayed their economic anatomy." "What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is bound up only with specific historical phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."[7]

The doctrine of historical materialism had been worked out between 1845 and 1848. After the failure of the revolution of 1848 Marx and Engels began to write history to prove that their theory was correct. In 1850–2 Marx wrote on French history, while Engels wrote on German history. Marx discussed first the recent class struggles in France in 1848–50[8] and then Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.[9] Engels stated that *The Class Struggles in France* "was Marx's first attempt, with the aid of his materialist conception, to explain a phase of contemporary history from the given economic situation". Marx was able "to trace political events back to the effects of what are, in the last resort, economic causes".[10] And Marx's second pamphlet – *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* – was, in Engels's opinion, "a work of genius". It was "a concise, epigrammatic exposition that laid bare the whole course of French history since the February days in its inner interconnection, reduced the miracle of December 2 to a natural, necessary result of this interconnection – and, in doing so, did not

even need to treat the hero of the *coup d'état* otherwise than with the contempt he so well deserved".[11]

Meanwhile Engels was writing on the peasants' revolt of 1525 and the revolution of 1848 in Germany. His discussion of the peasants' revolt appeared in the same numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-Ökonomische Revue* as Marx's essays on class struggles in France, while his articles on events in Germany in 1848–9 were contributions to the *New York Daily Tribune*.[12] Both attempted to apply the doctrine of historical materialism to various aspects of German history.

In his account of the Peasants' War Engels analysed the complex social structure of Germany in the early sixteenth century and discussed the class interests of the nobles, the burghers, the craftsmen and the serfs. In his view Luther's breach with Rome – like the medieval heresies – could be explained by changes in the economic strength of various social groups. He believed that the Reformation represented an attempt by the urban middle class to overthrow the economic domination of the nobles and the upper clergy. But this revolt sparked off an insurrection of the serfs and the craftsmen. The former were oppressed by their feudal lords, the latter by the wealthy gild-masters. The nobles and the burghers buried the hatchet when confronted by a common danger. The princes took Luther under their wing, while Luther called upon the nobles to crush the peasants' revolt. The alliance between the feudal lords, the urban bourgeoisie, and the religious reformers put down the rebels and their leader Thomas Münzer was executed. Engels argued that there were striking resemblances between Germany in 1625 and Germany in 1848–9. On both occasions the same reactionary forces – the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie – had combined to crush a popular revolutionary movement.

Engels compared the aims and characters of Luther and Münzer. He declared that "from 1517 to 1525 Luther underwent quite the same changes as the present-day German constitutionalists did between 1846 and 1849, and which are undergone by every bourgeois party which, placed for a while at the head of the movement, is overwhelmed by the plebeian proletarian party standing behind it". Engels observed that at first Luther was a revolutionary who called upon the Germans to "turn on all those evil teachers of perdition, those popes, cardinals and bishops, and the entire swarm of the Roman Sodom with arms in hand, and wash our hands in their blood". But when the peasants rose against the feudal lords, Luther changed his tune. He now declared that the Church could be reformed without resorting to violence. But no mercy should be shown to rebellious peasants. "They must be

knocked to pieces, strangled and stabbed, covertly and overtly by everyone who can, just as one must kill a mad dog." Engels argued that this was "exactly what our late socialist and philanthropic bourgeoisie said when the proletariat claimed its share in the fruits of victory after the events of March 1848".

While Engels regarded Luther as a reformer who had turned into a reactionary he considered that the leader of the German peasants was a reformer who was far ahead of his time. Münzer, wrote Engels, "preached a kind of pantheism, which curiously resembles modern speculative contemplation, and at times even approaches atheism". As a revolutionary leader Münzer "went far beyond the immediate ideas and demands of the plebeians and peasants, and first organised a party of the élite of the then existing revolutionary elements, which, inasmuch as it shared his ideas and energy, always remained only a small minority of the insurgent masses".[13]

Engels wrote little history between 1850 and 1870 though he did write on the history of modern warfare in connection with his work as a military critic. In the 1870s he resumed his historical studies. In an incomplete essay (written in 1876) Engels turned his attention to pre-history and examined "the part played by labour in the transition from ape to man".[14] He argued that the decisive steps in the evolution of man were the adoption of an erect posture, the development of the hand, the ability to talk, the discovery of fire, and the domestication of animals. These advances towards civilisation were brought about by human labour. In discussing the relation between man and nature, Engels observed that the essential difference between human beings and animals was that while "the animal merely *uses* its environment and brings about changes in it simply by his presence; man by his changes makes nature serve his ends, and masters it". Engels argued that man's triumphs over nature had often had unpleasant unforeseen consequences. There were settlers who had cut down forests to secure arable land and had so decreased the rainfall as to create a desert. There were those who brought the potato to Europe and spread scrofula at the same time. "When the Arabs learned to distil spirits, it never entered their heads that by doing so they were creating one of the chief weapons for the annihilation of the aborigines of the then still undiscovered American continent." As early as 1876 Engels showed how modern industry and agriculture were polluting the environment. Engels attacked bourgeois economists for examining only those "social effects of human actions in the fields of production and exchange that are actually intended". But the consequences which were not foreseen and not intended might be of greater significance. Had Engels completed his essay he might have

followed up these arguments by a plea for economic planning which would attempt to prevent the harmful effects upon the environment of man's economic activities.

In 1884 Engels again turned his attention to primitive societies and wrote a pamphlet on *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. He explained that this was "the fulfilment of a bequest". Marx had hoped to show that the American anthropologist L. H. Morgan had independently confirmed his own materialist interpretation of history. Marx had made lengthy extracts from Morgan's book on *Ancient Society* (1877) and had added some critical notes.

Engels observed that Morgan had "rediscovered, in his own way, the materialist conception of history that Marx had discovered 40 years previously".[15] His account of the Iroquois Indians substantiated the view that classless communist societies had existed among primitive peoples and that these societies had been free from the evils associated with "civilised" capitalist societies. Just as French philosophers in the eighteenth century had idealised the virtues of the "noble savage" of a bygone age, so Marx and Engels had idealised the simple village communities which had once existed in Germany, Russia and North America and which had been described by G. L. von Maurer,[16] by Freiherr von Haxthausen,[17] and by Lewis H. Morgan.[18]

In his book on the origin of the family – largely based upon Morgan's researches – Engels examined the changes in the structure of society that had occurred between the days when primitive peoples were organised in family clans and the time when states were set up by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Engels argued that two factors had influenced the development of primitive societies – first, the need to secure food, clothing, and shelter and, secondly, the need to provide for the survival of the community in the next generation. He believed that the methods by which food, clothing and shelter were provided – and the way in which family life was organised – determined the social, political, legal and religious institutions of the community.

Engels admired the way of life of the primitive classless Iroquois tribes. "Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects or judges; without prisons, without trials." There was no poverty since each household looked after its own sick and aged.[19] This idyllic social system had disintegrated when the efficiency of labour increased so that more goods and services could be produced. When this happened private property came into existence.

This brought the primitive social system to an end for the advent

of private property – in Engels's view – abolished the former equality of wealth within the community. Private property created class antagonism between the rich and the poor. Primitive societies – with their "simple moral grandeur" – disappeared and were replaced by more sophisticated communities organised as states. The states were normally dominated by the wealthiest section of the community. Engels admitted that, in exceptional circumstances, two rival classes might be so equally balanced that neither could control the state for its own ends. Engels argued that all the political, religious and social changes recorded in history – and all the revolutions – had been caused by the rivalries of classes with different economic interests. He also believed that the early states – such as the city states of the ancient world – had suffered the same fate as primitive peoples in prehistoric times as soon as greater efficiency of production increased the wealth of the community. Engels appeared to suggest that only poor primitive communities could be happy and contented. Whenever improved methods of production were discovered – leading to greater wealth and a higher standard of living – the ideal classless society gave way to one rent asunder by the clash between the rich and the poor.

Engels's pamphlet of 1884 on the origin of the family sold well in Germany and a fourth edition appeared in 1891. But it was not one of Engels's most important books. Engels was not an expert anthropologist as he was an expert economist and military critic. Nor had he any recognised scholar to help him as he had Schorlemmer to advise him on his scientific theories. He has been criticised for his "slapdash statements and deductions" and for ignoring "the most rudimentary precepts of historical scholarship". He has been charged with "distorting and romanticising evidence to a ludicrous degree and . . . of deliberately ignoring the work of serious scholars of his own day in this field, and of basing a whole theory of family and social relationships in early and modern times alike on a single study of the Iroquois Indians".[20] As a political tract, however, Engels's pamphlet was not without importance in the 1880s. It strengthened the belief of faithful socialists – particularly in Germany – that some important aspects of Marx's doctrines had been "proved" by new evidence from prehistoric times.

In 1887–8 Engels applied Marx's ideas on historical materialism to a study of the unification of Germany. Engels's *Anti-Dühring* had been so popular that three of its chapters had appeared in France (1880) and in Germany (1883) as a pamphlet called *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.* Next it was suggested that another three chapters – those entitled "The Force Theory" –

should be reprinted separately. Engels decided to write an additional fourth chapter for this proposed pamphlet to show the German reader "the very considerable *rôle* played by force in the history of his own country during the last thirty years".[21] Engels began to write the new chapter in which he surveyed the history of Germany between 1848 and 1871 with particular reference to Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron". But his determination to complete the editing of the later volumes of *Das Kapital* caused him to lay the manuscript aside before it was completed. The unfinished chapter was published in 1896 in the socialist periodical *Neue Zeit*. While Engels's book on the origin of the family was the work of an amateur, his essay on Bismarck's policy showed such insight that what he wrote can still be read with profit by modern students of German history in the nineteenth century.

Engels stated that his discussion concerning the *rôle* of force in history was an attempt to explain why Bismarck's use of force – his policy of blood and iron – "was bound to be successful for a time, and why it is bound to fail in the end". The first part of the essay dealt with Bismarck's success to 1871; the second with his failures after unification had been achieved. Engels argued that, after the failure of the revolution of 1848, there were three ways in which Germany might have been united. All three would involve the use of force. The question was whether force – in the form of revolution or war – would be exercised from below as a popular rising or from above as a military action by the conservative classes which wielded power in Prussia.

The first possibility was what Engels called "the open revolutionary way" which had succeeded in Italy in 1859–60 "where the Savoyard dynasty had joined forces with the revolution and thereby won the crown of Italy". But the Hohenzollerns "were absolutely incapable of such bold deeds" and there was never any hope of an alliance between the ruling house of Prussia and a popular national movement aiming at the unification of the country. Secondly, Germany might have been unified under the hegemony of Austria. Engels considered that Austria never had any chance of uniting Germany because she was "the most reactionary of all German-speaking states, the most reluctant to adapt itself to modern developments, and in addition, the only specifically Catholic Great Power". Consequently German unity, under Austria's wing, was a romantic dream.

The third way to unite Germany was for Prussia to dominate the country. She had – wrote Engels – "two good institutions – universal military service and universal compulsory education". And the German customs union,[22] founded and dominated by

Prussia, had for many years been "a great success for Prussia" and had "ranged the bourgeoisie of the small and medium-sized principalities on the side of Prussia". Bismarck made full use of these advantages. Engels described him as "a man of great practical understanding and immense cunning, a born crafty businessman, who in other circumstances would have rivalled the Vanderbilts and Jay Goulds on the New York stock exchange, and indeed most effectively steered his private ship into port".

No sooner had Bismarck been appointed Minister President than he was involved in the "constitutional conflict" with the middle class Progressive Party over the proposed Prussian army reforms. Bismarck at once showed that he was prepared to use force to attain his ends and for several years he collected taxes without the authority of parliament. He demonstrated his skill by eventually securing support for his policy of unifying Germany under Prussian leadership from both the reactionary landed gentry and the liberal bourgeoisie – rival classes with divergent economic and political interests.

The middle classes – organised in the National Union (*Nationalverein*) and the Progressive Party (*Fortschrittspartei*) – were demanding both unification and democratic parliamentary government. Bismarck presented them with a *fait accompli* and gave them no choice but to accept half a loaf, rather than get no bread at all. He carried out those national demands of the bourgeoisie which were in Prussia's own interests and he granted numerous reforms which facilitated the economic expansion of the country and put money into the pockets of the bourgeoisie. But effective political power remained in the hands of the reactionary forces in Prussia – the landed gentry, the army, and the civil service – and Bismarck firmly refused to allow parliamentary democracy to be established in Germany. Engels detested Bismarck but admired his immense will-power. He declared that "all the ruling classes in Germany – junkers and bourgeois alike – had so lost all traces of energy; spinelessness had become so much the custom in 'educated' Germany. that the one man amongst them who still had will-power, thereby became their greatest personality and a tyrant over them, so that they were ready to dance to his tune even against their better nature and judgment".[23]

In the second part of his pamphlet Engels discussed Bismarck's policy after the unification of Germany in 1871. He began by analysing the social structure of the Reich. The main classes were the great landowners (the junkers), the peasants, the upper and lower middle classes, and the urban and rural workers. Engels considered that although the junkers were "one of the main bul-

warks of the old Prussian state", they were "in a quite weak position". "The whole junker class is always on the brink of financial disaster." The owners of the large estates east of the River Elbe were supported by state subsidies of various kinds. But they were "doomed to extinction" and when they disappeared the state of Prussia too would disappear. The peasants varied from day labourers to smallholders and tenant farmers. All were in a weak economic position. The bourgeoisie had prospered since 1848 owing to Germany's industrial expansion. From an economic point of view it was the most powerful class in the country but it had failed to secure political power. Engels considered that – since the junkers were doomed to extinction – the bourgeoisie was "the only section of the propertied classes who had any hope of the future". The petty bourgeoisie consisted largely of craftsmen and small traders. Some of the craftsmen still hoped for the re-establishment of gild privileges. Others – and also some of the petty traders – were radical in outlook. Even the socialists might hope for some recruits from the petty bourgeoisie. The workers fell into two groups. The farm labourers on the large estates in eastern Germany "still lived in semi-serfdom and were therefore politically of no account". Among the industrial workers of the towns, on the other hand, the socialists were making progress – even though they were split into two hostile factions.[24]

Engels argued that in view of the class structure of Germany in the 1870s Bismarck – once he had become the all-powerful Chancellor of the newly united Reich – should have recognised that the junkers were a declining class from an economic point of view and that the bourgeoisie was a wealthy growing class. Normally economic strength is linked with political power. Bismarck should have accepted the reality of the situation as he found it and he should have increased the political power of the middle classes at the expense of the great landowners. He should have incorporated in the new constitution of the Reich the guarantees of freedom of the press, of association and of assembly which were already embodied in the Prussian constitution. He should have established Imperial Ministers of State (at the head of government departments) responsible to the popularly elected Reichstag and he should have gradually given greater powers to the Reichstag. But Bismarck did none of these things. The Constitution provided that executive power should be exercised by the Chancellor who was responsible to the Emperor. According to Engels the Constitution of the Reich was "made to measure" for Bismarck. "It was a step further on the road to his personal rule, based on a balance of the parties in the Reichstag, and of the separate states in the

Bundesrat – a step further on the road to Bonapartism."[25] Far from adopting a policy which eventually would have transferred political power to the bourgeoisie, Bismarck bolstered the authority of the junkers and even tried to extend the traditions of Prussia over the whole of Germany. Engels argued that such a policy was ultimately doomed to failure.

Engels often wrote about the past to confirm the accuracy of Marx's interpretation of history. But sometimes he had other reasons for writing history. His accounts of campaigns, his biographies of generals, and his essays on the rifle were straightforward writings on military history which did not necessarily illustrate the doctrine of historical materialism. Engels became a military historian and critic so as to advise the workers on the science of war and the tactics of urban insurrection. Similarly his essays on the early history of the Marxist movement provided information to a new generation of socialists who had not been born in the stirring days of the revolution of 1848.

As early as 1850 Marx had suggested to Engels that he should write an account of the activities of the leading communists during the recent revolution in Germany. Engels had described the rising in Baden in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-Ökonomische Revue* and had included in it a sketch of the career of the revolutionary worker Josef Moll, who had died in action in the engagement on the River Murg. Many years later Engels told Johann Philipp Becker that since young socialists wanted to know about the early days of the workers' movement in Germany, their elders should put pen to paper so that the achievements of the founders of the Communist League and the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* should be placed on record.

In the 1880s Engels wrote several essays on the history of the Marxist movement and on the lives of some of Marx's disciples. His accounts of the Communist League[26] and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[27] are a lively description of the early days of the Marxist movement. In his introductions to new editions of the Communist Manifesto, Engels drew attention to the significance of this first statement of Marx's fundamental ideas.[28] And in a little book on Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophy. Engels acknowledged the influence which this "half-way house between materialism and idealism" had exercised upon Marx and himself during their "years of storm and stress" in the 1840s when they were working out their own philosophical position.[29] Engels also wrote some biographical sketches of some of the founders of the Marxist movement.[30] The longest was an account of the life of Wilhelm Wolff who had been – next to Engels – one of Marx's closest associates. Engels's biography

of Wilhelm Wolff appeared in eleven articles in *Die Neue Welt* in 1876 and a shorter version provided an introduction to a new edition of Wilhelm Wolff's pamphlet on *Die Schlesische Milliarde* ten years later.[31] Engels's other biographical essays were on his friends Georg Weerth,[32] Johann Philipp Becker,[33] Sigismund Borkheim[34] and Carl Schorlemmer.[35]

In 1890 in a letter to Joseph Bloch, the editor of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Engels once more tried to explain the meaning of Marx's materialist conception of history. He claimed that economic factors were "the ultimately determining element in history". But he asserted that Marx had never pretended that economic factors were the only ones which influenced historical events. Obviously constitutions, legal systems, religious ideas, philosophical theories and tradition had helped to mould events in the past. Engels criticised those who pushed Marx's doctrine of historical materialism to absurd lengths. Thus it would be wrong to argue that the rise of Prussia to the position of a great power was "specifically determined by economic necessity". And it would be ridiculous to try to explain the existence of every small German state entirely in terms of economics. Nevertheless, in Engels's view, however varied might be the factors which influenced a particular historical event or process "the economic ones are ultimately decisive".

In conclusion, Engels admitted:

> "Marx and I are ourselves to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle *vis-à-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction. But when it came to presenting a section of history, that is, to making a practical application, it was a different matter and there no error was permissible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have assimilated its main principles, even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter, too. . . ."[36]

NOTES

1 F. Teleschnikow, "Engels als Theoretiker der historischen Materialismus" in *Friedrich Engels der Denker* (Mundus Verlag, Basel, 1945): articles from the Soviet Encyclopaedia); L. Krieger, "Marx and Engels as Historians" in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 14 (iii), June 1953, pp. 381–403. This article discusses:
(i) Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France*

(ii) Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*
(iii) F. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany in 1848* (1891).

2 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958: new edition 1971), p. 317.

3 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (written in 1845–6: English translation of 1965), p. 41.

4 Engels's preface of 1895 to Karl Marx, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850* (articles written in 1850: new edition, 1895): English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 278–9.

5 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848 (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 79.

6 F. Engels, Introduction to the third (1885) edition of Karl Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Napoleon* (New York, 1852): English translation – *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

7 Karl Marx to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 45.

8 Karl Marx's articles on the Second French Republic appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, 1850 (new edition, 1955) and were published as a pamphlet in 1895 under the title: *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850* (introduction by F. Engels.

9 Karl Marx's articles on Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* appeared in New York in the periodical *Die Revolution* (*eine Zeitschrift in zwanglosen Heften*) (edited by J. Weydemeyer, 1852). It was published as a pamphlet entitled *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* in 1869 and (with an introduction by F. Engels) in 1885. A third pamphlet by Marx on French history was *The Civil War in France* (address of the General Council of the First International, 1871) (new edition with introduction by F. Engels, 1891).

10 Engels's introduction of 1895 to Karl Marx, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich, 1848 bis 1850* (English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.)), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 278–9.

11 Engels's introduction to the third (1885) edition of Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (English translation: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

12 Engels's articles on the Peasants War in Germany appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung: Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (double number 5–6, May–October, 1850: facsimile reprint, 1955). It was printed as a book (*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*) in 1870 and again in 1875. An English translation has been issued by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956. Engels's articles on Germany in 1848–9 appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1851–2 and were printed in 1891 (under Marx's name) as a book entitled *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany in 1848* (edited by Eleanor Marx) (new edition, 1952).

13 Quotations from W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 243–56.

14 F. Engels, "The Part played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", 1876 in *Dialectics of Nature* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964), pp. 172–86 and published separately by the Foreign Languages

Publishing House, Moscow. The article appears to have been written in June 1876 and was originally intended to be the introduction to a book on *The Three Basic Forms of Slavery* (later *The Enslavement of the Worker*). But this book was never written. The essay on "The Part played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" was first published in *Die Neue Zeit* (Vol. 14 (2) 1896, pp. 545–54) shortly after Engels's death.

15 F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* (Hottingen–Zürich, 1884): quotations are from the introduction of 1884. The edition of 1952 includes an article by Engels entitled "Ein neuentdeckter Fall von Gruppeneke" (*Neue Zeit*), 1892–3, pp. 373–5. English translation: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

16 See Engels's essay on "Die Mark" – based upon Manver's researches into the village communities of Detmold – which was published as a pamphlet: *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* (Hottingen–Zürich, 1883).

17 August Freiherr von Haxthausen, *Die ländliche Verfassung Russlands. Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Feststellung in der Gesetzgebung von 1861* (1866). Marx's copy is listed in *Ex Libris Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1967), p. 90.

18 Engels's copy of Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilisation* (1877) is listed in *Ex Libris Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1967), p. 147. In a letter to Karl Kautsky, dated March 24, 1884, Engels stated that he had had some difficulty in getting a copy of Morgan's book and eventually secured one in a second-hand bookshop: see B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 106. Friedrich Engels wrote to F. A. Sorge on March 7, 1884: "Read Morgan (Lewis H), *Ancient Society* published in America in 1877. It discloses primeval times and their communism in masterly fashion. He independently discovered Marx's theory of history anew and closes with communist conclusions for the present day". (Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 143). On January 12, 1889 Engels complained to Mrs Wischnewetsky about the boycott "of English prehistoric old fogies against Morgan" (*ibid.*, p. 208).

19 F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 159.

20 Grace Carlton, *Friedrich Engels, The Shadow Prophet* (1965), p. 218.

21 F. Engels, *Die Rolle der Gewalt in der Geschichte* (1964), p. 7 and quoted by E. Wangermann in his introduction to F. Engels, *The Rôle of Force in History* (1968), p. 11.

22 W. O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (second edition, 1959).

23 F. Engels, *The Rôle of Force in History* (ed. E. Wangermann, 1968), pp. 29, 43, 46, 48, 56, 57.

24 F. Engels, *The Rôle of Force in History* (1968), pp. 90–4.

25 F. Engels, *The Rôle of Force in History* (1968), p. 101.

26 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" (1885): introduction to new edition of Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (edition of 1952), pp. 9–31.

27 F. Engels, "Marx und die Neue Rheinische Zeitung" in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 11, 1884, reprinted in Karl Marx–

F. Engels, *Die Revolution von 1848. Auswahl aus der "Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung"* (1955).

28 Karl Marx–F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (ed. by A. J. P. Taylor), pp. 53–76.

29 F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der Klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (Stuttgart, 1888). The pamphlet had appeared as articles in 1886. English translation: F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950). Part IV of this pamphlet appears in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels. Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 315–32.

30 These biographical essays have been collected in F. Engels, *Biographische Skizzen* (1967).

31 Introduction by F. Engels to Wilhelm Wolff, *Die Schlesische Milliarde* (Hottingen-Zürich, 1886) and *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 19, pp. 55–63 and pp. 83–8.

32 F. Engels, "Georg Weerth, der erste und bedeutendste Dichter des deutschen Proletariats" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 7, 1883.

33 F. Engels, "Johann Philipp Becker" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 17, 1886.

34 Introduction by F. Engels to Sigismund Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten 1806–7* (1887).

35 F. Engels, "Carl Schorlemmer" in *Vorwärts*, July 3, 1892.

36 F. Engels to Joseph Bloch, September 21–2, 1890 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels Profile* (1970), pp. 272–3. English translation: Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 498–500 and W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 333–5.

13

ENGELS AND THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY, 1878–1890[1]

Engels observed that by 1870 the German socialists "had made rapid advances amongst the urban working class, and grew in the measure that largescale industry proletarianised the mass of the people and consequently exacerbated the class contradictions between capitalists and workers".[2] Eight years later the socialists had strengthened their position, having formed a united party which was now attracting support from certain trade unions and some former members of the Progressive Party and the People's Party. But in 1878 the growth of the Social Democrat Party received a dramatic setback. The Reichstag passed an "Emergency Law against the publicly dangerous Endeavours of Social Democracy" and the Social Democrat Party was outlawed as an illegal organisation.

At every general election of the Reichstag until 1877 the socialist vote had increased. Bismarck considered that the growth of the Social Democrat Party threatened Germany's unity and stability. In May 1871 he had been horrified to hear Bebel, in a speech to the Reichstag, praise the aims and policy of the Paris Commune. Bismarck declared that this was when he first realised that the socialists were the declared enemies of the state and society.[3] In October 1871 he suggested to Count Itzenplitz, the Prussian Minister of Commerce, that "any agitation which endangered the state" should be prohibited by law.[4] Nothing came of this proposal but Itzenplitz did circularise leading German industrialists and businessmen asking them not to give employment to socialists. Carl Stumm, the steel king of the Saar, barred socialists from all his mines and ironworks.[5]

Bismarck considered that it was his duty to crush the socialists because they advocated republicanism and therefore endangered the monarchy; because they supported an international workers' movement and were therefore a threat to the Fatherland; because they preached atheism and therefore flouted Christian beliefs; and because they advocated nationalisation and therefore attacked private property. He argued, too, that the threat to private property

reduced the flow of investment to industry, slowed down the expansion of manufactures and increased unemployment. During the Franco–Prussian war the socialist leaders Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel had opposed war credits, denounced the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and supported the Paris Commune. They were brought to trial – charged with "making preparations for treason" – and in 1872 they were both found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Their trial in Leipzig – like the trial in Cologne of the leaders of the Communist League twenty years before – was given the maximum publicity and Bismarck hoped that it would serve as a warning to the German workers not to support the socialists.[6] But Bismarck's strong opposition to the socialists did not blind him to the fact that their agitation was making it imperative for the government to undertake social reforms. Some years later (in 1884) he admitted that "if some modest progress has been made towards solving the social question it is only because of the rise of socialism and the fear that socialism has inspired in certain quarters".

At first Bismarck was unable to persuade the Reichstag to strengthen the law against workers' political organisations and trade unions. In 1873 he failed to abolish the freedom of association and he was equally unsuccessful when he tried to tighten the press law by imposing heavy penalties for attacks on the family, private property and conscription. But even without new powers the German – and particularly the Prussian – authorities were able to make life difficult for the socialists. Both socialist parties were dissolved – the General German Workers' Union in 1874 and the recently united Social Democrat Party in 1876. The General German Workers' Union disappeared but the organisation of the Social Democrat Party survived in a new form. Although the party's central executive committee was dissolved a new Central Election Committee was established in Hamburg. In theory this committee had no powers outside Hamburg, but in practice its authority over other regional socialist associations was accepted throughout Germany.

Not content with dissolving the two party organisations the authorities did all in their power to hinder the activities of socialists, particularly during elections when their candidates, speakers, and supporters were harassed by the police in various ways. In 1879 Engels denounced Bismarck for pursuing a reactionary policy against the workers, involving "a return to the traditions of vilest feudalism and police authority of old Prussia".[7] The support which Bismarck received from the great industrialists in his drive against the socialists can be seen from a pamphlet which Alfred Krupp sent

to his workers in 1877. Krupp treated his workers well and provided them with many welfare services but he was strongly opposed to trade unionism and to socialism. In his message to his workers he denounced the "spirit of social democracy" that was spreading among his workers. He warned them that the aims of the Social Democrat Party were neither sensible nor practical. He was, however, prepared to take the charitable view that "most people who have been won over by the Social Democrat Party continue to support it only because they fail to appreciate its criminal and ruinous aims".[8] At the same time Carl Stumm – another steel king – barred all socialists from employment in his works in the Saar and similar action was taken by many members of the Association for the Protection of the Common Economic Interests of the Rhineland and Westphalia. Stumm also founded an "Employers' Committee to fight Social Democracy".[9]

Despite the many obstacles placed in its path the socialist movement continued to grow. At the Reichstag general election of January 1877 the socialists polled 493,000 (over 9 per cent of all the votes) and gained 12 seats. Not only factory workers but craftsmen and shopkeepers – even some minor state officials such as railway porters and postmen – were now voting for the Social Democrat Party. Over 40 socialist newspapers were published, the most important being *Vorwärts*, the *Freie Presse* (Berlin), the *Volksblatt* (Hamburg–Altona), the *Neue Welt* and *Die Zukunft*. At the same time some 50,000 workers were organised in trade unions, some of which had close links with the Social Democrat Party.

The opposition between Bismarck and the socialists came to a head in 1878. On May 11 Max Hödel tried to assassinate the Emperor. But his revolver was defective and the Emperor was not hurt. Since Hödel had been a socialist agitator, it was not surprising that the Social Democrats were attacked as a party of terrorists and assassins. The police discovered that Hödel was probably as closely associated with the anarchists as with the socialists but they did not make this information public since they wished to implicate the Social Democrat Party in the attempt on the Emperor's life.[10] The socialists protested that Hödel had been expelled from their party before he tried to kill the Emperor[11] and for good measure they asserted that he was mentally unbalanced.

Bismarck acted promptly. On May 20 an Anti-Socialist Law – hastily passed by the Bundesrat – was laid before the Reichstag. Rudolf von Bennigsen, leader of the National Liberals, attacked the bill in one of his greatest speeches. He criticised the folly of

trying to ban all organisations which supported "the aims of Social Democracy". The Gotha programme included demands for various democratic reforms which were also advocated by liberals who were opposed to socialism. Bennigsen argued that the legitimate activities of all democratic parties would be forbidden if the bill were passed. Liebknecht charged Bismarck – who had not troubled to attend the debate – with attempting to saddle the socialists with the "moral responsibility" for the act of a madman. The attempt on the Emperor's life was no justification for Bismarck's reactionary proposal. Liebknecht claimed that Bismarck was playing a double game. Ostensibly he was asking the Reichstag to give the government new powers to crush the socialists. But his real objective was to manœuvre the National Liberals and the Progressives into voting against the Anti-Socialist Law. Then he could attack these parties at the next elections for their lack of patriotism in failing to support a bill designed to safeguard the state from those who were planning to overthrow it by acts of violence. If this was Bismarck's plan it was successful. With the help of the two liberal parties – the National Liberals and the Progressives – the first clause of the anti-socialist bill was rejected by 243 votes to 60. The bill was then withdrawn by the government.

The opportunity to hold a general election came sooner than Bismarck had expected. On June 2 another attempt was made on the Emperor's life and this time the Emperor received serious injuries. Although Karl Nobiling, the would-be assassin, was no socialist, Bismarck now unleashed a virulent press campaign against the socialists who were accused of trying to achieve their aims by acts of violence. He also attacked the liberals for lack of patriotism in failing to support the Anti-Socialist Bill. Bismarck argued that an Anti-Socialist Law was essential to crush a party which threatened the foundations of society. The Reichstag was dissolved and a general election was held on June 30, 1878.

Bismarck's supporters tried to stampede the voters by claiming that only the conservatives could save the country from "red revolution". Count Eulenburg, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, declared that the socialists were "a mortal enemy of the state – and not only of our state but of every monarchical state".[12] The liberal parties were attacked for voting against the anti-socialist law in the last Reichstag. In his memoirs Bebel recalled that during the election virtually the whole German press – except of course the socialist papers – united to denounce the socialists as murderers and atheists who were bent upon wrecking all civilised social institutions, such as the monarchy, marriage, the family and private property. Patriotic employers vied with one another in dismissing

socialist workers. Patriotic landlords gave socialist tenants notice to quit. Patriotic innkeepers asked socialists to take their custom elsewhere. From Brunswick Bracke reported that "some of our enemies have taken leave of their senses". He told Engels that "there are some people here who refuse to do business at the corn exchange because I am chairman of the company running it".[13] In Hamburg the city fathers forbade the holding of a conference of trade union delegates, while in Gotha the authorities banned a proposed congress of the Social Democrat Party.[14]

In the circumstances it was virtually certain that there would be a swing to the right at the general election. The two conservative parties gained 38 seats and the Catholic Centre Party gained one seat. The two liberal parties lost ground. Bismarck had secured a majority in the Reichstag both for an Anti-Socialist Law and for a reform of the tariff. Despite the unscrupulous tactics of their opponents – who whipped up a mass hysteria against them – the socialists did surprisingly well at the elections, gaining 437,158 votes (compared with 493,288 in 1877) and losing only three seats. During the election campaign Bracke wrote to Engels that the violent propaganda campaign against the socialists had not caused any panic among the workers. They remained calm. He thought that if an Anti-Socialist Law were passed many socialists would lose their jobs and would suffer in other ways but he was confident that in the end the Social Democrat Party would emerge from the struggle "larger, stronger, and more mature than before".[15]

The Reichstag assembled on September 9, 1878 and considered an Anti-Socialist Bill on September 16. The preamble to the bill claimed that "the socialist agitation, as carried on for years, is a continual appeal to violence, and to the passions of the multitude, for the purpose of subverting the social order. The state *can* check such a movement by depriving Social Democracy of its principal means of propaganda, and by destroying its organisation; and it *must* do so unless it is willing to surrender its existence, and unless the conviction is to spread amongst the people that either the state is impossible or the aims of Social Democracy are justifiable."[16]

On the first day of the debate Bebel attacked the bill. He asserted that socialists were peaceful reformers, not violent revolutionaries.[17] Far from advocating the wholesale confiscation of private property, they merely objected to large concentrations of capital in the hands of a few rich companies and individuals. Bebel asserted that criticisms of the unequal distribution of wealth in a capitalist society had been made by reformers who could not be described as socialists.[18] Bebel warned the Reichstag that a ban on socialist literature could not be enforced. No one could stop socialist

workers and their friends from meeting in their homes, in factories, in public houses, or on country walks where politics could be discussed and forbidden literature could be passed on. Bebel also attacked Bismarck for having flirted with socialists in the past. Members of the Reichstag were astonished to learn that in 1863–4 Bismarck had held discussions with Lassalle[19] and that in 1865 Lothar Bucher, soon after being appointed by Bismarck to a post in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had invited Karl Marx to contribute to the official *Preussischer Anzeiger*.[20] Unfortunately for Bebel his claim that German socialists advocated reform by peaceful means was contradicted by Wilhelm Hasselmann who took two hours to inform the Reichstag that the socialists were revolutionaries who were prepared to use force to overthrow the capitalist system.

In his reply to the attacks upon the bill Bismarck reiterated his conviction that the socialist agitation in Germany in recent years had threatened the safety of the state. For the first time he gave an account of his conversations with Lassalle. He failed to mention that he had initiated the talks. Bismarck argued that his talks with Lassalle had no political significance since in 1863 Lassalle's General German Workers Union had been a small unimportant organisation. The talks had been confidential exchanges between two men who both had the welfare of the German workers at heart. Bismarck drew a sharp contrast between the German socialists of the 1860s and the socialists of the 1870s. Lassalle's organisation had largely confined its activities to campaigning in favour of manhood suffrage and this had now been granted as far as elections for the Reichstag was concerned. But during the Franco-Prussian war Liebknecht and Bebel had supported the Paris Commune and the Social Democrat Party was now, in Bismarck's view, a revolutionary organisation determined to overthrow the existing social system.

The Reichstag passed the Anti-Socialist Law on October 19, 1878 by 221 votes to 149 and its provisions came into effect two days later. The law was to remain in force until March 31, 1881. It was renewed four times – though with decling majorities – and eventually lapsed on September 30, 1890, shortly after Bismarck's fall from power.

The Anti-Socialist Law[21] prohibited all organisations which aimed at overthrowing "the existing political or social order through social-democratic, socialist or communist endeavours". A liquidator would dispose of their property in accordance with "the statutes of the organisation or general laws". Co-operative and friendly societies with socialist affiliations were to be placed under "extraordinary

state control". Meetings, demonstrations and processions of socialists were banned. So were socialist books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers. It would be illegal to attempt to raise funds for socialist organisations. Publishers, booksellers, librarians and publicans found guilty of breaking the Anti-Socialist Law would be liable to fines or imprisonment and might also be "forbidden to continue in business". In districts where the safety of the public was deemed to be endangered by socialist agitators, stringent regulations might be enforced prohibiting meetings, demonstrations and the possession of firearms. Socialists might be forbidden to reside in such districts.

Although the Anti-Socialist Law was a stringent one there was a gap in its provisions which Bismarck later had cause to regret.[22] The law did not deprive socialists either of the right to vote at elections or of the right to be candidates at municipal or Reichstag elections. Consequently socialists continued to be elected to the Reichstag where they took part in debates which were reported in the press. During the twelve years that the Anti-Socialist Law was in force the Reichstag provided socialist deputies with a public forum. Here they could criticise the government as vigorously as they pleased. The Reichstag jealously guarded its constitutional rights and refused to allow socialist deputies to be prevented from carrying out their parliamentary duties. In 1879 it thwarted an attempt by the Prussian police to arrest two socialist deputies. In the same year it rejected a "Muzzling Bill" which threatened those who made abusive speeches in the Reichstag with suspension or expulsion. Opponents of the bill argued that any unpopular group of deputies could be silenced if the bill became law.

Although Bismarck failed to secure any extension of the powers granted to the government under the Anti-Socialist Law the enactment contained provisions which made it possible for the authorities to deal a severe blow to the Social Democrat Party. At first a number of the socialist leaders seemed to resign themselves to their fate. On October 13, 1878, when it was clear that the law would soon be passed, a meeting was held in Hamburg attended by the Central Election Committee, the socialist deputies in the Reichstag, and other party leaders. The majority of those present could see no alternative to capitulation. The majority of the leaders of the party – so often accused of planning revolution – were determined to show their respect for the law. On the very day that the Anti-Socialist Law was passed, the Central Election Committee dissolved the party organisation and soon afterwards local socialist organisations were wound up in several towns such as Breslau, Chemnitz, Magdeburg, Bremen and Brunswick. In a

speech to the Reichstag on March 17, 1879 Liebknecht insisted that the Social Democrat Party was a party of reform, not revolution and that its members would obey the law of the land. Engels sharply criticised Liebknecht's "untimely meekness" on this occasion.[23] And he later denounced those socialist leaders in Germany who had lost their nerve in 1878 "because they had moved too long in middle class circles and were too much influenced by bourgeois values".[24] In Engels's view the masses in Germany had sounder political instincts than their leaders.[25]

The "untimely meekness" of some of the socialist leaders is not difficult to understand. They hoped that the government would regard a show of meekness as an olive branch and would reciprocate by not applying the Anti-Socialist Law in too rigorous a fashion. Above all they thought that it might be possible to save at least part of the socialist press from being closed down. In 1878 nearly 50 socialist periodicals and newspapers were published in Germany. Several prominent socialists were journalists by profession and the printing and distribution of socialist periodicals and newspapers gave employment to a number of party members. The wholesale closure of the socialist press would throw many socialist printers and distributors out of work. Before the Anti-Socialist Law was passed Liebknecht (who earned his living as an editor of *Vorwärts*) had written to Engels: "All our periodicals will be banned at a single stroke. This will not destroy our party but it will destroy the livelihood of several party members – including *mine*. In no circumstances do I want to leave Germany but I must live. Please see if there is any chance of my securing a post as correspondent of an English paper."[26]

Submission to the Anti-Socialist Law brought no relief to its victims. The government had decided to stamp out the socialist movement and the socialists suffered the full rigours of the new law. The socialist and trade union press had to close down and all socialist organisations were banned. Twenty-one trade unions were dissolved and only the liberal Hirsch–Duncker unions were allowed to survive. By June 30, 1879 the authorities had prohibited 217 organisations and had banned 127 periodicals and 278 books and pamphlets.[27] *Vorwärts* had to cease publication although the editors declared that they would not advocate doctrines forbidden by law.[28] Socialist classics such as Engels's *Anti-Dühring* and Bernstein's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* were quickly banned. Strange to say the first volume of *Das Kapital* was not prohibited.[29] Many adult education associations, friendly societies, social clubs and co-operative societies – though only loosely linked with the Social Democrat Party – were prohibited.

Before long even harsher measures were adopted. In November 1878 a minor state of siege was declared in Berlin and 67 leading socialists were expelled from the capital. They urged their followers not to be provoked by the police but to obey the law and to refrain from acts of violence. A minor state of siege was proclaimed in Hamburg and Altona in October 1880 and in Leipzig in June 1881 and many prominent members of the Social Democrat Party were expelled from these cities. These measures inflicted severe hardships upon expelled socialists and their families. But some of these exiles revenged themselves upon their persecutors by preaching socialism in rural districts in which the Social Democrat Party had formerly made little progress.

In 1879, despite the persecution of the socialists, the deputies of the Social Democrat Party in the Reichstag tried to impress the public by their moderation. They naturally criticised the establishment of a minor state of siege in Berlin and the expulsion of socialist leaders from the city – though Liebknecht went out of his way to claim that the action of the government was unnecessary since the Social Democrat Party aimed at securing reforms by strictly peaceful means. The socialist deputies naturally protested when two of their number (Fritzsche and Hasselmann) were expelled from Berlin and they insisted that the government must respect the immunity from arrest accorded to members of the Reichstag by the constitution. And it was natural that Bebel should attack a proposal that the Reichstag should be given the power to suspend a deputy who made "abusive" speeches in the house.

But when matters that had nothing to do with the Anti-Socialist Law came before the Reichstag, the socialist deputies donned the mantle of responsible legislators. One of them – Max Kayser – actually supported Bismarck's proposal to introduce a protective tariff. To many socialists it seemed strange that a socialist deputy should cast a vote in favour of a proposal sponsored by their most determined enemy. And Kayser was defended by all his socialist colleagues in the Reichstag when he was attacked by Karl Hirsch in *Die Laterne.* They pointed out that the congress of the Social Democrat Party held at Gotha in 1877 had passed a resolution stating that "the controversy concerning free trade and protection is not a matter of principle for socialists and each member of the Party is left to make his own decision on the matter". And having supported the first reading of the tariff bill Kayser voted against the third reading.

In a report on their work in the last session of the Reichstag, the socialist deputies declared in 1879 that since their party condemned war and believed in the brotherhood of man it could take

no action which might lead to civil war. "We do not have to topple Bismarck's system, since it will collapse of its own accord."[30] Engels sharply attacked this report in two letters to August Bebel. In the first he declared that the socialist deputies had disgraced themselves. Not only had they quarrelled among themselves but they had quarrelled in public. Engels complained that they had made one concession after another to their enemies and had ignored the class struggle which was a fundamental doctrine of the socialist movement. "Since the German philistines are utter cowards, they respect only those who make them quake in their shoes."[31]

In a letter to Bebel of November 24, 1879 Engels again suggested how socialist deputies should act in the Reichstag. He argued that they should speak and vote on matters directly concerning the workers such as factory conditions and hours of work. But when the Reichstag discussed fiscal policy or railway nationalisation the socialist deputies should simply oppose any law that threatened to "increase the power of the government over the people". If the socialists were unable to vote together, they should not vote at all.

Engels also discussed once more the question of Kayser's conduct in the debate on the tariff. He asked if Kayser realised that by supporting the imposition of import duties on iron he had become an ally of the great ironmasters who had formed a ring to dominate the home market so as to charge German customers a high price for iron while selling surplus stocks abroad at a lower price. "Hansemann of the Dortmund Union and Bleichröder of the Royal and Laura Ironworks are laughing at this silly socialist who actually claims to have made a serious study of the subject." Engels advised Bebel to read Rudolf Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland* which described the recent commercial crisis and the corrupt practices of politicians. Engels observed that a study of this book was essential to an understanding of the economic and political situation in Germany. "How is it", asked Engels, "that this treasure trove of revelations was not exploited by the socialist press when the book was published"?[32] Bebel, for his part, suggested that it was difficult for Marx and Engels, who lived in England, to grasp the complexity of the practical problems that faced socialist deputies day after day in the Reichstag.[33]

At the same time that Engels wrote to Bebel to criticise the conduct of some of the socialist deputies in the Reichstag he also sent a "Circular Letter" – signed by Marx and himself – to the leading German socialists. Here he vigorously attacked the socialist policy advocated in an article in the first number of Höchberg's *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*. The writer of the article advised socialists in Germany to forget their revolutionary

traditions and to seek an alliance with the bourgeois liberal parties. Engels's letters to Bebel and his "Circular Letter" show that Marx and Engels had taken up an uncompromising position with regard to the Anti-Socialist Law. They considered that a revolutionary situation existed in Germany. But it was a different type of revolution from that of 1848. Then the middle class liberals, supported by some of the workers, had taken the initiative and had attempted to overthrow the reactionary governments in Germany and Austria. Now the reactionary junkers and great industrialists had taken the initiative and had tried to wipe out the socialists before they could become the largest and most powerful political party in the country. The revolution of 1848 had developed into an armed insurrection but in 1878 Bismarck had stopped short of shooting his socialist opponents. It was, however, possible that he hoped to harass the socialists to such an extent that they would be goaded into taking up arms against the government. And the German army would have had no difficulty in putting down an armed rising of the workers. Marx and Engels urged the German socialists to recognise that a revolutionary situation had been created by the Anti-Socialist Law. Socialists should appreciate the fact that they could not survive if they submitted to Bismarck and obeyed a law which aimed at their destruction. An outlaw could not be expected to obey the law and the Social Democrat Party was now an illegal party. Marx and Engels advised their followers not to hesitate to break the law. But passive resistance – not armed insurrection – was the weapon which would eventually defeat Bismarck. Marx and Engels opposed both extremists on the left wing of the party like Johann Most, who preached anarchism and right wing socialists like Karl Höchberg who advocated an alliance with the middle classes and a compromise with Bismarck.

Although in the early days of the Anti-Socialist Law a number of socialist leaders accepted the dissolution of their party and the banning of their newspapers, it was not long before there were signs that some of Bismarck's victims were prepared to hit back at their persecutors. Public demonstrations by socialists were forbidden but the police dared not interfere with funeral processions. So the funerals of prominent leaders of the Social Democrat Party became public demonstrations of loyalty to the Party. This happened at the funerals of Reinders in Breslau, August Geib in Hamburg and Bracke in Brunswick.[34] It was legal for socialists to vote and in August 1879 Liebknecht and two other socialist candidates were, for the first time, elected to the Landtag in Saxony.[35] Auer joined them when he won a by-election in March 1880.[36] Moreover as quickly as the police closed social clubs fre-

quented by socialists, new ones were founded. More important was the establishment of an illegal welfare committee in Leipzig by Bebel and Liebknecht in November 1878 to raise funds to support the families of socialists expelled from Berlin. Marx and Engels helped to raise money in England and in the United States for distressed German socialists.[37] In 1879 the Leipzig welfare committee shared with the socialist deputies in the Reichstag the task of acting as a substitute for the banned official executive committee of the Social Democrat Party.

Although these acts of defiance helped to restore the morale of the German socialists, Marx and Engels believed that by far the most effective method of attacking Bismarck was to establish socialist periodicals outside Germany and to smuggle them into the country. The former editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were fully convinced of the power of the press in a revolutionary situation. The first new socialist weekly to be established at this time was *Die Laterne* (December 15, 1878). Its editor was Carl Hirsch[38] who had once been a member of Lassalle's General German Workers' Union. By 1868 he had become a supporter of Marx's First International and in 1870 he had established a local socialist paper in Crimmitschau (Saxony) called *Der Bürger und Bauernfreund*. In 1870–1 he had edited *Der Volksstaat* when Liebknecht and Hepner were in prison. Since 1874 he had worked in Paris as a journalist. *Die Laterne* was published first in Brussels and then in London. It was printed in miniature form and was sent to its readers in Germany in envelopes of normal letter size. Carl Hirsch urged his readers to defy the Anti-Socialist Law and he attacked Max Kayser for supporting the first reading of Bismarck's tariff bill in the Reichstag.

Another new socialist journal called *Freiheit* was edited by Johann Most (with the assistance of Andreas Scheu) on behalf of the German Workers' Education Society in London.[39] Marx and Engels had no very high opinion of either Most or Scheu. The former was suspected of having supported Dr Dühring while the latter was believed to have sympathised with Bakunin. Nevertheless Marx and Engels welcomed the establishment of *Freiheit*. In March 1879 Engels wrote that he and Marx wished Most's journal every success, though they could not be held responsible for its contents.[40] Most, however, soon drifted towards anarchism and began to advocate armed insurrection in Germany.

In the circumstances Marx and Engels would have nothing to do with *Freiheit*. In June 1879 Engels declined to give a lecture to the German Workers' Educational Association lest he might appear to be lending his support to the journal which it subsidised.[41] On

July 1 Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker that Most was advocating a revolution of "fire and slaughter".[42] In September 1879 Marx told Sorge that he and Engels had "no relationship" with *Freiheit* – "although I see Most now and then at my house".[43] Most was expelled from the Social Democrat Party in 1880. In the following year, when an article appeared in *Freiheit* approving of the assassination of Alexander II of Russia, the journal was banned and Most received a prison sentence. In 1882 Most settled in New York where he resumed the publication of *Freiheit*.[44] In 1884 Engels wrote that Most was a mere "caricature of an anarchist".[45]

By the autumn of 1879 Carl Hirsch's *Die Laterne* had ceased publication, Johann Most's *Freiheit* was virtually preaching anarchism, and Karl Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* was advocating co-operation between socialists and democrats. There were no socialist papers in neighbouring German speaking countries to fill the gap. Kautsky complained that the Austrian socialist press was in "a miserable condition".[46] So in Germany the Social Democrat Party was still without a suitable journal.

There was a lengthy correspondence between Liebknecht and Bebel in Leipzig, the German socialists in Zürich and Marx and Engels in London on the establishment of a new paper. Marx and Engels suggested that Carl Hirsch should be the editor[47] but there were influential socialists in Germany who opposed the appointment of one who had recently attacked the socialist deputies in the Reichstag so vigorously. In the end Georg von Vollmar,[48] a member of the Catholic aristocracy in Bavaria, was appointed editor of the new weekly *Der Sozialdemokrat* which was published in Zürich. The editorial board consisted of Liebknecht, Bebel and Fritzsche. Vollmar edited *Der Sozialdemokrat* from September 28, 1879 to December 1880 when he was succeeded by Bernstein, who edited the paper until the last number appeared on September 27, 1890.[49] Bernstein lived in exile for some twenty years, first in Switzerland and then in England, as he would have been arrested if he had returned to Germany.

During the fourteen months that he edited *Der Sozialdemokrat* Vollmar tried to steer a middle course between the policies advocated by the right and left wings of the Social Democrat Party. He failed to heed Bebel's warning that socialist opinion in Germany was moving decisively to the left.[50] The leading article of the first issue urged socialists to adhere strictly to the Gotha programme but also declared that the Social Democrat Party was "a revolutionary party in the true and best sense of the word".[51] Vollmar printed without comment the statement issued by the socialist deputies in defence of their actions in the recent session of the

Reichstag – a statement which roundly condemned civil insurrection.[52] And another article declared that "the assertion of our enemies that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the goal towards which socialists are striving is branded as a lie by the clear wording of our Party programme.[53]

Yet on other occasions *Der Sozialdemokrat* advocated a much more militant course of action. An article of January 4, 1880 called for "war against all the injustice, shame, and misery which is an integral part of our modern organisation of state and society". "There can be no reconciliation between the old world of class privilege and the new world of socialism. They are as incompatible as fire and water and the life of one is the death of the other."[54] And an article which appeared in February 1880 was a clarion call to German socialists to close their ranks and "to take up the military formation that the situation of today and tomorrow demands".[55]

Marx and Engels were naturally disappointed whenever *Der Sozialdemokrat* printed articles supporting the view that despite the ruthless way in which they had been persecuted the socialists should turn the other cheek and continue to behave like respectable law-abiding citizens. Soon after *Der Sozialdemokrat* was established Engels complained to Bebel that the paper was publishing articles which reflected Höchberg's brand of "petty bourgeois socialism". So long as this continued it would be impossible for Marx and Engels to be associated with the paper in any way.[56] In April 1880 Engels complained to Becker of the inconsistent editorial policy of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. One day the paper would preach revolution while on the next it would declare that an insurrection would be a great misfortune. "On the one hand the paper dreads having its hand trumped by the loud-mouthed Most, and on the other it fears that "the workers will one day take its own views seriously".[57] In November 1880 Marx wrote to Sorge that *Der Sozialdemokrat* was being run "in a miserable fashion". He and Engels had frequently written to Bebel and Liebknecht about the paper, "with sharp clashes occurring often". "Liebknecht was here a few weeks ago and 'improvement' has been promised in every respect."[58]

Meanwhile in August 1880 the Social Democrat Party had taken a decisive step in its struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law. At a secret party congress – held in the old ruined castle of Wyden in Switzerland – the 56 delegates unanimously decided to change the Gotha Programme so that in future the party pledged itself to pursue its aims "by all means" and not merely "by all legal means". By dropping one word from its programme the outlawed party gave Bismarck notice that it was back in business. The days

of meek compliance with the Anti-Socialist Law was over. From now onwards the party would fight for its existence by every means in its power.

The congress established an international agency under Georg Vollmar to link the Social Democrat Party with foreign socialist parties. Fritzsche and Viereck were sent on a propaganda tour to the United States to raise money for the Social Democrat Party. The congress expelled the extremists Most and Hasselmann from the party. Members of the right wing of the party did not suffer the same fate but were let off with a caution. They were warned that in future all socialist election manifestoes must conform strictly to the Gotha Programme as modified at the Wyden congress. It was also agreed at Wyden that the socialist deputies in the Reichstag should act as the executive committee of the Social Democrat Party in place of the Hamburg Central Election Committee which had been dissolved in 1878. It was also decided that *Der Sozialdemokrat* should be recognised as the official organ of the party. Ten years later Engels declared that the calling of the Wyden congress had been a revolutionary act which had been a turning point in the history of the socialist movement in Germany. At Wyden the Social Democrat Party had "found its soul again". It had taken up the gauntlet thrown down by Bismarck and had fought back against its oppressors.[59]

After the Congress of Wyden the socialists issued a public manifesto in which they declared their determination to overthrow the existing political and social system and to replace it with a new state and a new social order. Socialists were urged to establish new local underground associations; to secure new subscribers for *Der Sozialdemokrat*; and to raise money for propaganda and for the relief of distressed party comrades.

Shortly after the Wyden congress, Marx and Engels were visited first by Liebknecht and then by Bebel and Bernstein. Liebknecht had been an intimate friend of the Marx family for thirty years and his devotion to the cause of Marxism was never in doubt. Bebel too – on his "journey to Canossa" – had little difficulty in satisfying Marx and Engels of his loyalty to Marxist principles and of his determination that in future *Der Sozialdemokrat* would advocate uncompromising opposition to the Anti-Socialist Law. Bernstein's position was rather different. He was a younger man whom Marx and Engels regarded with some suspicion, since he had – if only briefly – supported Dr Dühring and had worked for Karl Höchberg as his secretary. Moreover he was supposed to be one of the authors of the notorious "three-star" article in Karl Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* to which Marx and Engels had so strongly objected.

Eventually Marx and Engels were satisfied that Bernstein had turned over a new leaf and could safely be entrusted with the responsibility of editing the official organ of the Social Democrat Party. Georg Vollmar ceased to edit *Der Sozialdemokrat* on January 1, 1881 and now devoted himself to running the international agency established by the Wyden congress. Since Carl Hirsch had not accepted the post of editor, which he had been provisionally offered, the choice lay between Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky. Although Bernstein had not had much experience as a journalist, Engels supported him – in preference to Kautsky – for the post of editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. On February 11, 1881 Bebel wrote two letters. One offered Bernstein the post of editor. The other informed Engels that he agreed that "Bernstein would be a better editor than Kautsky, who has all sorts of strange ideas, which are basically due to his conception and knowledge of conditions in Austria. I had a long talk with Kautsky when he was here recently and I realised that there could easily be considerable friction between him and ourselves."[60]

With Bernstein as editor, *Der Sozialdemokrat* embarked upon a new course. No support was given to those who advocated obedience to the Anti-Socialist Law. The paper adopted a policy of unrelenting opposition to Bismarck and to his henchman Robert von Puttkamer, the recently appointed reactionary Minister of the Interior in Prussia. When the Reichstag renewed the Anti-Socialist Law, when it expired on March 31, 1881, *Der Sozialdemokrat* hurled defiance at the government. Bebel wrote an article in which he declared: "Our private – that means our secret and illegal – organisation has replaced our public organisations and stands outside the law". "Only a fool or a traitor would now try to persuade us that only lawful means of resistance are available to us. In fact our only course is to strive for the violent overthrow of the existing social system."[61]

Those responsible for smuggling *Der Sozialdemokrat* into Germany were astonishingly successful. Some 10,000 subscribers received the paper every week. As Carl Schorlemmer once discovered – his belongings were searched when he was visiting relations – the police made every effort to stop the distribution of illegal newspapers and pamphlets. But they were repeatedly outwitted. Engels – "an old hand at revolutionary activities" – declared that he "often rejoiced at the quiet efficiency of the co-operation between the editors, the distributors, and the subscribers". He was "delighted at the businesslike way in which the revolutionary job was done week after week and year after year".[62] The success of *Der Sozialdemokrat* as a business venture may be seen from the

fact that the paper "soon began to make a large profit for the party funds".[63] It was Julius Motteler – the "Red Postmaster" – who was largely responsible for the efficient distribution of the illegal paper.[64]

By the end of 1881 Engels was satisfied with the way in which Bernstein was editing *Der Sozialdemokrat* and, as Bebel recalled in his memoirs, he was prepared to give financial aid to the paper.[65] In Engels's view the paper was becoming "the banner of the party".[66] Engels was proud of the way in which the workers continued to support the outlawed socialist party. In July 1881, in an article in *The Labour Standard* Engels compared Bismarck's policy in Germany with Forster's policy in Ireland. He declared that "Bismarck's coercion avails him nothing; on the contrary it exasperates the people. Those to whom all legal means of asserting themselves are cut off, will one fine morning take to illegal ones and no one can blame them".[67]

At the Reichstag general election of November 1881 over 300,000 votes were cast for the Social Democrat Party. Although this represented a loss of 125,000 votes since the last general election – and although Bebel lost his seat – Engels was optimistic concerning the future of the party. He wrote to Bernstein on November 30, 1881:

> "If any piece of news could have helped to put Marx to some extent on his feet again it was the result of the Reichstag election. Never has any proletariat done so well. In Germany the proletariat has suffered three years of grim repression and continual pressure. No organisation of the workers has been able to function openly. Yet our lads are standing four square in all their old self-confidence and strength. Indeed, in one respect they are more powerful than they were before because the centre of gravity of the socialist movement has moved from the semi-rural districts of Saxony to the great industrial towns. The class which naturally supports a revolution because of its economic position has become the nucleus of our movement. Moreover the movement has spread its influence uniformly over all the industrial regions of Germany. Formerly support for socialism was confined to a few local centres but now it has become a truly national movement. And that is what scares the middle classes most of all."[68]

Engels now decided to become a contributor to *Der Sozialdemokrat* and his first article – a tribute to Jenny Marx – appeared on December 8, 1881.[69]

Engels wrote articles on a variety of topics for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. He discussed the history of the communist movement in his accounts of the Communist League[70] and the *Neue Rheinische*

Zeitung,[71] as well as in articles on Bruno Bauer,[72] Karl Marx[73] Georg Weerth,[74] Johann Philipp Becker,[75] and Sigismund Borkheim.[76] He commented upon current affairs in articles on the American workers,[77] the English middle classes,[78] and the danger of German militarism.[79] Engels also reprinted in *Der Sozialdemokrat* articles which had already appeared elsewhere – for example his essay on the Mark,[80] his introductions to new editions of the Communist Manifesto[81] and the origin of the family.[83] The passages from *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* were probably Engels's most important contribution to *Der Sozialdemokrat*. In these extracts thousands of German workers were able, for the first time, to learn about the basic principles of Marx's doctrines, expressed in clear and simple language.[84]

The year in which the Anti-Socialist Law was renewed for the first time and Bernstein became editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* saw also the announcement of Bismarck's plan to introduce "State Socialism" in Germany. In his talks with Lassalle, nearly twenty years previously, Bismarck had shown an interest in the social problems that had arisen as a result of the industrial revolution. He now decided to try to win over the workers by introducing a far-reaching programme of social reform which included railway nationalisation, a tobacco monopoly, and compulsory state insurance against sickness, accidents, disablement and old age.

Bismarck submitted the first instalment of his welfare scheme to the Bundestag early in 1881. In a speech to the Reichstag on April 2 he declared: "For 50 years we have been speaking of a social question. Since the passing of the Anti-Socialist Law I have continually being reminded that a promise was then given that something should be done to remove the legitimate causes of socialism."[85] In a message to the newly elected Reichstag (November 17, 1881) the Emperor gave his august approval of Bismarck's plans. He observed that "the cure of social ills must not be sought exclusively in the repression of Social Democratic excesses, but simultaneously in the positive advancement of the welfare of the working classes".[86] The Health Insurance Law of 1883, the Accident Insurance Law of 1884, and the scheme for old age and disability pensions of 1889 gave effect to Bismarck's proposals. Meanwhile Albert von Maybach, the Prussian Minister of Public Works between 1878 and 1891, was engaged in nationalising some 7,500 miles of private railways in Prussia.

Bismarck's programme of social reform and nationalisation threatened to divide the German socialists. Some of the right wing members of the Social Democrat Party – such as Karl Höchberg

and the deputies Kayser and Hasenclaver – were prepared to support Bismarck's proposals because they would benefit the workers. This placed Liebknecht and Bebel in a predicament. On the one hand they felt bound to reject any proposal put forward by Bismarck, so long as the socialists were outlawed. On the other hand they had to justify their stand to the workers who might secure some tangible benefits from them. To resolve the dilemma the socialist deputies in the Reichstag attacked the details of the proposed welfare schemes. They argued that the workers had to contribute too much to the health insurance and old age pensions schemes while getting too little in return. Thus a retirement pension of 191 marks a year at the age of 70 was contemptuously dismissed as a derisory reward for a lifetime of hard work. So the socialist deputies submitted amendments to Bismarck's bills, knowing that they would be defeated. They could then claim that they supported the principle of social reforms for the workers but rejected the unsatisfactory proposals actually put forward.

In articles which appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* attacking "State Socialism", it was argued that to tinker with capitalism by introducing welfare schemes was no substitute for the establishment of socialism. Liebknecht wrote that to hope for the success of "State Socialism" was like "expecting grapes to grow on thistles".[87] One article declared that "State Socialism" aimed at strengthening absolutism and reducing workers to "economic and political slavery".[88] Another claimed that the misery of the proletariat could only be abolished by replacing "capitalist exploitation by the establishment of a socialist state".[89]

In 1883 the publication of extracts from Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* provided socialists with fresh ammunition to use against the supporters of "State Socialism". *Der Sozialdemokrat* also attacked Bismarck's scheme for railway nationalisation, arguing that the Chancellor's main object was to raise money for military purposes from the profits of the railways.[90] In November 1883 Wilhelm Liebknecht, writing in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, declared that "any deputy of the Reichstag, elected by socialist votes, who falls into the error of supporting Bismarck's fool's paradise of social reform, ceases at that moment to be a member of the Social Democrat Party or to represent the socialist movement in the Reichstag".[91]

The year 1883 saw also the holding of the second congress of the Social Democrat Party during the period that the Anti-Socialist Law was in force. At the Copenhagen congress of March 1883 – the month during which Marx died – the Social Democrat Party rejected Bismarck's "State Socialism" and pledged itself to support

the doctrines of Karl Marx. Both the Eisenach and the Gotha programmes had been compromises between the ideas of Marx and Lassalle. Now the introduction to the printed proceedings of the Copenhagen congress declared that "German Social Democracy proudly affirms that its aim is always to follow the principles of its great master Marx". But the statement did not make it clear by what means the aims of the party were to be achieved. Socialist deputies were expected to use their membership of the Reichstag simply to engage in propaganda activities. A seat in the Reichstag was a forum from which socialist deputies could address the nation. And while socialists declared that they aimed at revolutionary goals they also protested that these goals were not to be achieved by revolutionary means.[92]

If Bismarck hoped that parties which supported his welfare schemes would gain votes at the expense of the socialists at the general election of 1884 he was doomed to disappointment. Far from losing votes the socialists more than recovered the ground that they had lost in 1878 and in 1881. They polled 549,900 votes. Engels was delighted. In letters to August Bebel and Karl Kautsky he declared that "for the first time in history a strong steadfast workers' party has emerged as a real power in politics". "The Social Democrat Party has been aided – not hindered – by the Anti-Socialist Law and it has given Bismarck a kick in the pants as far as his social reforms are concerned."[93] "No working class in Europe would have survived the challenge of the Anti-Socialist Law so brilliantly. After being oppressed for six years no other proletariat would have been able to build up a strong party organisation, capable of defying its persecutors by achieving such an increase in its votes at the election."[94] "Only firm resistance has made us a powerful party which has earned us the respect of our opponents. Only force is respected and the philistines will respect us just so long as we are a power in the land."[95] But Engels warned Bebel that an unwelcome number of new socialist deputies, belonging to "the bourgeois right wing" of the party, were now sitting in the Reichstag.[96]

The strengthening of the "bourgeois right wing" of the Social Democrat Party in the Reichstag was one reason why German socialists quarrelled among themselves in 1884 and 1885. One controversy was over the Steamship Subsidy Bill[97] while another was over the control of the editorial policy of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. The government proposed to grant an annual postal subsidy of £270,000 to German steamship lines operating in Asia, Africa and Australia.[98] Bismarck admitted that this plan was "decisive for the colonial policy of the government". For many years Bismarck had

rejected suggestions that Germany should establish colonies but by 1884 he had changed his mind and on April 24 the "establishments" of the German merchant Adolf Lüderitz at Angra Pequena in South West Africa were placed under Imperial protection.[99]

Marx and Engels were opponents of colonialism of long standing. They argued that capitalists in industrialised countries robbed the natives in underdeveloped regions as shamelessly as they exploited the factory workers at home. Other socialists had expressed similar views. In 1880 Karl Kautsky had strongly opposed the establishment of overseas possessions in an article entitled "Should Germany establish Colonies?"[100] When Bismarck made it clear in 1884 that he now favoured the founding of colonies it might have been expected that followers of Marx and Engels would firmly oppose him. And this was the view expressed by the writer of a leading article in *Der Sozialdemokrat* in July 1884.[101] But when the Steamship Subsidy Bill – which had been dropped in the summer of 1884 – was submitted to the newly elected Reichstag in December, the socialist deputies declared that no question of principles was involved and that individual deputies could vote as they pleased.[102] *Der Sozialdemokrat* criticised the deputies for their failure to unite in opposition to the Steamship Subsidy Bill and to Bismarck's colonial policy.

Engels gave the socialists some surprising advice. When Kayser had supported Bismarck's plan to introduce a protective tariff, Engels had criticised him vigorously. Yet when some of the socialist deputies supported the Steamship Subsidy Bill he suggested that they should negotiate with Bismarck on the matter. In letters to Liebknecht and Bebel[103] he proposed that the deputies should offer to support Bismarck provided that the royal domains in Prussia were leased to peasants' co-operative associations which should receive a government grant equivalent to the subsidy that the shipowners would obtain under the Steamship Subsidy Bill. Engels's proposal was inconsistent with policies previously advocated by Marx and Engels. First, the suggestion had something in common with Lassalle's discredited plan for the establishment of state-aided industrial co-operative associations – a plan which Bernstein had condemned in *Der Sozialdemokrat* as recently as June 1884.[104] Secondly, Engels's advice suggested that, despite the Anti-Socialist Law, the socialist deputies in the Reichstag should be prepared to bargain with Bismarck. In the past Marx and Engels had frequently condemned Lassalle for negotiating with Bismarck. Engels had called these discussions "plain roguery and a betrayal of the whole working class movement".[105]

Liebknecht summarised Engels's views in an article in *Der*

Sozialdemokrat, without mentioning Engels by name.[106] Left-wing socialists like Bebel and Bernstein were alarmed by Engels's proposal. While the Anti-Socialist Law was in force they believed that socialist deputies should always vote against the government in the Reichstag and that they should oppose a bill which might pave the way for the establishment of German colonies. In their view the fact that the Steamship Subsidy Bill might provide additional employment to German sailors and shipyard workers did not absolve socialist deputies from the duty of voting in accordance with socialist principles. Bebel's view prevailed and the socialist deputies voted against the second and third readings of the Steamship Subsidy Bill.[107]

Engels probably failed to support Bebel's uncompromising opposition to the bill because he feared that there would be a head-on collision between the two rival factions in the Social Democrat Party on this issue. And Engels was determined to do all in his power to preserve party unity. When he put forward his plan for state-aided peasants' co-operative associations on the royal domains – a proposal which he knew would not be acceptable either to Bismarck or to the Reichstag – he may have hoped that it would act as a red herring and divert attention from the arguments for and against the Steamship Subsidy Bill.

The second controversy between left-wing and right-wing socialists in Germany at this time concerned the control of the editorial policy of the official paper of the party. Early in 1885 *Der Sozialdemokrat* had attacked the attitude adopted by the socialist deputies in the Reichstag concerning the Steamship Subsidy Bill and Bismarck's colonial policy. The deputies claimed that – as the party executive – they had the right to determine the policy of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. They drew up a declaration to this effect but Bernstein refused to print it. Liebknecht went to Zürich and persuaded Bernstein to print a modified version of the declaration, but this still asserted that the deputies had the authority "to control the policy of the paper".[108] In 1890 Engels declared that "today it must seem incomprehensible to the deputies themselves that they should have done such a thing. The struggle lasted for exactly three weeks. It was on April 2, 1885 that the deputies passed their resolution. On April 30 (*sic*) a joint statement of the editors and the deputies appeared in the *Sozialdemokrat* which made it clear that the deputies had given up their claim to dictate the policy of the paper".[109] Even so the editorial committee had to accept the fact that "absolute freedom of criticism" should not be used "to hamper the party leadership in the fulfilment of its duty". Engels had warned Bebel that if the socialist deputies gained con-

trol over *Der Sozialdemokrat* he could not in future "defend the Party abroad without reservation" as he had done in the past.[110] The controversy between the party leadership and the editorial board of *Der Sozialdemokrat* ended in 1886 when the socialist deputies in the Reichstag gave up all responsibility for the contents of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. Over a year previously – in April 1885 – Engels had suggested that this should be done.[111] From November 5, 1886 onwards *Der Sozialdemokrat* ceased to be the official organ of the Social Democrat Party. This made no difference to editorial policy and there was no longer any danger that the party leadership might again attempt to influence what was printed in the paper.[112]

Der Sozialdemokrat was opposed not only to Bismarck's state socialism and to his colonial policy but also to Prussian militarism. In attacking great standing armies the paper was in agreement with Marx and Engels who had often declared that militarism – in Germany and elsewhere – was a danger to world peace. In 1867 Marx had told the General Council of the First International that "large standing armies were the necessary result of the present state of society". "They were not kept up for international warfare, but to keep down the working classes. However, as there were not always barricades to bombard, and working men to shoot, there was sometimes a possibility of international quarrels being fermented to keep the soldiery in trim."[113] Shortly afterwards Marx told the General Council that Liebknecht had spoken in the North German Reichstag "in favour of the abolition of standing armies".[114]

By the 1880s the efficiency of the German army had been improved by lengthening the period of service with the territorials (*Landwehr*), by reviving the home guard for older soldiers (*Landsturm*), by tightening up the method of enlisting conscript recruits, and by introducing the most up to date military equipment. Defence expenditure rose from £9,500,000 in 1870 to £24,000,000 in 1890. Inevitably other countries followed suit and expanded their armed forces. Moreover by annexing Alsace and Lorraine, Germany had made a permanent enemy of France and she had been able to gain a measure of security only through Bismarck's complex system of alliances.

In 1888 Engels wrote in *Der Sozialdemokrat* that the chauvinism of the German princes, nobles and middle classes was greater than ever before. The officer caste virtually dominated the country and ran it in the interests of the great landowners, industrialists and financiers. "The only war in which Prussia–Germany can now become involved", wrote Engels, "is a world war – a conflict that

would be unique in extent and unprecedented in severity. From eight million to ten million men will go to war and the whole of Europe will be devoured as by a swarm of locusts."[114a]

Several articles in *Der Sozialdemokrat* attacked German militarism on similar lines – especially in 1880 and in 1887 when the seven year defence budget was being discussed in the Reichstag.[115] In April 1886 the paper argued that it was only because Bismarck had a powerful army at his beck and call – "the holy trinity of infantry, cavalry, and artillery" – that he was able to persecute the socialists.[116] In January 1887 the election manifesto of the retiring socialist deputies branded German militarism as the canker of a capitalist society. German militarism had started the arms race which would end in a great war in Europe. Only the triumph of socialism would herald the downfall of both capitalism and militarism. The manifesto called for the replacement of the existing army by a popular militia responsible to the Reichstag.[117] During the Reichstag election campaign *Der Sozialdemokrat* repeatedly denounced "the moloch of war called militarism".[118] One article described how troops had broken up a socialist election meeting in Stettin – one person was killed and several were injured – and declared that this showed "why those who rule over you want to have a larger army. They do not need more soldiers to meet a foreign foe. They need them to put down the German people."[119] At about the same time Engels wrote in *Der Sozialdemokrat* that Europe was heading for war owing to "the introduction of the Prussian military system in all the Great Powers on the Continent". He pointed out that "every expansion of the army of one state forces others to make a similar – or even a greater – increase in their armed forces". "The financial cost of all this borders on insanity." "The burden of military budgets will bankrupt the peoples of Europe and will actually soon be more costly than war, so that eventually the outbreak of hostilities – instead of being a terrible scourge – will actually appear to be a healing crisis which will put an end to an intolerable situation."[120]

In June 1887 an article appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* which suggested that, from one point of view, the continued growth of Germany's conscript army was actually advantageous to the socialist cause. Universal conscription meant that virtually an entire generation of young men received a basic military training. Many of them were already socialists before they joined up and others would be converted to socialism after their discharge. Thousands of young socialists were being trained to bear arms at government expense and one day they might be in the front line of a revolutionary army dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism.[121]

A few years later Engels put forward the same argument. He wrote:

> "In Germany men are not eligible to vote until the age of 25 but they are liable to perform military service at the age of 20. And it is just among the younger generation that our party draws most of its recruits. Consequently the ranks of the German army are being filled with more and more supporters of the socialist cause as the years go by. Even today one soldier in five is a socialist and within a few years there will be one in three. By the end of the century the ranks of the army – once the stronghold of Prussianism in Germany – will be filled with socialists. Nothing can withstand the fateful march of events. The government in Berlin knows what is happening as well as we do but it is powerless to remedy the situation. The army is falling from its grasp."[122]

The socialists refused to be intimidated by Bismarck's repressive measures. In July 1886 nine leading socialists, including Bebel, were put on trial for being members of an illegal organisation. They were found guilty and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 6 to 9 months. In the following year the socialists gave Bismarck their reply. At the Reichstag general election of 1887 they polled 763,128 votes – 213,038 more than at the last election – but they secured only 11 seats. Nothing could have demonstrated more clearly the opposition of the workers to "State Socialism", imperialism and militarism. Bismarck had failed to crush the socialists. Engels declared that the German workers "were laughing at a Chancellor who could not do better revolutionary propaganda if he were paid to do it".[123] Moreover, Bismarck's policy was "driving the masses of workers and petty bourgeoisie into our camp in droves".[124] The German socialists held their third congress under the Anti-Socialist Law in 1887. The delegates met at Schonewegen brewery near St Gall in Switzerland and agreed to set up a committee – Bebel, Liebknecht, and Auer – to draft a revised party programme. This was a victory for the Marxist left wing of the party since no former follower of Lassalle was elected to the committee.

Faced with the continued defiance of the socialists, the German government introduced repressive measures against those who went on strike,[125] and made another attempt to muzzle the socialist press. In 1888 the Swiss authorities, under pressure from the German government, expelled Bernstein, Motteler and some other members of the staff of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. But this did not kill the paper since publication was transferred to offices in Kentish Town Road in London[126] and German subscribers received their copies as regularly as before. Gustav Mayer observes that in

London Bernstein edited *Der Sozialdemokrat* under Engels's watchful eye and "his ideas were firmly moulded by Engels, particularly as far as international affairs were concerned".[127]

By this time Engels was writing not only for *Der Sozialdemokrat* but also for *Die Neue Zeit*. This socialist monthly was edited by Karl Kautsky[128] and was published in Stuttgart. Kautsky had joined the Austrian socialist party in 1875 at a time when a split in the party had just occurred. The right wing "Moderates" were led by H. Oberwinder while the left wing "Radicals" were led by Andreas Scheu who later helped Most to edit *Die Freiheit* in London. Kautsky attached himself to the radicals. He soon left Austria for Switzerland where he worked for Dr Höchberg in Zürich. His conversion to Marxism came from studying Engels *Anti-Dühring* and from discussions with his friend Eduard Bernstein. Kautsky paid three visits to London, in 1881, 1883 and 1887, where he became a disciple and friend of Friedrich Engels. The relations between Engels and Kautsky became decidedly cooler after Kautsky's divorce. Engels wrote to Kautsky in 1888: "I stick to my guns and declare that you have done the most foolish thing in your life."[129] But the political collaboration between the two men continued.

Die Neue Zeit was established in January 1883. Its sales to regular subscribers rose from 2,300 copies in 1883 to 10,000 copies in 1890. It became the leading Marxist journal in Germany. It was founded at a time when the country was passing through a phase of rapid industrial expansion. In the first volume of *Das Kapital* Marx had analysed the growth of capitalism in England. Now in *Die Neue Zeit* Karl Kautsky and his collaborators examined similar developments – from a Marxist point of view – as they occurred in Germany.[130] At first Engels declined to become a contributor. He told Kautsky that he had been forced to cut down his work as a journalist owing to his other commitments – and that he was now writing only for *Der Sozialdemokrat*.[131] But Engels soon changed his mind and contributed several important articles to Kautsky's journal. They included essays on Marx and Rodbertus, England in 1845 and 1885,[132] Ludwig Feuerbach,[133] Protection and Free Trade, Russia's foreign policy, and Socialism in Germany.[134]

Discontent among the German workers was growing in the 1880s owing to low wages, long hours, poor housing, high taxes, and unemployment. The suppression of the Social Democrat Party and of many trade unions added fuel to the flames. In November 1886 Bebel told Engels that the coming winter would see much suffering among the proletariat owing to lack of work. The reduction in

revenue from indirect taxes suggested that the purchasing power of the workers – and their standard of living – was declining.[135] Matters came to a head in the spring of 1889 when the workers unexpectedly showed a new spirit of militancy in relation to their employers. On May 4 production at the Hibernia colliery near Gelsenkirchen came to a halt when the miners suddenly went on strike. Within a few days 90,000 men in the Ruhr and 50,000 in other coalfields followed their example. A number of building workers also went on strike. But unrest did not spread to the steel-works in the Ruhr.[136]

The action of the miners came as a complete surprise both to the government and to the political parties. The miners had acted on the spur of the moment without making any serious preparations for a strike. If they hoped that Robert von Puttkamer's recent fall from office meant that the Prussian authorities would adopt a more lenient attitude towards the strikers, they were disappointed. Troops were called out to disperse meetings and demonstrations organised by the strikers and eleven people were killed.

Appeals to the miners to act with moderation came from Wilhelm II on the one hand and the Social Democrat Party on the other. Wilhelm II had only recently come to the throne and – as Bismarck observed – his "ideal seemed at that time to be popular absolutism".[137] He was, declared Engels, "itching to play the working man's friend"[138] and he rejected Bismarck's advice to drive the strikers down the pits by force. Wilhelm II told the cabinet that "the employers and shareholders must give way; the workers were his subjects for whom it was his place to care; if the industrial millionaires would not do as he wished he would withdraw his troops; if the villas of the wealthy mine owners and directors were then set on fire, and their gardens trampled underfoot, they would soon sing small". Bismarck retorted that "the mine owners were also subjects who had a claim to the protection of their sovereign".[139] Two days later Wilhelm II granted an audience to three representatives of the strikers (Schröder, Bunte, and Siegel) and listened sympathetically to their grievances. But he rebuked the miners for breaking their contracts and for trying to force all the workers to join in the strike. He also warned the strikers against listening to socialist agitators who were the enemies of the Fatherland. In fact the socialists were as worried as Wilhelm II about the strike. They feared that, in their present mood, the miners and other workers would try to redress their grievances by industrial action rather than by supporting the Social Democrat Party.

On May 15, 1889 an agreement was reached between Friedrich

Hammacher (chairman of the coalowners' association) and the three representatives of the miners who had recently seen Wilhelm II. This was the "Berlin protocol" which provided for a rise in pay and a reduction of hours for the workers. But the more militant leaders of the miners in the Ruhr rejected these terms and tried to prolong the strike. The government replied by arresting the whole strike committee. Only about one in five of the miners supported the militants and by the end of May all the men were back at work. The coalowners declared that, in view of the way in which the strike had ended, they were no longer bound by the "Berlin protocol" and the miners failed to achieve their objectives.[140]

The wave of strikes in 1889 brought the social question to the fore once more. Gustav Mayer – the future biographer of Engels – recalled that when he was in Berlin as a student at this time "social policy was the main interest not only of the Kaiser and his advisers, but also of the political parties, the universities and even the theatre".[141] Bismarck had submitted a bill in October 1889 to renew the Anti-Socialist Law but the Reichstag rejected the proposal in the following January. It was now obvious to all but the most bigoted reactionaries that the Chancellor had failed completely to crush the Social Democrat Party. On February 4, 1890 Wilhelm II – acting contrary to Bismarck's advice – put forward a plan for an international conference to discuss labour legislation. Even the socialists welcomed this move. *Der Sozialdemokrat* declared that it was "an event of world historical importance",[142] while Bebel wrote to Engels that Wilhelm II's "ambition is to be regarded as a great social reformer". "Far from harming us in any way this is very much to our advantage since it will put a strain upon his relations with the middle classes and will stimulate our propaganda among the masses."[143]

A general election was held on February 20, 1890. Engels was so eager to hear the results that he arranged with the central telegraph office in London for telegrams to be delivered to his home at any hour of the night.[144] On February 26 he wrote to Laura Lafargue: "When the telegrams announcing victory came raining in here thick and fast" he was "in a constant intoxication of triumph."[145] He had expected the socialists to gain 1,200,000 votes[146] and was delighted when they did even better than this. The Social Democrat Party secured 1,427,298 votes – 664,170 more than in 1887. This represented nearly 20 per cent of the votes cast as compared with 10 per cent at the last election. The socialists now sent 35 deputies to the Reichstag.[147]

In an article in *Der Sozialdemokrat* Engels declared that "February 20, 1890 marks the beginning of the end of the Bismarck

era". "The German socialist workers have just won a resounding victory in their struggle. It is a triumph that they have richly deserved because of their tireless energy, grim determination, iron discipline and cheerful humour. The election results have probably surprised the socialist workers themselves as much as it surprised the rest of the world. The votes cast for socialist candidates has increased with the irresistible force of a natural process. Ruthless oppression, arbitrary police action, judicial baseness were helpless against a movement which made ever more rapid progress like an advancing column of infantry. Today the socialists are the second largest party in the Reich."[148]

At the same time Engels wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht that the socialists in Germany were now firmly entrenched in the great centres of industry and had even done well in some rural districts such as Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. "In three years we could have the farm labourers and then we have the regiments which form the core of the Prussian army." Only a coup d'état by the reactionary forces in Germany could stem a socialist landslide in the near future. Consequently the socialists should take great care to avoid presenting the junkers and the industrialists with an excuse to plunge Germany into a revolution, aimed at the overthrow of the workers. Engels urged Liebknecht to persuade his followers to act "in a peaceful and law-abiding manner *for the time being*".[149]

On March 18, 1890 Bismarck resigned as Chancellor and a few days later he was given "a first-class funeral" as he put it,[150] when he left Berlin to go into retirement. A squadron of hussars and a military band were at the station to honour the architect of German unity. But if there were any socialists in the cheering crowd they had not come to pay homage to a great statesman but to rejoice at the fall of their most implacable enemy. The departure of Bismarck and the swing to the left in the recent general election made it virtually certain that no new attempt would be made to renew the Anti-Socialist Law which was due to expire on September 30, 1890. In the last months of its existence the law was not rigorously enforced. Several provincial party congresses were held without interference from the authorities.

The leaders of the Social Democrat Party were anxious that the successes achieved in the early months of 1890 should not go to the heads of their more exuberant followers. Bebel wished to show the government and the public that the socialist leaders were responsible politicians and not irresponsible trouble makers. The clash between Bebel and the left wing of the party came over the proposal of the Second International that May 1, 1890 should be

celebrated everywhere as a "great international demonstration". A group of militant socialists in Berlin called for a general strike throughout the country on that day. Engels feared that militancy on the part of the workers would lead to a violent backlash from the reactionary forces in Germany. He wrote to Laura Lafargue that "in Germany we shall have to keep May 1 as quiet as possible. The military has strict orders to interfere at once and not to wait for requisition from the civil authorities, and the secret police – on the point of being discharged – are straining every nerve to provoke a collision".[151] Writing to Sorge a few days later Engels dismissed the idea of a general strike as "wholly superfluous". The socialist workers were so elated over their success at the general election that they needed "a certain curb in order not to make any blunders.[152] Bebel agreed with Engels that militancy on the part of the socialists would be fatal at this stage. He wrote to Engels:

> "In Germany we find ourselves in a situation demanding the greatest skill and tact. Consequently we must hold the masses within bounds as regards the demonstration on May 1, so that no conflicts arise. If the masses were given a free hand such conflicts would be inevitable because the elections have turned the heads of the less educated masses who think that anything can be achieved by an act of will. . . . In view of the fact that, by and large, the state of trade is now such that there is a demand for labour, there is a general strike fever and the noisiest possible demonstrations on May 1 would lead at once to strikes of incredible dimensions."[153]

On April 13, the socialist deputies in the Reichstag (acting as the executive committee of the party) rejected the proposal for a general strike on May 1 and suggested that May Day celebrations should take place after working hours. May Day passed off without strikes or violence and the leaders of the Social Democrat Party could congratulate themselves on having outmanœuvred the extremists.

No sooner had May 1 passed off quietly than there was a threat of a new split in the Social Democrat Party. In 1890 a group of intellectuals came to the fore in the socialist movement. They were aged between 20 and 35 and, like the followers of Dr Dühring twenty years before, were left-wing extremists. The "Youngsters" (*Jungen*), as they were called, were for the most part university graduates though Wilhelm Werner and Karl Wildberger were craftsmen. They exercised considerable influence over some socialist newspapers, such as the *Berliner Volkstribune*, the *Volksstimme* (Magdeburg), and the *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung* (Dresden) and some of them were contributors to Kautsky's *Neue Zeit*. Many of them had studied the works of Marx and Engels and claimed to

have a thorough knowledge of socialist doctrines. The "Youngsters" had close contacts with an *avant-garde* literary circle in Berlin known as *Durch* which included Gerhard Hauptmann, whose play *Die Weber* (1892) – on the weavers' rising in Silesia in 1844 – was one of the earliest social dramas in Germany. The "Youngsters" had little to offer in the way of a new socialist policy but they found much to criticise in the conduct of the leaders of the Social Democrat Party and its representatives in the Reichstag. They declared that life in the Reichstag corrupted socialist deputies and made them think more of social advancement than of looking after the interests of the workers who had voted for them. The "Youngsters" argued that socialist deputies should use the Reichstag simply as a platform from which to expose the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie.

Bebel had little difficulty in putting the "Youngsters" in their place. They might be able to stir up trouble by writing spiteful articles in newspapers but they were no match for so skilful a politician as Bebel when it came to putting a case before a mass meeting of workers. In August 1890 Bebel addressed meetings of socialists in Berlin, Dresden and Magdeburg and, on each occasion, he secured the adoption of a motion condemning the "Youngsters". Four of the leading "Youngsters" had to give up their posts on the staffs of socialist newspapers. And from London Engels hurled his thunderbolts at the presumptuous "Youngsters" who had dared to question the wisdom of their elders and betters in the socialist movement. Engels was an old hand when it came to dealing with socialist heretics and he did not mince his words when he denounced these new critics of the Marxist faith. He wrote to Laura Lafargue:

> "There has been a students' revolt in the German Party. For the past 2–3 years, a crowd of students, literary men and other young declassed bourgeois has rushed into the Party, arriving just in time to occupy most of the editorial positions on the new journals . . . and, as usual, they regard the bourgeois universities as a socialist staff college which gives them the right to enter the ranks of the Party with an officer's, if not a general's, brevet. All these gentlemen go in for Marxism, but of the kind you were familiar with in France ten years ago, and of which Marx said: 'All I know is that I'm no Marxist!' And of these gentlemen he would probably have said what Heine said of his imitators: 'I sowed dragons, and reaped fleas'."[154]

On September 25, 1890 *Der Sozialdemokrat* (dated September 27) appeared for the last time. Engels declared that he would "miss that paper almost as much as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*".[155] In editing *Der Sozialdemokrat* Bernstein had been inspired by the way in which Marx had edited the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Now,

in the last number of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Bernstein quoted some lines from the poem that Freiligrath had contributed to the final "red number" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. And he also quoted Marx's farewell message to his readers: "Finally, we urge you not to indulge in any armed rising in Cologne."

The two papers, however, had come to an end in very different ways. The "red number" of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had hurled defiance at Marx's enemies but nothing could disguise the fact that the revolution of 1848 had failed and that the editors of the paper were fleeing from Cologne. *Der Sozialdemokrat*, on the other hand, ceased publication because the Social Democrat Party had triumphed over the "brutal authoritarian régime" which had tried to crush it by every means in its power. Bernstein declared that Bismarck's fall might appear to be due to a palace intrigue but in fact he had been given notice to quit by nearly one and a half million voters at the general election of February 20. When the Anti-Socialist Law expired on September 30 there would no longer be any need to publish a socialist paper in London and to smuggle it into Germany.[156]

In the last number of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Engels hailed the paper as "the banner of the Social Democrat Party". He wrote: "I have twice had the honour and the good fortune to write regularly for a journal under very favourable conditions, for I have enjoyed the two greatest blessings that any contributor could desire – complete freedom of the press and the knowledge that my articles were being read by the very people I wished to influence. The first time was in 1848–9 when I was associated with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. . . . The second time was when I wrote for the *Sozialdemokrat*." Engels praised the staff of *Der Sozialdemokrat* on the efficient distribution of the paper to its German readers. Yet at the very same time (in a letter to Laura Lafargue) he dismissed Motteler as an "unspeakable muddler"[157] and Motteler had been the "Red Postmaster" responsible for successfully smuggling *Der Sozialdemokrat* into the Reich. Engels congratulated Bernstein and his colleagues for courageously defying the socialist deputies in the Reichstag over the Steamship Subsidy Bill. He declared that "all the trouble and risks that had to be taken to distribute the paper were fully justified. The high standard attained by *Der Sozialdemokrat* was not merely due to the fact that it was the only socialist paper which enjoyed the advantage of complete freedom of the press. The principles of the party were stated with unusual clarity and precision and there was no deviation from them. And while the German bourgeois press is incredibly dull the *Sozialdemokrat* reflected the cheerful humour with which our

workers are accustomed to fight the chicaneries of the police". "Now the Social Democrat Party has emerged victorious from a struggle that has lasted for twelve years. The Anti-Socialist Law is no more. Bismarck has fallen from power. The mighty German Reich set all its forces in motion against us. The Party defied the Reich and now the Reich has had to admit defeat. In future the government of the Reich will again deal with us in accordance with the established laws of the land. And we will now return to the paths of legality. But let it be remembered that our victory was won by striking hard with illegal weapons."[158]

The Anti-Socialist Law expired at midnight on September 30, 1890. Throughout Germany in beer halls and restaurants the socialists, who had suffered so much for their political convictions, enthusiastically celebrated their triumph over those who had hoped to crush their movement. Divisions and rivalries within the Social Democrat Party were forgotten for the moment as the workers cheered the speeches of their leaders who had led them to victory. Men who had been exiled from their homes were back with their families. Those who had worked in the underground movement to distribute socialist leaflets and pamphlets could openly proclaim their faith in the socialist movement. With ever increasing support from the electorate the Social Democrat Party could confidently look forward to the day when it would dominate the Reichstag.

NOTES

1 See Ignaz Auer, *Nach Zehn Jahren* (1878); E. Bernstein, *Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiter-Bewegung*, Vol. 1 (1907); R. Lipinski, *Die Sozialdemokratie un ihren Aufängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Vol. 2 (1928); Paul Kamffmeyer, *Unter den Sozialistengesetz* (1928); G. Schümer, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Sozialistengesetzes* (1929); F. Tönnies, *Der Kampf um das Sozialistengesetz, 1878* (1929); F. Mehring, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Ausgange des Mittelalters* (edition of 1952), Part VII; H. Gemkow, *Friedrich Engels' Hilfe beim Sieg der deutschen Sozialdemokratie über das Sozialistengesetz* (1957); Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres Parteiorgan* (1961); Horst Bartel, "Die führende Rolle von Friedrich Engels bei der Entwicklung der Sozialdemokratie zu einer marxistischen Arbeiterpartei in der Periode des Sozialistengesetzes" in *Geschichte in der Schule*, Heft 8, pp. 468–9; Horst Bartel, "Die historische Rolle der Zeitung 'Der Sozialdemokrat' in der Periode des Sozialistengesetzes" in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1956, Heft 2, pp. 282–87; L. Stern and H. Buck (ed.), *Der Kampf der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in der Zeit des Sozialistengesetzes, 1878–90* (documents) (two volumes, 1956); A. Hellfaier, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie während des Sozialistengesetzes 1878–1890* (1958); E. Engelberg, *Revolutionäre Politik und Rote Feldpost, 1878–1890* (1959); D. Fricke, *Bismarcks Praetorianer. Die Berliner politische*

Polizei im Kampf gegen die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, 1871–1898 (1962); V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–1890* (1966).

2 F. Engels, *The Rôle of Force in History, 1887–8* (1968), p. 93.

3 G. Brodnitz, *Bismarcks Nationalökonomische Anschauungen* (1902), pp. 124–5.

4 G. Brodnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 125. In November 1871 Bismarck wrote to Itzenplitz that the socialists threatened the existing order of society: see R. Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International*, 1864–72 (1965), p. 2.

5 Fritz Hellwig, *Carl Ferdinand Freiherr von Stumm-Halberg 1836–1901* (1936), p. 231.

6 See *Der Leipziger Hochverratsprozess vom Jahre 1872* (second edition: edited by Karl Heinz Leidigkeit, 1960).

7 F. Engels in *La Plebe* (Lodi and Milan), March 30, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels *Pressefreiheit und Zensur* (edited by Iring Fetscher), 1969, p. 227.

8 Alfred Krupp, *Ein Wort an die Angehörigen meiner gewerblichen Anlagen* (1877): extracts in R. Ehrenberg, *Grosse Vermögen*, Vol. 1 (1902), pp. 205–7 and W. A. Boelcke (ed.), *Krupp und die Hohenzollern in Dokumenten* (1970), p. 85.

9 F. Hellwig, *Carl Ferdinand Freiherr von Stumm-Halberg 1836–1901* (1936), pp. 231–2 and Hans Rosenberg, *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit* (1967), p. 206.

10 See Andrew Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany: the Early Movement* (Johns Hopkins University thesis, 1970).

11 Announcements of Hödel's expulsion from the Social Democrat Party appeared in the *Fackel*, May 12, 1878 and in *Vorwärts*, May 15, 1878.

12 E. Schraepler, *August Bebel* (1966), pp. 43–4.

13 Wilhelm Bracke to F. Engels, June 1878 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracks, 1869–1880* (1963), p. 171.

14 August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, Vol. 2 (1911), pp. 412–20.

15 Wilhelm Bracke to F. Engels, July 11, 1878 in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–1880* (1963), pp. 64–5.

16 S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (1913), pp. 160–1.

17 *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags* (fourth legislative period: first session: September 16, 1878).

18 The "professorial socialists" (*Kathedersozialisten*) were academic economists, such as Gustav Schmoller, Lujo Brentano and Nasse, who – through the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* – advocated social reform. In his opening address to the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* Schmoller declared that he and his friends rejected "all socialist experiments".

19 Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle. Ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (1928) and Wilhelm Mommsen, "Bismarck und Lassalle" in the *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 3, pp. 81–6.

20 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, November 21, 1865 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), pp. 67–8. On December 10, 1864 Marx had told Engels that "Lothar Bucher – the executor of Lassalle's will, who draws an allowance of £150 a year from Lassalle's estate – has, as you probably know, deserted to Bismarck's camp" (*Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 213). Bucher had been a radical during the revolution of 1848–9, an exile in London in 1850–61 and a disciple of

Lassalle in 1861–4. At the end of 1864 he received an appointment in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and became one of Bismarck's closest associates. When Bismarck retired Lothar Bucher became his private secretary and helped him to write his memoirs. See H. von Poschinger, *Ein Achtundvierziger. Lothar Bucher's Leben und Wirken* (three volumes, 1890–4) and an article in the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 2, pp. 698–9.

21 For the text of the Anti-Socialist Law see the *Reichs-Gesetzblatt* No. 34 of 1878, pp. 351–8 and H. Gemkow, *Friedrich Engels' Hilfe beim sieg der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie über das Sozialistengesetz* (1957), pp. 187–92: English translation in V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–1890* (1966), pp. 339–45.

22 As early as August 15, 1878 – before the Anti-Socialist Law was passed – Bismarck had written to Geheimrat Tiedemann: "Moreover I believe that, if the (Anti-Socialist) Law is effective, a time will come when it will no longer be possible to allow those citizens who are proved in law to be socialists to continue to enjoy the right to vote, the right to send for election to the Reichstag, or the right to enjoy the privileges of membership of the Reichstag" (H. Gemkow, *Friedrich Engels' Hilfe beim Sieg der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie über das Sozialistengesetz* (1957), p. 31.

23 F. Engels to J. P. Becker, July 1, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 387.

24 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, February 27–March 1, 1883 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernstein's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 195.

25 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, January 25–31, 1882 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernstein's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 70.

26 Wilhelm Liebknecht to F. Engels, June 8, 1878 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. G. Eckert, 1963), p. 256.

27 W. Martini, *Die Wandlungen im Parteiprogramm der Sozialdemokratie seit* 1875 (Erlangen, 1908), pp. 13–17. Ignaz Auer states in his memoirs (*Nach Zehn Jahren*, p. 93) that two socialist papers in Nürnberg and Offenbach survived, having changed their names before the Anti-Socialist Law was passed.

28 *Vorwärts*, October 21, 1878.

29 Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky, *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 91.

30 *Rechenschaftsbericht der Sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstags* (Zürich, 1879).

31 In a sentence which he crossed out, Engels wrote: "Bismarck deals with the German philistines as they deserve. He gives them a kick in the pants and they positively worship him."

32 F. Engels to August Bebel, November 14, and 24, 1879 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 71–84. August Geib had expressed the same point of view when he wrote to Karl Höchberg on June 20, 1879 that "one cannot organise and hold the party together from abroad" (V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–1890* (1966), p. 88).

33 August Bebel to F. Engels, October 23, 1879 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 67.

34 For Bracke's funeral see *Der Sozialdemokrat*, May 9, 1880.

35 "Zur Eröffnung des sächsischen Landtages" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, November 16, 1879. In February 1879 the socialists had done well at an election in Breslau: see F. Engels to W. Liebknecht, March 1, 1879 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 263.

36 "Ein neuer Sieg" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 7 and 14, 1880.

37 In 1880 Karl Marx wrote to Mr Swinton of the *New York Sun:* "I believe that a man of your influence might organise a subscription in the United States (Karl Marx to John Swinton, November 4, 1880 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 122).

38 There is a reference to *Die Laterne* in Wilhelm Liebknecht to F. Engels, December 23, 1878 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 263.

39 During the first six months of publication *Freiheit* received a subsidy of £40 from the German Workers' Educational Association in London.

40 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, March 1, 1879 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (edited by Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 264.

41 F. Engels to F. I. Ehrhart, June 16, 1879 in H. Gemkow, *Friedrich Engels' Hilfe beim Sieg der deutschen Sozialdemokratie über das Sozialistengesetz* (1957), p. 37.

42 H. Gemkow, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

43 Karl Marx to A. Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 118.

44 For Most see R. Rocker, *Johann Most. Das Leben eines Rebellen* (1924) and article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 13, p. 282.

45 F. Engels to August Bebel, October 11, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 189.

46 Karl Kautsky to August Bebel, December 21, 1879 in Karl Kautsky (junior) (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1971), p. 4.

47 For Marx's account of these discussions see Karl Marx to A. Sorge, September 19, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 118–21. Marx wrote: "After a prolonged correspondence, in which Liebknecht did not play a shining part, Hirsch withdrew. Engels wrote to Bebel that *we* are also withdrawing". See also Karl Marx to A. Sorge, November 5, 1880 (*ibid.*, p. 123).

48 Vollmar's full name was Georg Heinrich von Vollmar auf Vehtheim. For Vollmar see an article in the *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 4, Year 1922 (1929), pp. 276–86; Paul Kampffmeyer, *Georg von Vollmar* (1930); and R. Jansen, *Georg von Vollmar. Eine politische Biographie* (1958).

49 In 1881 Liebknecht was the nominal editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* but since he lived in Germany and the weekly was published first in Zürich and then in London, it was Bernstein who actually acted as editor.

50 August Bebel to Georg Vollmar, November 30, 1879 in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan 1879–90* (1961).

51 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 28, 1879.
52 "Rechenschaftsbericht der sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstags" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 12, 19 and 26, 1879.
53 "Was die Sozialdemokraten sind und was sie wollen" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, August 29, 1880.
54 "Unsere Festtage" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 4, 1880.
55 "An die deutsche Parteigenossen" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 29, 1880.
56 F. Engels to August Bebel, December 16, 1879 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 86–9.
57 F. Engels to J. P. Becker, April 1, 1880 in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan, 1879–90* (1961), p. 52.
58 Karl Marx to Adolf Sorge, November 5, 1880 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 123.
59 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890: English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 141–3.
60 August Bebel to F. Engels, February 11, 1881 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 102.
61 Quoted in Hans Blum, *Das Deutsche Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks* (1893), p. 375.
62 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890: English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 142.
63 Bertrand Russell, *German Social Democracy* (1896), p. 106.
64 For Julius Motteler see Franz Mehring, "Julius Motteler" in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, September 30, 1907 and in *Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (1963), pp. 498–501; Joseph Belli, *Die rote Feldpost unterm Sozialistengesetz* (1912); and Ernst Engelberg, *Revolutionäre Politik und Rote Feldpost 1878–90* (1959).
65 Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres Parteiorgan, 1879–90* (1961), p. 53 and August Bebel to F. Engels, January 23, 1880 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 90.
66 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890.
67 F. Engels, "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" in *The Labour Standard*, July 23, 1881; reprinted in F. Engels, *The British Labour Movement* (1934), pp. 36–8.
68 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, November 30, 1881 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernstein's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), 59–62.
69 Jenny Marx died on December 2, 1881: see F. Engels, "Jenny Marx, geb. von Westfalen" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 8, 1881.
70 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, November 12, 19 and 26, 1885: subsequently published as the introduction to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln*, 1852 (new edition, 1885).
71 F. Engels, "Marx und die *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848–9" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 13, 1884.
72 F. Engels, "Bruno Bauer und das Urchristenthum" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, May 4 and 11, 1882.

73 F. Engels, "Das Begräbnis von Karl Marx" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 22, 1883 and "Zum Tode von Karl Marx" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, May 3 and 17, 1883.
74 F. Engels, "*Handwerksburschenlied* von Georg Weerth, 1846" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 7, 1883.
75 F. Engels, "Dem Gedächtnis Johann Philipp Beckers" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 17, 1886.
76 F. Engels, "Was Europa bevorsteht" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 15, 1888: extract from Engels's introduction to a new edition of Sigismund Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten, 1806–7* (1888).
77 F. Engels, "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika" (dated January 26, 1887) in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 10 and 17, 1887. These articles appeared in English as the introduction to the English translation of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* which was published in the United States in 1887. See Appendix II of the new translation of this book by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner published by Basil Blackwell (Oxford) in 1958 and 1971.
78 F. Engels, "Die Abdankung der Bourgeoisie" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 5, 1889.
79 F. Engels in "Sozialpolitische Rundschau" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 11, 1887.
80 F. Engels, "Die Mark" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 15, 22 and 29, and April 5, 12 and 19, 1883. This essay also appeared in the German (1883) and English (1892) versions of F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.
81 See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, April 13, 1882 (Russian edition), April 14, 1888 (English edition) and August 16, 1890 (German edition). Extracts from the Communist Manifesto appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, April 3 and June 5, 1884.
82 F. Engels, "Zur Wohnungsfrage" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 15 and 22, 1887: introduction to a new edition of Engels's pamphlet of 1872 on the housing question.
83 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 2, 1884 ("Sozialpolitische Rundschau") and October 23, 1884 ("Die neue Schrift von Friedrich Engels").
84 See "Eine neue Propagandabroschüre" and "Der Sozialismus und der Staat" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 22 and December 20, 1883.
85 W. H. Dawson, *Social Insurance in Germany, 1883–1911* (1912), p. 14.
86 W. H. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
87 Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Die Impotenz des Klassenstaates" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 5, 1882.
88 "Das Erbteil der Enterbten" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 9, 1882.
89 "Kathedersozialistische Weisheit" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 29, 1882.
90 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, April 26, 1883.
91 Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Zur Sozialreform des Fürsten Bismarck" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, November 8, 1883 and in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan 1879–90* (1961), pp. 225–8.
92 *Protokoll über den Kongress der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in Kopenhagen: abgehalten vom 29 März bis 2 April 1883* (Hottingen-Zürich, 1883).

93 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, November 8, 1884 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 154.

94 F. Engels to August Bebel, December 11–12, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 202.

95 F. Engels to August Bebel, November 18, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 196.

96 F. Engels to August Bebel, December 11–12, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 202. The deputies on the left wing of the party were Bebel, Liebknecht, Heine, Vollmar, Rödinger and Stolle. The deputies on the right wing were Auer, Blos, Dietz, Geiser, Grillenberger, Frohme, Hasenclaver, Kayser, Schumacher and Singer. See H. Gemkow, *Friedrich Engels' Hilfe beim Sieg der deutschen Sozialdemokratie über das Sozialistengesetz* (1957), p. 103.

97 R. Rothe, "Zum Streit um die Dampfersubvention" in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 1 (1961), pp. 109–118.

98 The first subsidy bill of April 1884 provided for an annual subsidy of £200,000 for lines to Australia and Asia. The second bill of November 1884 increased the subsidy to £270,000 and added a line to Africa.

99 For Bismarck's colonial policy see W. O. Henderson, *Studies in German Colonial History* (1962) and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884–1918* (1930).

100 Karl Kautsky, "Soll Deutschland Kolonien gründen?" in *Staatswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen*, March 1880. See also an article by Karl Kautsky on colonies in *Die Neue Zeit*, August–September 1883.

101 "Marx über das Kolonialsystem" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, July 10, 1884.

102 "Sozialpolitische Rundschau" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, December 11, 1884.

103 F. Engels to August Bebel, December 30, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 210–13 and F. Engels to W. Liebknecht, December 29, 1884 (fragment) in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (1963), pp. 284–5.

104 E. Bernstein, "Produktivassoziationen mit Staatskredit" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 26, 1884: printed in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan 1879–90* (1961), pp. 233–8.

105 F. Engels to Karl Marx, January 27, 1865 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 218: English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 131.

106 "Zur Dampfersubvention" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 8, 1885.

107 The socialist deputies offered to support the bill on the following conditions (i) that all subsidised ships should be new and should be built by German labour in German shipyards, (ii) that the line to Africa and the branch line to Samoa (where Germany had colonial ambitions) should be excluded from the bill, and (iii) that the subsidy should be reduced to £185,000 a year. The Reichstag rejected these amendments.

108 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, April 2, 1885.

109 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890: English trans-

lation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967). The joint statement appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* on April 23 (not 30), 1885.

110 F. Engels to August Bebel, April 4, 1885 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 218.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 220.

112 *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 21, 1886 and F. Engels to August Bebel, October 23 and 25, 1886 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 297.

113 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 1, 1866–8 *(Documents of the First International)* (Progress Publishers, Moscow), August 13, 1867, p. 152.

114 *Ibid.*, October 22, 1867, p. 167.

114[a] F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 15, 1888 and introduction to a new edition of S. Borkheim, *Zur Erinnerung für die deutschen Mordspatrioten*, 1806–7 (Hottingen-Zürich, 1888).

115 Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres Parteiorgan* (1961), pp. 154–64.

116 "Wie's Euch gefällt" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, April 15, 1886.

117 "Das Wahlmanifest der sozialdemokratischen Fraktion des letzen Reichstages" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, January 29, 1887.

118 "Was der sozialdemokratische Stimmzettel bedeutet" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 11, 1887.

119 "Die neuste Schandtat der Puttkammerei" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 18, 1887. Robert von Puttkamer was Minister of the Interior in Prussia between 1881 and 1888.

120 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 11, 1887. This article first appeared in French in *Le Socialiste* (Paris). For the German version see Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres Parteiorgan* (1961), pp. 209–11.

121 "Die Sozialdemokratie und die Armee" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 24, 1887.

122 F. Engels, "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland" in *Die Neue Zeit*, July 1892: reprinted in Iring Fetscher (ed.), *Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 3, *Geschicht und Politik* (I) (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 29–41.

123 F. Engels in *Le Socialiste*, March 27, 1886: see appendix to *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (Moscow, 1959), pp. 406–7.

124 F. Engels to A. Sorge, January 7, 1888 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–95* (1963), p. 194.

125 Decree of April 11, 1886.

126 For an interview given by Bernstein to an English newspaper correspondent see the *Star*, September 29, 1890 ("Socialist Smugglers: Germany flooded with Papers from Kentish Town: a Talk with the Editor").

127 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 378.

128 For Kautsky see B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955).

129 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, October 17, 1888 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 223.

130 Karl Kautsky to F. Engels, October 3, 1883 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 86.

131 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, November 15, 1882 in B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 68.

132 *Die Neue Zeit*, June 1885. This was the German version of an article which appeared in *The Commonwealth* (London), March 1, 1885 and was subsequently incorporated in the introduction to the first English translation of F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1892): see Appendix III of the translation by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (1958 and 1971).

133 *Die Neue Zeit*, April–May, 1886: also published as a pamphlet in Stuttgart in 1888: English translation – F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950).

134 *Die Neue Zeit*, 1891–2: appeared originally in French in the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*, 1892.

135 August Bebel to F. Engels, November 2, 1886 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 301.

136 F. A. Krupp to Wilhelm II, May 9, 1890 in W. A. Buelcke (ed.), *Krupp und die Hohenzollern in Dokumente* (1970), p. 122.

137 *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography* (translated by B. Miall) (1920), p. 119.

138 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 26, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 364.

139 *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autobiography* (translated by B. Miall) (1920), pp. 18–19.

140 For the miners' strike of 1889 see L. Pieper, *Die Lage der Bergarbeiter im Ruhrrevier* (1903), pp. 178–83; P. Grebe, "Bismarcks Sturz und der Bergarbeiterstreik im Mai 1889" in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 157 (1937); Max Jürgen Koch, *Die Bergarbeiterbewegung im Ruhrgebiet zur Zeit Wilhelm II* (1954), p. 33 *et seq.*; Hans Georg Kirchhof, *Die Staatliche Sozialpolitik im Ruhrbergbau 1871–1914* (1954), p. 48 *et seq.*; and an article entitled "Verrathen und Verkauft" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, June 1, 1889. For other books and articles on the strike see H. J. Teuteberg, *Geschichte der Industriellen Mitbestimmung in Deutschland* (1961), p. 363 (note 37).

141 Gustav Mayer, *Erinnerungen. Vom Journalisten zum Historiker der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (1949), p. 18. See also L. Brentano, *Die Stellung der Studenten zu den sozialpolitischen Aufgaben der Zeit* (1897).

142 "Vor dem Siegeswegen der Sozialdemokratie" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 15, 1890.

143 August Bebel to F. Engels, March 7, 1890 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 383.

144 F. Engels to August Bebel, February 17, 1890 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 380.

145 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 26, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 363.

146 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, March 9, 1890 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 366.

147 An additional seat was gained by the socialists in 1892 bringing the total to 36: see A. Neumann-Hofer, *Die Entwicklung der Sozialdemokratie bei den Wahlen zum Deutschen Reichstage* (1898).

148 F. Engels, "Was nun?" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 8, 1890 and in E. Engelberg (ed.), *Die Klassiker des wissenschaftlichen Kommunis-*

mus (1955), pp. 183–4. English translation in W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (1967), pp. 141–3.

149 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, March 9, 1890 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 367.

150 *New Chapters of Bismarck's Autiobiography* (translated by B. Miall) (1920), p. 213.

151 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, April 16, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 373. On February 26, 1890 Engels had written to Laura Lafargue that there was a danger that the German government would "provoke riot and fighting and crush us before we are too strong and then alter the constitution. That is evidently what we are drifting to, and the chief danger to be avoided. Our people, you have seen, keep excellent, wonderful discipline; but we may be forced to fight before we are fully prepared, and there is the danger" (*ibid.*, p. 365).

152 F. Engels to A. Sorge, April 19, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848–90* (1963), p. 231.

153 August Bebel to F. Engels, March 31, 1890 in Werner Blumenberg (ed), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 384–6 and V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany*, 1878–90 (1966), pp. 303–4.

154 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 27, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 386 and Engels's letter ("Eine Antwort") in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 13, 1890.

155 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 25, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 401.

156 "Unser Scheidegruss" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890 in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan 1879–90* (1961), pp. 269–76. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue on September 26, 1890 that "the last number of the *Sozialdemokrat* is creating a stir here" (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2 (1960), p. 402).

157 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 25, 1890 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 1887–90 (1960), p. 401.

158 F. Engels in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 27, 1890 and in E. Engelberg (ed.), *Die Klassiker des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus* (1955), pp. 183–4. English translation: W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (1967), pp. 141–3.

14

THE LEADER OF THE ORCHESTRA 1883–1895

I. The Legacy of Marx

On Marx's death, Engels assumed new responsibilities. He looked after Marx's family, giving financial aid to Paul and Laura Lafargue and encouraging Eleanor Marx in her work for the labour movement in England. Helene Demuth, Marx's housekeeper, found a new home in Engels's household. Engels was now accepted as the head of the international socialist movement. In 1884 he wrote to Becker:

> "All my life I have done what I was cut out for – namely to play second fiddle – and I think that I have done quite well in that capacity. And I have been glad to have had such a wonderful first violin as Marx. No one realises better than I do that I am likely to make some mistakes now that I must suddenly step into Marx's shoes as an interpreter of his theories and as leader of the orchestra."[1]

Victor Adler wrote to Engels in 1891 that if he had the money he would found a travelling scholarship to send "every able party member to spend a week with you annually in Regent's Park Road"[2] and Lenin observed later that in the 1880s and early 1890s socialists everywhere "drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of the aged Engels".[3] Engels advised experienced politicians like Bebel and Liebknecht, and kept an eye upon a younger generation of socialists – Bernstein and Kautsky in Germany, Adler in Austria, Lafargue in France, Turati in Italy, Eleanor Marx and Aveling in England, and the Russians Plekhanov, Danielson, and Vera Zasulich.

Engels was recognised by socialists as a final court of appeal upon any doubtful point in Marx's writings. He advised the leaders of various socialist parties on problems of political strategy and tactics. Eleanor Marx declared that "at every difficulty . . . we go to Engels. And never do we appeal to him in vain. The work this single man has done in recent years would have been too much for a dozen ordinary men".[4] And Antonio Labriola

wrote that "without international thinkers there can be no International, and Engels attained the rank of international thinker in the fullest measure".[5]

When Marx died, Bebel suggested that Engels might settle in Germany or Switzerland so as to be in closer touch with the German Social Democrat Party.[6] But Engels had no intention of devoting himself entirely to the affairs of the German socialists. He considered that he had responsibilities to all the socialist parties in the world and that his first duty was towards the international socialist movement. "My fifty years of service in the international socialist movement make it impossible for me to put myself forward as the representative of any one national socialist party."[7] Engels told Bebel that he would not live in a country from which he might be expelled. Since he would be safe only in England or America he would stay in London. Moreover as there was no socialist movement in England worthy of his support, he would have the time that he needed for his writing and he would be free from the distractions of political agitation. If he settled anywhere else he would be obliged to take an active part in politics in support of the socialist cause and this would take up too much of his time. He was 62 years old and he proposed to continue to enjoy his "peaceful asylum" in London where he would devote himself to editing Marx's manuscripts and to writing on Marx's career, the early history of socialism in Germany, and the achievements of the First International.[8]

As Marx's literary executor – with Eleanor Marx – Engels had to decide which of his friend's manuscripts should be printed and which of his publications should appear in new editions. He did not publish his correspondence with Marx or the early manuscripts written by Marx in 1844 – writings which scholars later found to be of absorbing interest. Engels gave priority to the preparation of the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* for the press.

Shortly before his death Marx expressed the hope that Engels would "make something" of the manuscripts of the second volume of *Das Kapital* which dealt with the circulation of capital.[9] To do this Engels "laid aside his general philosophy of science, on which he had been working for more than ten years".[10] But he did finish his pamphlet on *The Origin of the Family*. In 1883 he saw a new German edition of the first volume of *Das Kapital* through the press. This was an onerous task since he added to the text the amendments made by Marx for the French translation.[11] At this time Engels also read some specimen chapters of the English translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital*[12] and he helped

Gabriel Deville to prepare an abridged popular version of the French translation of this volume.[13]

When Engels examined the manuscripts of Volume 2 he found that most of them had been written in the 1860s. Some were in a form suitable for publication but others were only rough drafts. As early as 1863 Marx – like Quesnay before him – had prepared a *tableau économique* to illustrate the circulation of capital[14] and four years later he told Engels that Volume 2 was on the verge of completion.[15] Yet in 1879 he wrote to Danielson that he had still not completed his researches on the circulation of capital.[16] When Marx died he left seven manuscripts on this subject and from them Engels – working from eight to ten hours a day for some months in 1884[17] – pieced together the second volume of *Das Kapital* which was published in 1885. He wrote that this volume was "a wonderful piece of research"[18] but that it analysed problems "of such a superior order that the vulgar reader will not take the trouble to fathom them and to follow them out".[19] In his preface to the second volume of *Das Kapital* Engels attacked "the Rodbertus clique" for asserting that Rodbertus[20] had thought of the theory of surplus value before Marx.

Early in 1887 Engels wrote that he hoped to start work on Marx's third volume "after clearing off some other accumulated work". He had been seeing the English translation of Volume 1 through the press.[21] In January 1888 he told Danielson that "the English translation is selling very well, indeed surprisingly well for a book of that size and class; the publisher is enchanted with his speculation. The critics, on the other hand, very very much below the average low level. Only one good article in the *Athenaeum*; the rest either merely give extracts from the preface, or – if trying to tackle the book itself – are unutterably poor". He added that "the sale of the German edition, one and two volume, goes on very well. There are a great many articles written about the book and its theories".[22]

After reading the manuscript of the third volume of *Das Kapital* Engels declared that the author's analysis of the process of capital production as a whole was "a splendid and totally unanswerable work", though it was "a mere first sketch".[23] He told Laura Lafargue that the book was "getting grander and grander the deeper I get into it". "It is almost inconceivable how a man who had such tremendous discoveries, such an entire and complete scientific revolution in his head, could keep it there for twenty years."[24] In 1888 Engels laid aside his work on this volume because of eye trouble, which sometimes reduced the time available for writing to two hours a day.[25] In this year, too, he spent

over seven weeks visiting the United States. In 1889 there was a further delay since Engels's correspondence in connection with the Second International took up much of his time.[26]

Volume 3 of *Das Kapital* proved to be a harder nut to crack than Volume 2. In the summer of 1892 the revision of the text had still not been completed[27] and in the autumn of that year Engels wrote to Adler: "I am now working on the third volume of *Das Kapital*. If only I could have had three consecutive quiet months in the last four years it would have been finished long ago. But I never had such good fortune."[28] In 1893 Engels assured Danielson that he would make "a supreme effort to finish Volume 3 in this winter and spring".[29] But it was not until November 1894 that Engels at last completed the task to which he had set his hand ten years before. He realised that the preparation of a fourth volume was beyond his strength and this task had already been handed over to Karl Kautsky.[30] Eventually Marx's historical survey of the theory of surplus value appeared as a separate book entitled *Theorien über den Mehrwert.*

In the years that he spent in preparing the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* for publication, Engels reprinted – with new introductions – several of Marx's pamphlets, such as the *Communist Manifesto, The Civil War in France, Misère de la Philosophie* (in a German translation),[31] and *Lohnarbeit und Kapital.*[32] Engels also replied to various correspondents who asked him to elucidate some of Marx's doctrines such as surplus value, historical materialism, and the class struggle.[33]

At the same time Engels commented upon the changes that were taking place in the world economy and he endeavoured to prove that Marx had correctly forecast the future development of capitalism. He considered that one of the most striking changes in the capitalist system since Marx's death had been the growth of large business enterprises and the establishment of trusts and cartels. In an addition to chapter 27 of the third volume of *Das Kapital*, Engels wrote that capitalists were setting up great combines to regulate output and that sometimes the entire production of certain goods had been monopolised by a powerful corporation. The United Alkali Trust had "brought all British alkali production into the hands of a single business firm". Engels added that in this branch of industry "competition has been replaced by monopoly in England, and the road has been paved most gratifyingly, for future expropriation by the whole of society, the nation".[34]

Engels also saw that countries, such as Russia, which had once had only domestic craft manufactures were becoming industrialised. He argued that the industrialisation of Russia was entirely

in accord with Marx's predictions. He wrote to Danielson in 1892:

"A nation of 100 millions that plays an important part in the history of the world could not, under present economic and industrial conditions, continue in the state in which Russia was up to the Crimean war. The introduction of steam engines and working machinery, the attempt to manufacture textile and metal products by modern means of production, at least for home consumption, *must* have been made sooner or later, but at all events at *some* period between 1856 and 1880. Had it not been made, your patriarchal industry would have been destroyed all the same by English machine competition and the end would have been – India, a country economically subject to the great central workshop, England.[35]

"Capitalist production works its own ruin, and you may be sure it will do so in Russia too. It may, and – if it lasts long enough – it will surely produce a fundamental agrarian revolution – I mean a revolution in the condition of landed property, which will ruin both the landowners and the peasants and replace them by a new class of large landed proprietors drawn from the kulaks of the villages and the bourgeois speculators of the towns. At all events, I am sure the conservative people, who have introduced capitalism into Russia, will be one day terribly astonished at the consequences of their own doings."[36]

Engels appreciated that in the 1880s the economic and political influence of the advanced industrial states was spreading to new regions in Africa and the Pacific. Marx and Engels held that territorial expansion was an essential feature of the capitalist system. The need to control new sources of food and raw materials – coupled with the search for wider markets – made it inevitable that nothing would halt the advance of capitalism until the whole world lay within its grasp. Marx and Engels believed that the exploitation of colonial peoples by the European powers would cease only when capitalism itself was overthrown.[37]

In the 1880s and early 1890s Engels denounced the new imperialism – the scramble for Africa, the Pacific and China – as vigorously as he and Marx had condemned the activities of the English in India and the Dutch in Java in the 1850s. And the German socialists agreed with him. In 1884 *Der Sozialdemokrat* declared in a leading article: "Colonisation means the accumulation of capital and this, in turn, means mass poverty and mass misery. That, in brief, is what Marx had to say on the colonial question and that is also the view of the Social Democrat Party."[38]

After the Sino-Japanese war Engels wrote in 1894 that the opening up of China would have tragic results for the Chinese.

The links between farming and craft industries in the rural districts would be broken by the coming of railways and modern manufacturing techniques. There would be a vast migration of Chinese coolies to Europe which would then face its greatest and final economic crisis. "China is the only region left for capitalism to conquer, and in the very process of digesting it, capitalism hastens its own downfall."[39] Engels's final comment upon imperialism – written shortly before his death – was that colonisation had now become "purely a subsidiary of the stock exchange, in whose interests the European powers partitioned Africa a few years ago, and the French conquered Tunis and Tonkin".[40]

Colonial rivalry was only one aspect of the increased international tension of the early 1890s. After Bismarck's fall, Germany failed to renew her Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. France emerged from a long period of diplomatic isolation and became Russia's ally. The Continent was divided into two armed camps. Engels saw clearly the dangers to world peace inherent in this situation. He approved the strong attacks on Prussian militarism in the socialist press in Germany[41] and the refusal of the socialist deputies in the Reichstag to vote for defence budgets. Engels argued that the international arms race was involving the Great Powers in ever increasing military expenditure and was placing an intolerable burden of taxation upon the shoulders of the workers. Unless a way could be found out of the impasse a world war was inevitable. Engels feared that such a conflict would destroy the economy of Europe and halt for many years the forward march of the socialist cause.[42]

II. The Father of International Socialism

As a young man Karl Marx had declared that "philosophers have hitherto *interpreted* the world in various ways: now the time has come for them to *change* it". For many years Marx and Engels had pursued two aims. As philosophers, economists, and historians they had worked out a theory of politics which was the basis of their new form of socialism. As revolutionary agitators they had tried to change the world by putting their doctrines into practice. One aspect of their work was represented by *Das Kapital* and *Anti-Dühring*, the other by the Communist League and the First International.

After Marx's death in 1883 Engels became the leader of the international socialist movement. He carried on his own researches into "scientific socialism" – *The Origin of the Family* appeared in 1884 and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German*

Philosophy in 1888 – and he continued to promote the interests of the various socialist parties on the Continent. He was always ready to answer appeals for help and advice from his socialist friends. Although his literary work and the preparation of two volumes of *Das Kapital* for the press took up much of his time, he maintained a regular correspondence with the leaders of workers' parties in many countries. Until his death in 1895 Engels's house in London was a meeting place for socialists from all parts of the world.

Engels's advice to his socialist friends varied according to circumstances. In Germany, where there was a powerful Social Democrat Party, he urged his followers to gain new recruits so that the socialists would eventually dominate the political scene and take over the reins of government. In England and the United States, on the other hand – where only insignificant socialist parties existed – he advised his friends to try to infiltrate into the local labour movement. In his view such organisations as trade unions, co-operative societies, and friendly societies were a poor substitute for a socialist party since they operated within the framework of a bourgeois society and did not aim at the overthrow of the capitalist system. Again, in Russia the situation was different from either Germany or Britain since industrialisation had hardly begun and socialism was still in its infancy. Here Engels was in favour of supporting revolutionary movements – not necessarily socialist in character – which aimed at the destruction of the autocratic Czarist regime. He considered that the differences between the workers' movements in various countries could be explained partly by historical and partly by economic factors. In each case socialists should, in his view, adapt their policy to the local situation.

Germany: the Erfurt Programme

The success of the socialists at the general election of February 1890, when nearly 1,500,000 votes were gained,[43] was the climax of the "heroic age" of the Social Democrat Party. The socialists had defeated Bismarck's attempt to crush them by force. Bismarck soon resigned and the government did not seek to renew the Anti-Socialist Law when it expired at the end of September 1890. Now that the Social Democrat Party was again a legal organisation it could openly resume its propaganda among the masses. Important decisions had to be taken concerning the adoption of a new programme and the policy to be pursued by socialist deputies in the Reichstag. Engels warned the party's leaders of the dangers threatening them from the "Youngsters", from Georg von Vollmar, and from Eduard Bernstein. The "Youngsters"[44] were a left-wing

group of intellectuals who declared that membership of the Reichstag was having a corrupting influence upon socialist deputies. Vollmar, as a leader of the smallholders and peasants in Bavaria, was trying to secure some co-operation between the socialists and the middle-class radicals.[45] In 1892 Engels wrote to Bebel that Vollmar was attempting to foist the "state socialism" of the *Kathedersozialisten* (the "socialist professors") on to the Social Democrat Party and that he would soon leave the socialist party.[46] Bebel was now the undisputed leader of the socialist movement in Germany. His efficiency as an organiser, his skill as a parliamentarian, his oratorial gifts and his dedication to the socialist cause were such that his position in the party could not be challenged. He had no difficulty in discrediting both the "Youngsters" and Vollmar. Two of the "Youngsters" – Werner and Wildberger – were expelled from the Social Democrat Party at the Erfurt congress of 1891.[47] And the action of the socialist deputies in voting for the budget in the Bavarian Landtag in 1894 led to a confrontation between Bebel and Vollmar at the next congress of the Social Democrat Party at Frankfurt. The congress defeated a motion which would have left socialist parties free to vote for local budgets if they wished to do so.[48]

But the threat to party unity from Bernstein was a more serious matter. In the early 1890s Engels realised that Bernstein, who had served the socialist cause so well as editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, could no longer be regarded as a dedicated Marxist since he was falling under the influence of right-wing socialists such as the leaders of the Fabian Society.[49] Engels warned Bebel of Bernstein's naïve enthusiasm for this society which he regarded as "nothing but a branch of the Liberal Party".[50] Engels attacked Bernstein for suggesting that the German socialists might co-operate with the Freisinnige party in elections for the Prussian Landtag.[51]

Engels's fears were amply justified for, not long after Engels's death, Bernstein began to write articles in *Die Neue Zeit* suggesting that socialist deputies in the Reichstag should co-operate with left-wing bourgeois parties to secure reforms for the workers. He argued that it would be simpler to establish socialism gradually – as advocated by the Fabians in England – rather than by the revolution which Marx and Engels had regarded as inevitable.[52] This sparked off a great controversy which shook the Social Democrat Party to its foundations.

Engels not only attacked any deviation from Marxist orthodoxy among the German socialists but he used his influence over the leaders of the Social Democrat Party to ensure the adoption of

a new programme, which would eliminate all traces of Lassalle's doctrines. In 1890 at their congress in Halle an der Saale the socialists accepted Liebknecht's proposal that the Gotha programme of 1875 had outlived its usefulness and should be revised. Several drafts of a new programme were prepared, the most important being one by Liebknecht and another by Kautsky and Bernstein.[53]

Engels intervened in the debate in two ways. First he published the criticisms which Marx had made of the Gotha programme in 1875, leaving out only "a few sharp personal expressions and judgments".[54] Bebel complained that Lassalle's supporters were angry that this attack upon their leader's views had been made public. Engels vigorously defended his action in a letter to Kautsky, in which he wrote:

> ". . . You say that Bebel has written to you to say that Marx's treatment of Lassalle has caused bad blood among the old followers of Lassalle. That may be so. These people do not know the real story and nothing seems to have happened to enlighten them about it. It is not my fault if they do not know that Lassalle's reputation was due to the fact that for years Marx allowed Lassalle to parade the results of Marx's researches as his own. Moreover owing to his inadequate knowledge of economics Lassalle distorted Marx's views into the bargain. But I am Marx's literary executor and consequently I have a duty to perform in this matter. . . . It was my duty finally to settle accounts between Marx and Lassalle. . . ."[55]

Next Engels wrote a memorandum in which he commented upon Liebknecht's draft of a proposed new programme for the German Social Democrat Party. It was sent to leading members of the party and was not published until ten years later. Engels praised Liebknecht for dropping "the Lassallean and vulgar-socialist" aspects of the Gotha programme. He considered the theoretical part of the draft to be satisfactory and he suggested only minor amendments. But he criticised the political part of the draft programme because it left out what he considered to be an essential part of socialist policy. Engels considered that the socialists in Germany could gain effective power only if a democratic republic were established. He declared that "this is the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was seen as long ago as during the great French revolution". The founding of a republic would involve the political reconstruction of the country. The monarchies would have to be abolished and Germany would require a unitary instead of a federal constitution. Prussia should be abolished as a political unit. The tiny states – such as those in Thuringia – should

be absorbed by larger neighbours. The new provinces, countries, and parishes should enjoy complete local self-government. Finally Engels suggested that the programme of the French socialists – drawn up by Marx in 1880 – should serve as a model in drawing up the economic demands to be included in the new programme of the German Social Democrat Party.[56]

The socialists did not follow Engels's advice. Bebel bluntly told Engels that "in view of the present situation in Germany it is impossible to aim at (the establishment of) a republic.[57] So when the Social Democrat Party adopted a new programme at the Erfurt congress of 1891[58] – based largely upon Kautsky's draft – there was no reference to the abolition of the monarchy, or the partition of Prussia, or the replacing of the federal constitution by a unitary constitution. On the other hand Engels was satisfied with the theoretical part of the programme. He wrote to Sorge: "We have the satisfaction of seeing the Marxian critique win all along the line. Even the last trace of Lassalleanism has been removed."[59]

Under the banner of the Erfurt programme the Social Democrat Party gained new successes at the Reichstag general election held in the summer of 1893. The socialists polled nearly a quarter of the votes cast and secured 44 seats. Five of the six deputies representing Berlin were socialists. Little wonder that the Berlin branch of the Social Democrat Party prepared a very warm welcome for Engels when he visited the city soon after the elections. He persuaded his hosts not to organise a mass meeting in his honour but to be content with a banquet in the Concordia Hall. Wilhelm Liebknecht was the main speaker.[60] In his reply[61] Engels observed that he had not been in Berlin for 51 years. Then it had been a small town with a population of 350,000 living on its court, its aristocracy and its government officials. Now it was a great industrial city with 2,000,000 inhabitants. In 1841–2 Berlin had no socialists: now the Social Democrat Party could poll 160,000 votes in the city. Engels declared that immense changes had taken place, not merely in Berlin, but throughout Germany. There had been a great expansion of industry. "When capitalists promote the growth of manufactures, they create not only surplus value for themselves but also an industrial proletariat. By destroying the petty bourgeoisie – the craftsmen and the peasants – they have aggravated the class struggle between the middle classes and the workers. Those who create industrial workers also create socialists". Engels concluded with the proud boast that the German Social Democrat Party was the largest, the most united, and the most powerful socialist organisation in the world. "It has gained one

triumph after another, thanks to the patience, the discipline and the good humour with which it has fought one battle after another."

In his last years Engels's main anxiety concerning the Social Democrat Party was that the views of its right wing might have a decisive influence upon policy decisions. As the party grew it attracted more middle-class adherents and more trade union leaders who advocated a policy of moderate reform and were opposed to aims which could be achieved only by a revolution. They had no wish to see a new Anti-Socialist Law enacted. Still less did they relish the possibility of a coup d'état on the part of the upper classes, backed by the army and directed against the workers. They wanted to improve the lot of the workers by promoting social reforms which were attainable under the existing constitution. Engels forcibly reminded the socialist leaders that Marxism was a revolutionary creed which taught that the capitalist system must one day be overthrown – if necessary by force. He was disappointed that Bernstein should have fallen under the spell of the Fabians and that Liebknecht – once a stalwart supporter of Marx's ideas – should be arguing that German socialists should now follow a path of strict legality.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that a clash between Engels and Liebknecht should have occurred in 1895. Engels had written an introduction to a new edition of Marx's articles on the class struggles in France,[62] which has been called his "political testament" since he died a few months later. It proved to be his last opportunity to offer advice to the German socialists. Although Engels had agreed to make some changes in his text to meet the views of the executive committee of the Social Democrat Party,[63] Liebknecht printed carefully selected extracts from the introduction to make it appear as if Engels had ceased to advocate revolutionary action on the part of the workers.[64] Engels had every right to be angry that Liebknecht should have distorted his views and he asked Kautsky to print the introduction in full in *Die Neue Zeit*. He complained to Kautsky that Liebknecht was suggesting that he had advocated a policy of "legality at any price", which was far from being the truth.[65] To Lafargue he wrote:

"Liebknecht has just played me a fine trick. He has taken from my introduction to Marx's articles on France, 1848–51, everything that could serve his purpose in support of peaceful and anti-violent tactics at any price, which he has chosen to preach for some time now, particularly at this juncture, when coercive laws are being drawn up in Berlin. But I preach those tactics only for the *Germany of today* and even then *with many reservations*. For France, Belgium,

Italy, Austria, such tactics could not be followed as a whole and, for Germany, they could become inapplicable tomorrow."[66]

To the last Engels remained confident of the ultimate triumph of socialism in Germany. In 1893 he was asked in an interview if he expected to see a socialist government in power in Germany. He replied:

> "Why not? If the growth of our Party continues at its normal rate, we shall have a majority between the years 1900 and 1910. And when we do, you may be assured we shall neither be short of ideas nor men to carry them out. You people, I suppose, about that time, will be having a government, in which Mr Sidney Webb will be growing grey in an attempt to permeate the Liberal Party. We don't believe in permeating middle-class parties. We are permeating the people."[67]

Austria: Victor Adler[68]

Engels's friendship with Victor Adler – "the witty orator and profound thinker of the Austrian Party"[69] brought him into contact with the socialist movement in the Habsburg dominions.[70] Adler, son of a prosperous Jewish merchant in Prague, had been educated in Vienna and had qualified as a doctor. In 1882 he met Kautsky and began to study socialist writings. In the following year, at the age of 31, he visited Germany, Switzerland and England to examine the working of the factory laws in those countries as he hoped to join the factory inspectorate which had just been set up in Austria. On his travels he met Engels[71] and Bebel and he returned to Vienna a convinced Marxist. He devoted the rest of his life to the socialist cause.

In 1886 Adler took the first step on the road to the leadership of the Austrian socialists when he founded the journal *Gleichheit* in Vienna.[72] The prospects of the socialists in Austria were far from bright at this time. Repressive legislation, culminating in the Anti-Socialist Law of 1884–8, enabled the authorities to ban meetings of workers and to suppress socialist publications. Adler was convicted seventeen times for his political activities and spent eighteen months in prison. Moreover the socialists were split into two rival factions – the Moderates led by Heinrich Oberwinder and the Radicals led by Andreas Scheu. The Moderates were prepared to co-operate with bourgeois progressive parties to secure reforms for the workers while the Radicals pursued a more militant revolutionary policy. In addition there were some anarchist groups in Austria at this time led by Josef Peukert[73] and their criminal activities – the murder of unpopular officials – tended to be attributed to the socialists.

For three years Adler worked hard to bring the diverse socialist groups in Austria together. By April 1889 he was able to play a leading *rôle* in organising a strike of the drivers of horse-trams in Vienna. The government banned the socialist journal *Gleichheit* and Adler was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.[74] Later in the year he went to London to discuss with Engels the final phase of the proposed establishment of a unified Austrian socialist party. Gustav Mayer writes that "a friendship developed between the aged Engels and Adler which can be compared only with the close friendship uniting Engels and Bebel". "The relationship between Engels and Adler had a special quality since the two men were on an equal intellectual level." "The young disciple honoured his 'teacher and mentor', and gave him medical advice. Engels warmly responded with a readiness to help Adler in every possible way."[75] In 1891 Engels gave half the royalties of the fourth edition of *The Origin of the Family* to the Austrian socialist party[76] and in the following year he arranged for the royalties of a new German edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* to be paid to Adler.[77] In 1895 Engels was responsible for raising a loan in London to assist in financing the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna). This organ of the Austrian socialists had formerly been published twice a week and was now being turned into a daily newspaper. On January 12, 1895 Engels sent Adler a cheque for 3,500 gulden.[78]

At a conference held at Hainfeld between December 30, 1889 and January 1, 1890 Adler's efforts were crowned with success and a united Social Democrat Workers' Party was established. It accepted Marx's doctrines and its immediate demands included universal suffrage and vote by ballot. At this time Kautsky declared that "the workers' movement in Austria has reached a new peak during the past year. . . . Never before has it been so united. . . ."[79] In 1896 Adler partially achieved one of his aims when the franchise in Austria was extended by the establishment of a fifth roll of voters (*curia*). Thus a modest element of manhood suffrage was introduced into the Austrian parliamentary system.

In 1893 Engels visited Vienna and spoke at a rally of some 2,000 socialists in the Dreher Halle.[80] He wrote to Laura Lafargue: "Adler has done wonders; the tact, the constant vigilance and activity, with which he holds the party together (not an easy thing with such lively people as the Viennese), are beyond praise, and if you consider moreover the difficulties of his private position – a wife ill with nervous ailments, three children and interminable pecuniary difficulties arising therefrom – it is almost inconceivable how he can keep his head above water. And these Austrians – a

mixture of all races, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic – are far less manageable than our North Germans."[81]

Here Engels had drawn attention to one of Adler's major problems. The Dual Monarchy was a multi-racial state in which the Germans and the Magyars ruled over various Slavonic peoples. Marx and Engels supported the independence of subject peoples, such as the Poles and the Irish – though Engels had some doubts concerning the ability of the Slavs to rule themselves. But Adler accepted the fact that Austria-Hungary was a multi-racial state. He thought that an Austrian socialist party, representing all the peoples in the country, would be in a better position to bring about the fall of capitalism than a number of smaller national parties. For a time Adler's views prevailed. But eventually the Czech population increased rapidly in some industrial towns in Bohemia which had once been inhabited almost entirely by Germans. This happened when large numbers of peasants moved into the towns from the countryside to seek work in the factories. At the congress of the socialist party held at Brünn in 1899 a "programme for national autonomy" was adopted. This programme advocated the transformation of the Habsburg dominions into a democratic federation of self-governing peoples. The unity of the socialist party was preserved for a time on the basis of the Brünn programme, but by 1911 – when the party held 83 seats in the lower house of the Reichsrat – Czech national feeling had become so strong that the Czech socialists broke away from Adler's party and formed an independent organisation of their own.

Although, in the end, Adler could not maintain the unity of the Austrian socialist party, his long period of service in the cause of the workers showed that he had taken to heart the advice that Engels had given him in his early days as a politician. His achievements placed him in the front rank of socialist leaders in the first decade of the twentieth century.

France: Paul Lafargue[82]

Engels was in close touch with the socialist movement in France through Paul and Laura Lafargue with whom he maintained a regular correspondence. His financial help made it possible for Lafargue to devote his time to the socialist cause in France.

The fall of the Paris Commune in 1871 had brought the labour movement in France to a halt since the workers' leaders were put in prison or forced to leave the country. The International was banned while the syndicates and the workers' journals were suppressed. When Thiers left office as President he boasted that socialism had been stamped out. It was true that exiled revolution-

aries – the followers of Bakunin in Switzerland and of Blanqui in England – now had little influence in France but some French workers (such as many of the skilled craftsmen in Paris) remained faithful to Proudhon's form of socialism. And it soon became clear that a new workers' movement was arising from the ashes of the Commune.

The rise of a Marxist party was something new in French labour politics. In the early seventies the publication of a French translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital* brought Marx's doctrines to the notice of left-wing intellectuals. A little later Gabriel Deville's book summarising *Das Kapital* reached a wider circle of French readers.[83] One of the first French socialists to be converted to Marxism was Jules Guesde. He had been a member of the First International and had received a five-year prison sentence for his writings in support of the Commune. He escaped first to Switzerland and then to Italy. In exile he fell under Bakunin's influence. In 1876 he returned to France and began to build up a new workers' party which accepted Marx's doctrines. Guesde's propaganda was particularly successful in the industrial districts such as the Nord Department. Marx praised Guesde's journal *Egalité* and declared that it was "the first 'French' *workers' paper* in the true sense of the expression".[84] Engels thought that Guesde's writings were "the best which have appeared in the French language and he is also the best speaker in Paris". "We have certainly always found him to be straightforward and reliable."[85] In 1878 Guesde received a six months' prison sentence for organising an international workers' congress which had been banned by the authorities.

In 1880 Guesde went to London to seek the advice of Marx, Engels and Lafargue in drafting an election manifesto for the French Workers Party. In Engels's study Marx dictated the introduction (*considérants*) of the manifesto to Guesde.[86] He approved the programme except for "some trivialities which Guesde found it necessary to throw to the French workers, despite my protest, such as fixing the minimum wage and the like". Marx considered the programme to be "a tremendous step forward to pull the French workers down to earth from their fog of phraseology".[87]

Despite opposition from the anarchists, the programme was adopted in November 1880 by a workers congress held at Le Havre. But two years later Brousse and Malon broke away from Guesde, declaring that "politics is the art of the possible". They advocated co-operation with bourgeois parties in the hope of gaining seats at local elections. Engels attacked the "Possibilists", arguing that the split in the party had been unavoidable since

Guesde was taking a stand on a sound Marxist principle. In his view Guesde was the champion of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie while Brousse and Malon were mere opportunists, sacrificing socialist principles to gain seats on local councils. Engels wrote:

"There are always internal struggles when the proletariat develops and France – where a working class party is being created for the first time – is no exception". "In Germany we have experienced the first phase of our internal struggle – against Lassalle's followers – and other conflicts await us in future." "Unity is wonderful – if it can be achieved – but there are more important things than unity . . . Since Marx and I have been fighting so-called socialists all our lives . . . we cannot complain that this conflict has broken out."[88]

The split between the Marxists and the "Possibilists" was followed by a split in the ranks of the "Possibilists" when Jean Allemane and his followers left Brousse and Malon to form a splinter group of their own.

In 1882 Paul Lafargue returned to France and became a close collaborator of Jules Guesde. He was an indefatigable writer and lecturer and he preached the Marxist gospel throughout the length and breadth of France. His translation of Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and his wife's translation of *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy* helped to popularise Marx's doctrines among French socialists. Lenin regarded Lafargue as "one of the most talented and penetrating disseminators of the ideas of Marxism".[89] Despite the efforts of Guesde and Lafargue in the 1880s and 1890s the Marxists did not make the same progress in France as in Germany and Austria. In those countries Bebel and Adler had established united socialist parties but in France the socialists were divided into hostile factions. Nevertheless the votes cast for socialist candidates at parliamentary elections rose from 47,000 in 1887 to 805,000 in 1902 and early in the twentieth century there were over 2,000 socialist municipal councillors in France.

Italy: Filippo Turati

When Engels had served as corresponding secretary for Italy, on behalf of the First International, he had been unable to check the spread of Bakunin's influence in that country. In his view the Italian workers had been led astray by "young lawyers, academics and other doctrinaires"[90] – "a few doctrinaire lawyers and newspaper writers".[91] But Engels never gave up hope of seeing a socialist party (with a Marxist programme) established in Italy.

In the 1870s Engels was in close touch with Enrico Bignami, the

editor of *La Plebe*,[92] the official organ of the *Federazione dell' Alta Italia*. He contributed a few articles to this workers' journal. He did not preach the gospel of Marxism but he described the achievements of the labour movement in various countries. He wrote about the successes of the German socialists in the Reichstag elections of 1877 and he praised the courage of the German workers in resisting Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law. He held up the German Social Democrat Party as a model which the Italian workers should copy.

Engels maintained a regular correspondence with Pasquale Martignetti, Filippo Turati, and Antonio Labriola who, in their different ways, served the cause of socialism in Italy. Martignetti was a clerk in the legal record office in Benevento, a small town near Naples. After studying the first volume of *Das Kapital* (in French translation) he decided to devote himself to the cause of international socialism. His *rôle* in the movement was to continue the work begun by Carlo Cafiero in popularising Marx's doctrines in Italy. He learned German so as to translate Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* into Italian in 1883. This brought him into contact with the author and Engels and Martignetti exchanged letters for many years. Martignetti read the leading German socialist journals of the 1880s – *Der Sozialdemokrat* and *Die Neue Zeit* – and so kept himself informed of the most recent developments in both the German and the international workers' movements. He translated Engels's pamphlet on *The Origin of the Family*[93] into Italian, as well as numerous articles by Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Bernstein. Engels was always ready to advise him on his activities as a translator. Owing to the intrigues of his political enemies Martignetti had to face charges of misappropriation of funds in 1886. He lost his post and was involved in a lengthy lawsuit. Engels assisted him financially at this time and tried – though without success – to find a suitable post for "the poor devil" outside Italy.[94] It was largely owing to Martignetti's efforts that the leading German Marxist writers exercised a strong influence over the development of the socialist movement in Italy.[95]

While Martignetti simply translated Marxist works into Italian, Antonio Labriola was an original thinker who used the tools provided by Marx to analyse some of the social problems of his day. He was the leading exponent of Marx's doctrines in Italy.[96] He told Engels that he had become a communist because he had a thorough grounding in Hegel's philosophy.[97] This may account for the fact that when Engels met him in 1893 at the Zürich conference of the Second International he soon tired of his com-

pany and escaped from his "ponderous conversation" to seek the more congenial company of the charming young Viennese socialist Adelheid Dvorak.[98] Labriola's letters to Engels included many appeals for help in exposing the pretensions of Achille Loria,[99] who had established for himself a certain reputation as an authority on Marx's theories. Although Loria sometimes claimed to be a disciple of Marx and Engels, he criticised Marx's theory of surplus value and the doctrine of historical materialism. He asserted that Marx had failed to give the world a comprehensive survey of his ideas and actually asserted that Marx had not written anything on capital after the appearance of the first volume of his book in 1867.[100] Engels was always ready to defend Marx and to attack those who advocated socialist doctrines which differed from those of his friend. And, in old age, he had not lost his ability to crush an adversary by sheer vituperation. "Charlatan", "rogue", "plagiarist", "academic careerist", "humbug", and "windbag" were among the milder expressions which he employed to castigate the presumptuous professor who had the effrontery to suppose that there were errors in *Das Kapital*, which he was capable of correcting.

Loria might be described as Italy's Dr Dühring. Like Dühring he was an ambitious "academic socialist" who enjoyed the adulation of a group of young intellectuals. Like Dühring he was a prolific writer on a variety of topics and his disciples venerated him as a leading economist and sociologist and as an expert interpreter of Marx's theories. Their views were subsequently endorsed by the distinguished economist Luigi Einaudi, who compiled a bibliography of Loria's voluminous writings. On the other hand so eminent a philosopher as Croce attacked Loria as a shallow thinker and a superficial scholar whose nebulous theories should be allowed to fall into well deserved oblivion. And leading Italian Marxists – such as Labriola and Gramsci – denounced Loria as a pompous bourgeois provincial philistine and an academic fraud.

The controversy between Engels and Loria reached its climax in 1894 when Engels denounced his adversary in the preface to the third volume of *Das Kapital*.[101] Here Engels dealt with Loria's article on Marx in *Nuova Antologia*,[102] with his review of Conrad Schmidt's *Die Durchschnitts-profitrate auf Grundlage des Marxschen Wertgesetzes* and with his book *La Teoria Economica della Constituzione Politica*. Engels attacked Loria for claiming to have discovered in 1886 the doctrine of historical materialism already enunciated by Marx forty years before. He accused Loria of failing to understand Marx's theory of surplus value. Having first confused surplus value with profit Loria had proceeded to argue

that the existence of universal rates of interest invalidated Marx's theory.[103] A few months before his death Engels again denounced Loria in a manuscript which was eventually published as a "supplement" to Volume 3 of *Das Kapital*.[104] Almost with his last breath, Engels replied vigorously to any criticism of the work of his lifelong friend.

Engels's interest in the progress of socialism in Italy – as distinct from controversies concerning Marx's doctrines – may be seen from his correspondence with Filippo Turati, the founder of the Italian Workers' Party. At first Engels regarded Turati with some suspicion since he had fallen under Loria's influence. But later Turati was converted to Marx's ideas by his Russian wife Anna Kuliscioff and he recognised that socialism could be established in Italy only by grafting those doctrines upon the existing working-class movement.[105]

The first step towards the promotion of a socialist movement among the industrial workers of northern Italy was taken in Milan early in 1877 when a federation of workers' organisations[106] adopted a programme which accepted the need for trade union and political action – it demanded universal suffrage – and firmly rejected the views of the anarchists. Engels declared that the Italian workers had at last shaken off the evil influence of Bakunin and had taken their rightful place in the ranks of the European workers.[107] Two years later Italian socialists had an opportunity of studying Marx's doctrines in a summary of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, which was brought out by Carlo Cafiero.

In the 1880s the activities of the Workers' Party of Milan,[108] in which Turati played a leading *rôle*, paved the way for the holding of a congress in Genoa in 1892 at which a national Italian Workers' Party[109] was established.[110] Its "Minimum Programme", adopted in 1895, has been described as "a mixture of Marxism and vulgar-democratic doctrines".[111] The party's demands included universal suffrage, payment of parliamentary deputies and local councillors, factory reforms, old age pensions, free school meals and a progressive income tax. These proposed reforms were similar to those advocated by liberals and radicals who were not socialists. But the programme of the Italian Workers' Party did make it clear that the ultimate goal of the socialists was to gain political power for the workers. By this time Turati had established a fortnightly socialist review called *Critica Sociale*, to which Engels occasionally contributed.[112] In 1893 at Turati's request, Engels wrote a preface for the Italian translation of the Communist Manifesto. It is surprising that in his introduction Engels made no mention of the growth of socialism in Italy in the 1880s or of the

recent establishment of a workers' party with a socialist programme. It has been suggested that his failure to congratulate Turati on his achievements was due to his displeasure at the passive attitude adopted by the socialist deputies in the Italian chamber when Napoleon Colajanni uncovered the scandals connected with the affairs of the Banca Roma. Engels agreed with Labriola that the socialists had let a golden opportunity pass to denounce the iniquities of the capitalist system.[113]

Engels's last intervention in the affairs of the Italian socialists occurred in 1894 when his advice was sought in connection with a controversy in the party concerning its future tactics. There was serious unrest in Italy at this time. Successive administrations had failed to grapple with Italy's economic and social problems. Corrupt politicians lined their pockets while the economic situation rapidly deteriorated. Both farming and industry were depressed. In 1893 there was a peasant revolt in Sicily. In December of that year Crispi replaced Giolitti as prime minister. He tried to restore order by proclaiming a state of siege and by drafting troops to Sicily. He blamed the socialists for the rising and dissolved 271 socialist and workers' associations throughout the country. In February 1894 Engels wrote that in Italy "the bourgeois have maintained all the horrors of decaying feudalism, grafting on it their own infamies and oppression. The country is at the end of its resources; a change must take place, but the Socialist Party is still *very* weak and *very* confused, although there are some rather able Marxists in it."[114]

At this time there were socialists in Italy who argued that they should hold aloof from mass risings and violent demonstrations. But Turati and his wife thought that the Socialist Party should try to take over the leadership of the workers' movement, overthrow the monarchy and set up a republic. They asked Engels for his advice. In particular they wanted to know whether they should co-operate with other parties to attain their ends and whether victory could be achieved without bloodshed. This was no new problem for Engels – it has been discussed in the Communist Manifesto – and he had no hesitation in advising Turati to work with other parties to overthrow the existing régime and to replace it by a bourgeois republic. This would be the first step towards the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of socialism. But he warned Turati that co-operation with bourgeois parties must be only of a temporary nature. Turati should never forget that he was the leader of an independent socialist party, dedicated to furthering the class interests of the workers.[115]

Britain: Eleanor Marx[116]

Marx and Engels believed that since England had been the first country to experience an industrial revolution, it would also be the first to witness the collapse of capitalism and the downfall of the middle class. Whenever there was an economic crisis in England, they thought that their hour had come and that the end of the capitalist system was in sight. They had been in contact with Chartist leaders, such as Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, in the days when – as Engels put it – "the English workmen marched at the head of the European working class".[117] Marx and Engels had been disappointed when the Chartists failed to incite the workers to revolt in 1848. And in the 1850s they had waited in vain for a revival of militant Chartism.

When the First International was established Marx – and later Engels – sat on its General Council and tried, though with little success, to persuade some of its trade union members to take a more active part in politics – on the Irish question, for example. After the collapse of the International the English workers showed little inclination towards political action and Engels complained in 1872 that "things are shockingly bad at the moment here – worse than they ever were – as is to be expected with such industrial prosperity".[118] In 1874, after the conservative victory at the general election, Engels deplored the fact that "it is particularly the big industrial cities and factory districts, where the workers are now absolutely in the majority, that send Conservatives to Parliament".[119] The organised workers promoted their interests through trade unions, benefit clubs, co-operative societies and penny banks rather than by political action. Marx wrote in disgust in 1878 that the English labour movement was politically "nothing more than the tail of the Great Liberal Party – i.e. of its *oppressors*, the capitalists".[120]

In 1879 when he received a request from Bernstein to recommend an English correspondent for the new *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft*[121] Engels replied that the activities of the trade unions in England were not worth writing about and would be of no interest to German readers. He wrote:

> "At the present time and for some years in the past, the labour movement in England has been involved in a hopeless cycle of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours. And industrial action has not been taken as an expedient to promote trade union propaganda or to improve the organisation of the unions. Industrial action has been the ultimate aim of the trade unions. Indeed since they specifically ban participation in politics by their rules, as a matter of principle, they cannot promote any activity in the interests

of the workers as a social class. As far as politics are concerned, the workers are divided into Conservatives or Liberal-Radicals, supporting either a Disraeli (Beaconsfield) or a Gladstone government. There is in England a genuine working-class movement only in so far as strikes take place. But, successful or not, strikes fail to advance the labour movement by a single step. And in recent years when trade has been depressed, the capitalists have deliberately fomented strikes to have an excuse to close their factories. To inflate strikes into struggles of world wide significance – and this is the attitude of the London *Freiheit* – can, in my view, only do harm. There is no point in denying that at the moment, no genuine labour movement in the continental sense exists in England. So I do not think that you will miss much if, for the time being, you do not receive any reports on the activities of the English trade unions."[122]

The 1880s, however, saw the development of an agitation, supported by some left-wing intellectuals and radical trade unionists, in favour of steering the labour movement towards direct participation in politics – a movement encouraged by the success of the campaign which culminated in a new extension of the franchise in 1884. The prolonged depression of trade also stimulated the progress of socialism. Engels observed in 1884 that in England "the ten-year cycle seems to have been broken down now that, since 1870, American and German competition has been putting an end to English monopoly in the world market. In the main branches of industry a business depression has prevailed since 1868, with production slowly increasing, and now we seem both here and in America to be on the verge of a new crisis which in England has not been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret of the present sudden emergence of a socialist movement here, sudden – though it has been slowly preparing for three years".[123] Engels lost no time in calling upon the workers to set up a political party of their own. He did so in 1881 in a series of anonymous leading articles in *The Labour Standard*, a radical paper edited by George Shipton, the founder of the Amalgamated Society of Housepainters and Decorators and the secretary of the London Trades Council.[124]

In these articles Engels discussed the wages system and the *rôle* of trade unions in a capitalist society. He argued that workers were swindled out of some of the produce of their labour. "The capitalist pockets the whole produce (paying the labourer out of it) because he is the owner of the means of labour." Consequently the workers should seek to own "the whole produce of its own labour" by securing the nationalisation of all the means of production.[125] Engels declared that the workers should unite to demand "the abolition of the wages system altogether".[126] And this could

be done only through a workers' political party. Although the workers formed the majority of the electorate in the large towns, they had never used their votes to send "men of their own class to Parliament". "It is not in the nature of things that the working class of England should possess the power of sending 40 or 50 working men to Parliament and yet be satisfied for ever to be represented by capitalists or their clerks, such as lawyers, editors etc."[127] "For the full representation of labour in Parliament, as well as for the preparation of the abolition of the wages system, organisation will be necessary, not of separate trades, but of the working class as a body. And the sooner this is done the better."[128]

In his last article in *The Labour Standard* Engels endeavoured to answer the question: "In what degree are the different classes of society useful or even necessary?" He declared that the landed aristocracy was "economically useless in England, while in Ireland and Scotland it has become a positive nuisance by its depopulating tendencies. To send the people across the ocean or into starvation, and to replace them by sheep or deer – that is all the merit that the Irish and Scotch landlords can lay claim to". Engels argued that the capitalist middle class no longer fulfilled "its essential function as the manager and expander of social production for the benefit of society at large". By the 1880s many firms which had once been run by individual entrepreneurs had been turned into joint-stock companies "whose business is managed for them by *paid employees*, by servants whose position is, to all intents and purposes, that of superior better-paid work people". Industrial production was being concentrated "into immense establishments, which cannot any longer be managed by single capitalists". Engels considered that "in reality the capitalist owners of these immense establishments have no other function left with regard to them, but to cash the half-yearly dividend warrants". (Incidentally Engels himself – the former partner in a Manchester cotton firm – had been living on his dividend warrants since 1869.) Engels went on to explain that "another function is still left to the capitalist, whom the extent of the large undertakings in question has compelled to 'retire' from their management. And this function is to speculate with his shares on the Stock Exchange. . . . Here, indeed, the existence of the 'retired' shareholding capitalist becomes not only superfluous, but a perfect nuisance". Engels concluded by calling upon the capitalists to hand over the great industries of the country to the workers.[129]

Engels hoped that his leading articles would set the tone for the policy of *The Labour Standard* and would help to turn it into a vehicle for Marxist propaganda. But while Engels advocated

socialist doctrines in his leading articles, Shipton filled the rest of the paper with much more moderate views. Engels complained that the paper was "getting worse rather than better"[130] and he wrote to Marx that his leading articles were having "absolutely no effect upon the rest of the paper or upon the public". "The paper continues to advocate a hotch-potch of views held by all possible and impossible muddleheads. In practical politics it is more or less – indeed mainly – a supporter of Gladstone's policies." "In fact the British working man is not ready for progress, so he will have to learn the hard way when Britain loses her industrial monopoly."[131] So Engels severed his connection with *The Labour Standard*.

The movement which aimed at encouraging the workers to play a more active *rôle* in English politics – stimulaed by the Reform Acts of 1884 and 1885 – led to the establishment of several left-wing organisations. Within five years the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the Fabian Society, and the Labour Electoral Committee of the Trade Union Congress were set up. (Randolph Churchill's Tory Democracy of 1883 and Joseph Chamberlain's "unauthorised radical programme" of 1885 were other signs of increasing interest in social reform at this time.) Engels did not join the Social Democratic Federation or the Socialist League, though he kept in touch with these organisations through Belfort Bax, Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling and Friedrich Lessner.

Engels criticised the new organisations as doctrinaire sects bedevilled by "intrigues between cliques".[132] Not one had a Marxist programme. In 1881 the Democratic Federation was content to advocate adult suffrage, triennial parliaments, equal electoral districts, payment of M.P.s – demands similar to those of the Chartists – and also the abolition of corrupt practices at elections, the abolition of the legislative powers of the House of Lords, home rule for Ireland and the nationalisation of the land.

In 1882 and 1883, however, the socialist movement – as Kautsky observed – "made really remarkable progress".[133] The trade depression and rising unemployment contributed to a resurgence of militancy by the left wing of the labour movement. Intellectuals, such as William Morris and Belfort Bax, joined the Democratic Federation. Hyndman promptly jumped onto the socialist band-waggon and produced a new programme in a pamphlet entitled *Socialism made Plain.* He advocated not only the state-ownership of land but also the nationalisation of the means of production and a legal eight-hour day for industrial workers.[134] A few radical workers, such as James Macdonald and Harry Quelch – the latter

"impressed Engels very favourably" – joined the Social Democratic Federation at this time. In January 1884 Hyndman established *Justice* as a weekly "organ of Social Democracy"[135] and shortly afterwards he attempted – though with no great success – to defend his new socialist faith in a public debate with Charles Bradlaugh. By 1887 Hyndman had moved still further to the left, advocating "revolutionary political change through vehement social agitation" in preference to "mere political action".[136]

In 1885 Engels denounced Hyndman's followers as "a crew of literary fellows, political careerists and adventurers" and he hoped that they would be "finished off as soon as possible".[137] In 1890 he complained that the Democratic Federation was still behaving as if "all except themselves were asses and bunglers".[138] In 1892 he condemned Hyndman's Federation for having "ossified Marxism into a dogma". It had rendered itself "incapable of ever becoming anything else but a sect".[139] And in 1894 he wrote to Sorge: "The Social Democratic Federation here shares with your German-American socialists the distinction of being the only parties that have managed to reduce the Marxian theory to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach themselves by their own class feeling, but which they have to gulp down as an article of faith at once. . . ."[140]

Engels was equally critical of the Socialist League, which was founded in 1884 by a group of left-wing intellectuals – led by William Morris, Belfort Bax, Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling – who had seceded from the Social Democratic Federation. He complained that the League was run by "faddists and emotional socialists",[141] who were unable to resist the encroachments of the anarchists.[142] In May 1887 Engels told Sorge that "the anarchists must be expelled or we'll drop the whole mess".[143] Nevertheless he contributed a few articles to its organ *The Commonweal*.

The Fabian Society,[144] too, did not have a sufficiently positive programme to satisfy Engels. The Fabians declared that they were working for "the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites". The Fabians also proposed that the State should own "such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially". Engels denounced the Fabians as "a dilettante lot of egregiously conceited mutual admirers"[145] – well meaning middle-class reformers who believed in "the rotten vulgarised economics of Jevons, which is so vulgarised that one can make anything out of it – even socialism".[146] Indeed, from Engels's point of view, the only really sound Marxists in England

– besides himself – were his friends Schorlemmer, Samuel Moore, Lessner, Eleanor Marx and Aveling. It is not surprising that Engels felt isolated from the English socialists in the 1880s. He complained to Mrs Wischnewetzky that the socialist press had ignored the appearance of the English translation of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. He wrote: "I am boycotted here . . . the various socialist cliques here are dissatisfied at my absolute neutrality with regard to them, and being all of them agreed as to that point, try to pay me out by not mentioning any of my writings."[147]

Engels doubted whether there was any chance of converting the English workers to socialism at this time. He wrote to Kautsky in 1882 that no workers' party existed in Britain. "There are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."[148] In the following year he assured Bebel that "a really general workers' movement will come into existence here only when the workers feel that England's world monopoly is broken".[149] He admitted in 1883 that there had been a "sudden emergence of a socialist movement in England".[150] In 1885 he declared that "during the period of England's industrial monopoly, the English working class have, to a great extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. . . . With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose their privileged position; it will find itself generally – the privileged and leading minority not excepted – on a level with its fellow workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be socialism again in England".[151] And in 1888 Engels told Mrs Wischnewetzky that he had seriously offended English socialists "by saying that, so far, there is no real working-class movement here".[152] In the following year he complained to Sorge that "the most repulsive thing here is the bourgeois 'respectability' that has sunk deep into the bone of the workers".[153]

One reason why Engels failed to co-operate with any of the new left-wing organisations in the 1880s was that he distrusted their leaders. He disliked Hyndman[154] who brought together several radical and socialist clubs in London in June 1881 to form the Democratic Federation. Hyndman has been described as "a frock-coated playboy agitator with a gift for instant vituperation".[155] It has been observed that Hyndman was "quite an orthodox follower of Marx in economic theory, as he understood it, and he certainly believed in the class struggle, though he had his reservations about historical materialism. At the same time he combined this with a naively utopian idea of revolution, based on French memories

and a consistent strain of jingoist, anti-German – indeed racialist – imperialism, which owed nothing to any British left-wing tradition. Unlike most other men in the British socialist movement, he originally came from Toryism and not from the Radical-Liberal or Chartist atmosphere. On practical issues he had no consistent policy at all, and hence no consistent theory".[156] Engels regarded this flamboyant, wealthy stockbroker – an old Etonian and County cricketer – as one wholly unsuited to the *rôle* of a leader of the workers. He attacked Hyndman as "an adventurer"[157] – an ex-Conservative and very chauvinist but by no means stupid careerist"[158] who combined "international phraseology" with "jingo aspirations".[159] Engels denounced Hyndman's "underhand methods"[160] and declared that he "knows his way about in crooked politics and is capable of every folly to push himself forward".[161] Hyndman, in his view, "could only overcome his personal cowardice by deafening himself with his own shouts".[162] Hyndman and his followers were "liars and swindlers".[163] Eleanor Marx shared Engels's dislike of Hyndman. She complained to Liebknecht that – although international co-operation between organised workers was a fundamental tenet of socialism – Hyndman "whenever he could do so with impunity, has endeavoured to set English workmen against 'foreigners' ".[164]

Hyndman had met Marx in 1880 and had often visited him. He wrote that he "had the advantage of very frequent conversations with the Doctor and gained a view of himself and his genius, his vast erudition, and his masterly survey of human life . . .".[165] But Marx was not impressed by Hyndman whom he described as "self-satisfied" and "garrulous"[166] and he had good reason to be offended when Hyndman failed to acknowledge that several passages in his book *England for All* had come straight out of *Das Kapital*. Hyndman had merely stated in the preface that he was "indebted to the work of a great thinker and original writer". Marx complained that Hyndman's chapters on labour and capital were "literal extracts from *Das Kapital*". "Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order to draw me out and so learn in the easiest way."[167] Hyndman explained that "this incident caused a breach between us and we did not become friends again until shortly before his lamented death".[168]

Although Marx eventually decided to overlook Hyndman's conduct, Engels was not prepared to do so. When Hyndman suggested that they should meet, he was sharply rebuffed. Engels wrote: "I shall be very happy to make your personal acquaintance as soon as you shall have set yourself right with my friend Marx."[169] Engels described Hyndman as "the most chauvinistic John Bull

imaginable", who was "impatiently awaiting a chance to play the dictator"[170] and whose ambition far exceeded "either his talents or his achievements".[171] He attacked Hyndman for supporting the Lassalleans in Germany[172] and the Possibilists in France. He denounced the Social Democratic Federation for accepting money from the Conservatives[173] and accused Hyndman of damaging the socialist cause by stirring up trouble in the West End of London on Black Monday – February 8, 1886. The conduct of a crowd of hooligans on this occasion caused Queen Victoria to deplore the "momentary triumph of socialism" in her capital.[174] In 1893 Engels declared that Hyndman had provoked him "personally and politically wherever he could for ten years; I never did him the honour of answering him, in the conviction that he was man enough to ruin himself, and in the end I have been justified".[175] Engels's criticism of Hyndman's conduct were echoed by the former members of the Social Democratic Federation when they left that organisation to join the Socialist League.

Hyndman, for his part, did not conceal his antipathy towards Engels. While he revered Marx as "the Aristotle of the nineteenth century",[176] he called Engels the "Grand Llama of the Regent's Park Road" by reason of the secluded life that he led and the servile deference he exacted".[177] Hyndman deplored the "autocratic, drill-sergeant fashion in which Marx and Engels had conducted the Old International".[178] "I do not myself believe," wrote Hyndman, "that Engels, whom I never spoke to, nor even saw, was a bad man, though certainly I have no reason personally to take other than a most unfavourable view of his character; but he was exacting, suspicious, jealous and not disinclined to give full weight to the exchange value of his ready cash in his relations with those whom he helped."[179] Hyndman went out of his way to annoy Engels by referring to Eleanor Marx as "Miss Marx" when she wished to be known as "Mrs Marx-Aveling"[180] and by accusing Edward Aveling of financial malpractices.[181]

In 1891 in an article in *Justice* on "The Marxist Clique" Hyndman denounced Engels and his followers as a sectarian group whose petty intrigues were harmful to the socialist cause.[182] Twenty years later, in his memoirs, Hyndman recorded malicious gossip concerning his old enemy. He declared that Jenny Marx could not bear to think of her husband's financial dependence upon Engels.

> "Not that she did not recognise Engels's services to her husband, but she resented and deplored his influence over his great friend. She spoke of him to my wife more than once as Marx's 'evil genius', and wished that she could relieve her husband from any

> dependence upon this able and loyal but scarcely sympathetic coadjutor. I was myself possessed at that time of good means, and though I am quite sure that neither Marx nor Mrs Marx had the slightest idea that I either could or would take the place of Engels if need arose, I am equally certain that Engels thought I might do so, and, annoyed at the friendship and even intimacy which was growing up between Marx and myself in the winter and spring of 1880–1. made up his mind to break down what he thought might be a rival influence to his own."[183]

It may be doubted if there was a word of truth in Hyndman's allegations.

Another reason for Engels's failure to exercise much influence over the socialist movement in England in the 1880s and early 1890s was his friendship with Edward Aveling. When Marx died Engels felt obliged "to stand by his children as he would have done himself".[184] He helped Laura and Eleanor (Tussy) financially and he encouraged Eleanor in her political and trade union activities. In 1884 Eleanor Marx and Aveling began to live together. They could not marry since Aveling already had a wife. Engels accepted Eleanor's lover as one of the family. Consequently "people distrusted the Marx family and its friends". "This had fateful consequences for the young untried socialist movement in England."[185] Many socialists and trade unionists avoided Engels because they detested Aveling. Frau Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, a leader of the feminist movement in Germany, and Miss M. E. Harkness, a Salvation Army worker in the East End of London, were two ladies who refused to enter Engels's house for fear of meeting Aveling there.[186]

Few men in public life have had so unsavoury a reputation as Edward Aveling. "Startlingly and repulsively ugly",[187] he had the thieving instincts of a jackdaw and the morals of a tom cat. Frequently in debt, he bilked hotel keepers and borrowed money from friends with no intention of repaying them. In 1884 he was accused of misappropriating funds from the National Secular Society, and in 1887 he was alleged to have included Eleanor Marx's hotel bills with his own when claiming travelling expenses from the American socialists.[188] He was unscrupulous in his relations with women. He lived with Eleanor Marx for 14 years – spending much of the money which she inherited from Engels[189] – but when his wife died, he married a young actress called Eva Frye. When she discovered Aveling's infidelity Eleanor Marx took her own life by swallowing a dose of prussic acid.[190]

Hyndman described Aveling as "a man of very bad character", "untrustworthy in every relation of life";[191] Kautsky declared that

he was "an evil creature";[192] Bernstein wrote that he was "a despicable rogue",[193] while Olive Schreiner could not bear to be near Aveling who inspired her with "fear and horror".[194] Ben Tillett observed that Aveling was "wayward, unstable, with darker traits in his character which spelt misery and emotional strain for the woman associated with him".[195] G. B. Shaw wrote that Aveling was "morbidly scrupulous as to his religious and political convictions, and would have gone to the gallows sooner than recant a syllable of them. But he had absolutely no conscience about money and women: he was a shameless seducer and borrower, not to say a thief. In contrast with men who were scrupulously correct in their family and business life, he seemed a blackguard, and was a blackguard; but there were occasions on which they cut a very poor figure beside him: occasions when loyalty to their convictions called for some risk and sacrifice".[196] Shaw wrote to Ellen Terry in 1898:

> "Shut up your purse, tight, or else give me all your money to keep for you. No secrecy is necessary with regard to Edward Aveling. His exploits as a borrower have grown into a Homeric legend. He has his good points, has Edward: for instance, he does not deny his faiths, and will nail his atheism and socialism to the masthead incorruptibly enough. But he is incorrigible when women or the fulfilment of his engagements (especially prepaid ones) are in question. Better write to him as follows: 'Dear Dr Aveling: You must excuse me; but I know a great many people, among them some of your old friends of the National Secularist Society and the Socialist League, and some of your pupils. Don't ask me for any money. Yours sincerely, Ellen Terry'. He will understand. If the application takes the form of a post dated cheque, don't cash it. If you would like to try a few references, consult Mrs Besant, John Mackinnon Robertson, George Standing, or the spirits of Bradlaugh and William Morris. Or come to see me, and I'll tell you all about him. Just walk into a room where we are all assembled, and say, in a cautious tentative way, 'What sort of fellow is Dr Aveling?' and you will bring down the house with a shriek of laughter, and a shout of 'How much have you lent him?'
>
> "Did you ever see him? He is always at the Lyceum on first nights, at the back of the dress circle. His wife, Karl Marx's youngest daughter, is a clever woman. For some years past he has been behaving well, because Marx's friend Engels left Eleanor £9,000. But the other day he tried the old familiar post-dated cheque on Sidney Webb – in vain. And then, I suppose, he tried you. . . ."[197]

Retribution came in the end. Soon after this letter was written Eleanor Marx took her own life in circumstances which caused

Aveling to be "ostracised by his many friends and colleagues".[198] He died a lonely and embittered man.

Aveling enjoyed Engels's friendship because of his association with Eleanor Marx,[199] whom Engels had known since she was a child. She had inherited some of her father's intellectual gifts and had acted as his secretary for some years. She was a passionate supporter of the socialist cause. In infancy she had been so precocious that her father declared that the baby must have two brains.[200] Eleanor soon became interested in politics and at the early age of 8 she was writing letters to President Lincoln.[201] Two years later she was "a charming child with a sunny disposition"[202] who was growing into a tomboy "not afraid of fighting with boys older than herself".[203] "Marx said that his wife had made a mistake as to sex when she brought her into the world."[204]

Eleanor Marx visited Engels and Lizzie Burns in 1869 when Engels retired from business and she later recalled "the triumph with which he exclaimed: 'For the last time', as he put on his boots in the morning to go to the office . . .".[205] She considered Lizzie Burns to be "as true, as honest, and in some ways as fine-souled a woman as you could meet".[206] In the same year Eleanor accompanied Engels to Ireland and this visit stimulated her interest in the Irish question at a time when Engels and Lizzie Burns were supporters of the Fenian movement and Engels was planning to write a history of Ireland.

Ten years later Eleanor was – as Bernstein remembered her – "a charming young lady of 24 with the black hair and dark eyes of her father". "Her disposition was an extremely lively one: her voice was exceptionally melodious. She took a passionate interest in our political discussions."[207] But she was highly strung and suffered from bouts of depression. When she was 19 her father wrote that she was suffering from a "severe illness"[208] in which "hysteria played a part".[209] "This was not an isolated but rather an acute outbreak of an illness from which she has long suffered."[210] Seven years later Marx told Engels that Eleanor's doctor had diagnosed a "dangerously overwrought nervous system", which caused sleeplessness and neuralgic pains.[211] Six months later her condition had not improved.[212] And when she eventually took her own life Aveling told the coroner that Eleanor was of "a morbid disposition".[213]

Eleanor's depression was aggravated by two great disappointments – her failure to marry Lissagaray and her failure to become an actress. At the age of 19 she fell in love with Lissagaray, a French socialist refugee, who often visited the Marx household between 1873 and 1877. Franzisca Kugelmann (daughter of Dr

Kugelmann) wrote that Eleanor "considered herself engaged to Lissagaray". Franzisca described Lissagaray as "insignificant in appearance and considerably older than Tussy". "He was a count, but had given up his title and had been cast out by his whole family because of his socialist opinions."[214] Eleanor's mother appears to have recognised the engagement but her father did not.[215] Karl Marx had no great objection to counts but he did object to counts who had no money.[216] He refused to consent to the marriage and Eleanor bowed to her father's wishes. It was presumably her father's opposition to her marriage that Eleanor had in mind when she told Olive Schreiner that "for long miserable years there was a shadow between us".[217]

Having stopped Eleanor from marrying Lissagaray, Marx tried to stop her from going onto the stage. She was 27 years old when Marx wrote to Engels that his daughter was suffering from mental depression.

> "Neither travel, nor a change of climate, nor physicians can do anything in this case. All that can be done is to give way and to let her continue her drama lessons with Madame Jung. She thinks that she has ambitions to carve out for herself an independent career as an actress. And, if one accepts this, one must agree with her that, at her age, there is no more time to be lost. I am quite determined that she is not to sacrifice herself on the altar of family loyalty and devote herself to nursing an old man. In fact I am satisfied that, for the time being, Madame Jung can be her only doctor."[218]

Although in this letter Marx cast himself in the *rôle* of an indulgent father who was anxious to meet his daughter's wishes it is clear that he was strongly opposed to Eleanor's ambition to become an actress. In the end he had his way and Eleanor gave up her plans to go onto the stage.

In the following year Beatrice Potter – the future Mrs Sidney Webb – described Eleanor as "comely, dressed in a slovenly picturesque way, with curly black hair flying in all directions. Fine eyes full of life and sympathy, otherwise ugly features and expression, and complexion showing the signs of an unhealthy excited life, kept up with stimulants and tempered by narcotics. Lives alone. . . ."[219]

It may be doubted whether Eleanor was living alone at this time. Having lost Lissagaray, she consoled herself with Edward Aveling. In the summer of 1884 Engels wrote that Eleanor and Aveling had been courting "for a considerable time". Marx would never have agreed to Eleanor's liaison with a married man and Eleanor had enough sense not to bring her lover home to meet her

father. But Engels – who had lived with Lizzie Burns for many years before marrying her – took a different view of such matters. Soon after Marx's death in March 1883 Eleanor decided to live with Edward Aveling. In June she told her sister Laura that she and Aveling were "going to 'set up' together".[220] And she wrote to her friend Dollie Radford that Engels and Helene Demuth approved the action that she was about to take.[221]

Engels discussed the liaison in letters to Laura Lafargue and to Bernstein. To Laura he wrote:

> "Tussy and Edward are off on honeymoon No. 1, if not back already again – the grand honeymoon is to come off next Thursday. Of course Nim (Helene Demuth), Jollymeier (Schorlemmer) and I have been fully aware of what was going on for a considerable time and had a good laugh at these poor innocents who thought all the time we had no eyes, and who did not approach the *quart d'heure de Rabelais* without a certain funk. However we soon got them over that. In fact had Tussy asked my advice before she leaped, I might have considered it my duty to expatiate upon the various possible and unavoidable consequences of this step, but when it was all settled, the best thing was for them to have it out at once before other people could take advantage of its being kept in the dark. And that was one of the reasons why I was glad that we knew all about it – if any wise people had found it out and come up to us with the grand news, we should have been prepared. I hope they will continue as happy as they seem now. . . ."[222]

At the same time Engels wrote to Bernstein:

> "They have been married without benefit of Registry Office and are revelling in each other's company in the Derbyshire Peak district. Please note that this should not be made public. It will be soon enough to do so if the press gets hold of the news through some reactionary fellow. The reason is that Aveling has a legal wife whom he cannot get rid of *de jure* although for years he has been rid of her *de facto*. The affair is pretty well known here and, on the whole, even the literary philistines have accepted the situation with a good grace."[223]

Edward Aveling[224] was a man of many parts. He was trained as a scientist and held the degree of D.Sc. He was a Fellow of University College, London. Between 1875 and 1881 he was Professor of Comparative Anatomy at a London hospital. He might have had a distinguished academic career but as "Alec Nelson" he sought fame as a playwright and as an actor. For a time he ran a touring theatrical company and it was their mutual interest in the stage that brought Aveling and Eleanor Marx together in about 1882. But they failed to make names for themselves on the

stage. Aveling became a writer, a journalist and a popular lecturer, first as a freethinker and then as a socialist. And it was as socialist agitators that Aveling and Eleanor Marx became popular figures. Both were excellent speakers, who could hold the attention of a crowd whether in a hall or at an open air demonstration.

Engels accepted Aveling as a friend and a colleague for Eleanor's sake. He sent Aveling and Eleanor £50 to pay for their holiday in Derbyshire when they began to live together. Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue: "I like Edward very much and think that it will be a good thing for him to come more into contact with other people besides the literary and lecturing circle in which he moved; he has a good foundation of thorough studies and felt himself out of place amongst that extremely superficial lot amongst whom fate had thrown him."[225]

Engels was able to convince himself that Aveling had a future as a playwright. He wrote to Laura Lafargue:

> "Of Edward's remarkable *preliminary* successes in the dramatic line you will have heard. He has sold about half a dozen or more pieces which he had quietly manufactured; some have been played in the provinces with success, some he has brought out here himself with Tussy at small entertainments, and they have taken very much with the people that are most interested in them; viz. with such actors and impressarios as will bring them out. If he has now one marked success in London, he is a made man in this line and will soon be out of all difficulties. And I don't see why he should not; he seems to have a remarkable knack of giving to London what London requires."[226]

But Aveling never found fame as a dramatist or an actor and he was never able to escape from his financial difficulties.

Despite evidence to the contrary, Engels persisted in his belief that Aveling was an honest fellow. On one occasion he gave Aveling £10 to send to Victor Adler. When the cheque bounced, Engels wrote to Adler that a bohemian like Aveling with an artistic temperament should really not be trusted with a cheque book.[227] When the American socialists complained about Aveling's inflated claims for expenses in connection with his lecture tour of 1886, Engels quickly sprang to his defence. He wrote to Mrs Wischnewetzky:

> "I have known Aveling for four years; I know that he has twice sacrificed his social and economic position to his convictions, and might be – had he refrained from doing so – a professor in an English university, and a distinguished physiologist instead of an overworked journalist with a very uncertain income. I have had occasion to observe his capacities by working with him, and his

> character by seeing him pass through rather trying circumstances more than once, and it will take a good deal (more than mere assertions and innuendos) before I believe what some people tell about him now in New York."[228]

But to Sorge he admitted that Aveling had not been blameless in this matter. "The young man has brought all his troubles upon himself by his utter ignorance of mankind, of people, and of business. He likes to lose himself in poetic dreams. I have shaken him up and Tussy will do what is necessary. He is a very talented young fellow but he is as gushing as a teenager and always blushes when he makes a foolish mistake."[229]

Engels hoped that Aveling and Eleanor Marx would succeed where the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League had failed. He hoped that they would establish a working man's political party – with a Marxist programme – which would support independent labour candidates at parliamentary elections. A campaign in the East End of London, mounted by Aveling and Eleanor Marx in the spring of 1887 – in which demands for a workers' party were linked with demands for Irish home rule – suggested that Engels's dream might come true. The campaign culminated in a great meeting of workers in Hyde Park at which Aveling and Eleanor Marx were among the main speakers. An eye witness wrote that Eleanor was "enthusiastically applauded for a speech delivered with perfect self-possession".[230] Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue in March 1887:

> "Aveling was making a very useful and probably successful campaign amongst the East End Radicals to engage them to cut loose from the Great Liberal Party and form a working men's party after the American fashion. If he succeeds, he will get both socialist associations into his wake; for here he gets at the heart of the working class. So far his prospects are good."[231]

A little later he wrote to Bernstein:

> "Aveling and Tussy are undertaking a marvellous agitation among the radical clubs of the East End which has been stimulated by the example of the American socialists. The clubs are now seriously thinking of setting up an independent workers' party. The best of it is that these people have come to Aveling *of their own accord.* If we can establish a firm foothold in these clubs we shall be able to push both the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League into the background and we shall start to conquer London and gain a dozen parliamentary seats at once. Hyndman has recognised the danger that threatens him and that is why he has printed in *Justice* the libels of the New York executive against Aveling."[232]

If Engels hoped to become the power behind the scenes in guiding the fortunes of a new labour party, led by Aveling and Eleanor Marx, he was disappointed. No such party was founded. Engels was also in touch with J. L. Mahon, an energetic young agitator, who established the North of England Socialist Federation at this time. Mahon sent Engels a copy of the provisional statutes of this body for his observations. Engels offered Mahon financial assistance if he would work with Aveling in London to promote the establishment of a new workers' socialist party. But Mahon distrusted Aveling and he turned down Engels's proposal.[233]

Although they failed to set up a political party, Aveling and Eleanor Marx did make their mark in the British labour movement as organisers of trade unions of general labourers. The radical and socialist revival of the early 1880s was followed by an outburst of militancy on the part both of trade unionists and of newly organised unskilled workers. In October 1886 the Eight Hours League was established under the leadership of Tom Mann of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.[234] (A few years later – in 1890 – Engels reported that Aveling was chairman of a central committee to organise an annual demonstration in London on May 1 in favour of an eight hours day.)[235] In 1887 there was a strike in the Northumberland coalfield, which gave Mahon, Jack Williams, and Hunter Watts an opportunity to undertake socialist propaganda among the miners and to set up the North of England Socialist Federation.

Equally significant was the rise of unions of semi-skilled and unskilled workers such as dockers, builders, stokers and general labourers. The movement was sparked off by a strike of the girls employed by the London firm of Bryant and May, which manufactured matches. The girls engaged in this dangerous occupation – many suffered from phossy-jaw – earned only from 4/- to 13/- a week, which might be reduced by arbitrary fines and deductions. The shareholders, however, enjoyed a dividend of 23 per cent. Mrs Besant and Herbert Burrows exposed the exploitation of the match girls in an article on "White Slavery in London".[236] Public sympathy was aroused, and when the girls came out on strike in July 1888, the firm agreed to abolish deductions from wages and to provide the girls with a room in which to have their meals. The Union of Women Matchmakers was established with Mrs Besant as secretary and Burrows as treasurer.

The matchgirls' strike was followed in March 1889 by a strike of men employed at the Beckton Gas Works in London – "the largest in the world"[237] in those days. The stokers and other

labourers were engaged in heavy manual labour and they demanded an 8-hour instead of a 12-hour shift.[238] Output had been expanding in the gas industry for some years although there had been no appreciable changes in the technique of production or the way in which the work was organised. The men worked harder but received no extra reward for their efforts. The strike was organised by Will Thorne – whom Engels described as "a leader in battle of both courage and ability"[239] – and, within a fortnight, over 3,000 men had joined the new National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers. The men secured the 8-hour shift for which they had been agitating.

Eleanor Marx played a leading part in setting up the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers. In 1889 Engels observed that she had been responsible for securing the establishment of women's branches in this union, and two years later he declared that she was "the leader of the gas workers (on the sly)".[240] Eleanor also helped to organise the labourers in some of the gasworks in the provinces. In Ireland Eleanor Marx and Aveling helped to set up a union of gasworkers in 1891. Eleanor became a close friend of Will Thorne. He was deeply moved by her tragic death a few years later and "bawled like a baby" at her funeral.[241] In his memoirs he described her as a "very brave and intelligent woman"[242] who helped him to improve his reading, writing and general knowledge.[243] It was through Eleanor that he met Engels and some of the leading socialists abroad such as Lafargue, Bebel, and Liebknecht.[244] He wrote that Aveling and Eleanor Marx "were both very earnest Internationalists". "From them I learnt much about the necessity for co-operation between the workers of the different countries; through them I met most of the leading thinkers and advocates of the working classes in the different European countries."[245]

Hard on the heels of the gasworkers came the dockers. The condition of the London dockers had long been a scandal. As a young man Engels had denounced their exploitation by the dock employers. In 1845 in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* he had quoted an account of labour conditions in the London docks from an article written by a clergyman in the East End. "At the gates of each of the docks, hundreds of poor men may be seen before daybreak waiting for the opening of the gates in the hope of obtaining a day's work; and when the youngest and most able-bodied, and those best known, have been engaged, hundreds may still be seen returning to their destitute families with that 'sickness of heart' which arises from 'hope deferred'."[246] Some twenty years later Mayhew gave a vivid description of the

degrading existence of the casual labourers who earned a precarious living in the London docks – "the very focus of metropolitan wealth". He wrote that it was "a sight to sadden the most callous to see thousands of men struggling for only one day's work; the scuffle being made the fiercer by the knowledge that hundreds out of the number there assembled must be left to idle the day out in want".[247] Another twenty years passed and still conditions had not improved. In 1889 Engels wrote that the dockers were "the most miserable of all the *miserables* of the East End, the broken down ones of all trades, the lowest stratum above the *Lumpenproletariat*". He declared that they were "poor famished broken down creatures who bodily fight amongst each other every morning for admission to work".[248]

In 1889 the success of the strike of the gasworkers in London encouraged the dockers to embark upon militant industrial action to secure better conditions and higher wages. There were close links between the labourers in the gasworks and in the docks in ports like London since, in those days, it was not uncommon for men to be employed as dockers in the summer and as gasworkers in the winter. Ben Tillett had led a strike at the Tilbury docks in October 1888. Nearly a year later – in August 1889 – the dockers on the north bank of the Thames came out on strike. Engels claimed that "all this is worked and led by *our* people, by Burns and Mann, and the Hyndmanites are nowhere in it".[249] The dockers demanded higher wages and the abolition of the subcontracting system. The strike committee had its headquarters at a public house called Wade's Arms and here Eleanor Marx undertook clerical work to help the dockers. Will Thorne wrote: "John Burns' wife and Eleanor Marx-Aveling acted as correspondents for the committee: they worked long hours and walked bravely late at night, or in the early morning, to and from their distant homes."[250] And Ben Tillett recalled that Eleanor had "worked unceasingly, literally day and night, at our headquarters".[251]

The dockers held out for six weeks and eventually accepted the mediation of Cardinal Manning and the Lord Mayor of London. They dropped their demand for 8d an hour and accepted 6d an hour – the "dockers' tanner" – coupled with the abolition of the subcontracting system. They had no strike fund but were able to hold out because of support from trade unionists and from the general public. About £50,000 was raised in public subscriptions – £30,000 from trade unionists in Australia. The London dockers were supported by the Stevedores' Union and a Labour Protection League (organised by Harry Quelch) was established on the south bank of the Thames. Engels followed these events closely and

– at a critical moment in the fortunes of the dockers in the third week of the strike – he intervened (through Eleanor Marx) to offer advice to the dockers' leaders. He opposed a suggestion that a general strike of labourers should be called in London in support of the dockers. He wrote to Laura Lafargue on September 1, 1889:

". . . Now this was playing *va blanque*, staking £1,000 to win £10, it was threatening more than they could carry out: it was creating millions of hungry mouths for no reason but because they had some tens of thousands on hand which they could not feed; it was casting away wilfully all the sympathies of the shopkeepers and even of the great mass of the bourgeoisie who all hated the dock monopolists, but who would at once turn against the workmen; in fact it was such a declaration of despair and such a desperate game that I wrote to Tussy at once; if this is persisted in, the Dock Co's have only to hold out till Wednesday and they will be victorious.

"Fortunately they have thought better of it. Not only has the threat been 'provisionally' withdrawn but they have even acceded to the demands of the wharfingers (in some respects competitors of the docks), have reduced their demands for an increase of wages, *and this has again been rejected* by the Dock Companies. This I think will secure them the victory. The threat with the general strike will now have a salutary effect, and the generosity of the workmen, both in withdrawing it and in acceding to a compromise, will secure them fresh sympathy and help."[252]

When the men returned to work, Engels discussed the significance of the conflict in *Der Sozialdemokrat*.[253] He regarded the strike in a different light from most of his contemporaries. For Engels what had occurred in the East End of London was important because it showed that the middle classes in England were declining and were no longer able to fulfil the functions assigned to them by Karl Marx in his theory of the class struggle. Marx held that the *rôle* of the bourgeoisie was to abolish feudal institutions and so pave the way for the proletariat to seize power. In the past the English middle classes had generally behaved as Marx had argued that they should behave. Yet they had failed to reform the administration of the London docks which were still in 1889 an oasis of feudalism in a bourgeois society. Wharfingers, lightermen, and watermen were still organised in medieval gilds, though they had now come to be dominated by large dock companies. Enjoying a virtual monopoly, the dockowners had foolishly expanded the docks at the very time when their high charges were driving business away to more efficient provincial and continental ports. Near bankruptcy had recently forced rival companies to unite.

Engels declared that shippers and merchants, who suffered most from this state of affairs, should have insisted long ago upon a reform of the administration of the docks. When the dockers went on strike the middle classes gave them financial aid, not from humanitarian motives, but from self-interest. They realised that a defeat of the dock companies would herald a long overdue reform of the administration of the port of London. Thus Engels saw the dockers not only as underpaid workers struggling for a living wage but as men who were – perhaps without realising it – fighting on behalf of the bourgeoisie for a reform of the administration of the docks.

The London dock strike proved to be a turning point in the development of the labour movement in England. The dockers formed a union with Tom Mann as president and Ben Tillett as secretary. The establishment of unions of matchgirls, gasworkers, and dockers heralded a new phase in the history of trade unionism. Within a year of the dockers' strike a new era had dawned with the enrolment of some 200,000 unskilled workers in new unions and the establishment of a weekly socialist journal – *The People's Press* – to represent their views.[254]

The new unions of unskilled men and women were, in certain important respects, different from the old established unions of skilled workers. The older unions now favoured conciliation or arbitration rather than industrial action and preferred to spend their funds on friendly society benefits rather than on strike pay. The new unions had relatively low subscriptions and their members enjoyed few friendly society benefits. Their funds were used to support militant industrial action. And while the old unions generally held aloof from politics at this time, the new unions were closely associated with recently established socialist bodies which eventually developed into the Labour Party.

Engels commented upon the "new unionism" in 1892 in a new introduction to the English translation of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. He observed that the revival of socialism in England was due largely to "the revival of the East End of London".

> "That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the 'New Unionism', that is to say, of the organisation of the great mass of 'unskilled' workers. This organisation may, to a great extent, adopt the form of the old unions of 'skilled' workers, but it is essentially different in character. The old unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wages system

as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they can at best modify in the interest of their members. The new unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders and promoters were socialists, either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that *their minds were virgin soil*, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' unionists. And thus we see now these new unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud 'old' unions. Undoubtedly, the East Enders have committed colossal blunders; so have their predecessors, and so do the doctrinaire socialists who pooh-pooh them. A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes. And for all the faults committed in past, present and future, the revival of the East End of London remains one of the greatest and most fruitful facts of this *fin du siècle*, and glad and proud I am to have lived to see it."[255]

Engels was well aware of the difficulties experienced by the new unions in the early 1890s. They quarrelled among themselves and they quarrelled with the old unions. Will Thorne's union was originally established for gasworkers but it soon adopted the motto: "One Man, One Ticket, and Every Man with a Ticket" and it threw its doors open to all unskilled labourers. But the dockers adopted a different policy. They were led by Tom Mann and Ben Tillett who were engineers with experience of a union of skilled workers. Tom Mann and Ben Tillett were opposed to the idea of a general union. It was said that they wanted "the old unionism applied to unskilled labour"[256] by putting a "ring fence" round the docks.[257]

When the new trade unions of unskilled workers appeared on the scene, they were regarded with some suspicion by the old established unions of skilled workers and by the London Trades Council. Engels complained that during the dock strike there were three engineers at the Commercial Docks who were in charge of the steam engines which operated the cranes. If they had come out on strike they could have halted the loading and unloading of ships. But the three engineers remained at their posts and the executive committee of their union took no action in the matter. Engels also observed that the strike at the Silvertown Rubber Works in 1889, which lasted for twelve weeks, eventually failed "because of the engineers, who did not join in and even did labourers' work *against* their own rules". He criticised the engineers

for having a rule "that *only those who have gone through a regular period of apprenticeship* are admitted to their union".[258] Will Thorne wrote that Eleanor Marx "took a leading part" in the Silvertown strike. "She did good service both among the men and women, and formed a women's branch of the union at Silvertown of which she became secretary."[259]

In the early 1890s the militant mood of the unskilled workers rapidly spread from London to other parts of the country. Aveling and Eleanor Marx took a leading part in preaching the gospel of the new unionism in the provinces. They gained support from the workers not so much by preaching Marx's doctrines as by advocating an eight-hour day, the organisation of trade unions by unskilled labourers, and home rule for Ireland. One of their successes was gained in Leeds where a strike of gasworkers occurred in July 1890. The owners of the gasworks had recently been forced to grant an eight-hour shift and they now demanded an increase of 25 per cent in output from their workers. The men went on strike and were supported by the local branch of the Socialist League and by leaders of the socialist movement from London such as Will Thorne, Tom Mann, Cunninghame-Graham, Eleanor Marx and Aveling. The strikers and their supporters tried to stop blacklegs from outside Leeds from reaching the gasworks. The police intervened and some violence followed. Most of the blacklegs took fright and left Leeds. Within a few days the employers had to withdraw their demands and the victory of the strikers was complete. Engels, on returning from a holiday in Norway with Schorlemmer, was delighted to hear "the splendid news about the two fights in Leeds"[260] and he conferred upon Will Thorne the supreme accolade – an inscribed copy of *Das Kapital* dedicated to "the victor of the battle of Leeds".[261]

Engels believed that the crucial issue in working class politics at this time was the demand for a legal eight hours day. This, in his view, was more important than the new militancy of the workers in the East End of London or the establishment of trade unions by the unskilled workers. He wrote to Kautsky in September 1890 that the question of the eight-hour day had been a "critical turning point" in the history of the British labour movement. It marked a breach in the domination of the old established conservative trade unions which operated within the existing capitalist society.[262] He had been delighted when, early in 1890, Aveling had been elected chairman of a General Committee which planned the organisation of a May Day demonstration in Hyde Park in favour of a legal eight-hour day. This committee included representatives from branches of the Socialist League, the new

trade unions in the East End, and some of the radical clubs. It was decided to hold a demonstration on May 4, the first Sunday in May, rather than on May 1.

Aveling's Central Committee sought the co-operation of the London Trades Council in organising the demonstration. At first Shipton and his colleagues were unwilling to do so, but eventually – under pressure from Tom Mann[263] – they changed their minds. The Trades Council now tried to organise the demonstration in association with Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation and to push Aveling and his Central Committee into the background. The Trades Council was not above indulging in a little sharp practice to get its way. Engels explained what happened in a letter to Laura Lafargue. He wrote that "in their naïveté" Aveling and Eleanor "had called in the Trades Council without ensuring to themselves the possession of the Park first. The Trades Council, allying itself with Hyndman and Co., stole a march on them, and applied for platforms for Sunday at the Office of Works and got them, thus hoping to shut us out and being able to command; they attempted to bully us down, but Edward went to the Office of Works and got us too 7 platforms – had the Liberals been in, we should never have got them. That brought the other side down at once, and they became as amicable as you please. They have seen they have to do with different people from what they expected."[264]

Engels was present at the demonstration of May 4, 1890 and he considered that it was a great success. In an article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* he declared that with this demonstration "the English workers have taken their place in the great international labour movement. . . . The grandsons of the old Chartists are stepping into the front line".[265] He wrote to Laura Lafargue:

". . . I can assure you I looked a couple of inches taller when I got down from that old lumbering waggon that served as a platform – after having heard again, for the first time since 40 years, the unmistakable voice of the English proletariat. . . . The progress made in England these last 10–15 months is immense. Last May the 8 hours working day would not have brought as many *thousands* into Hyde Park as we had *hundreds of thousands*. And the best of it is that the struggle preceding the demonstration has brought to life a representative body which will serve as the nucleus for the movement, *en dehors de toute secte*; the Ceneral Committee consisting of delegates of the Gas Workers and numerous other Unions – mostly small *unskilled* Unions and therefore despised by the haughty Trades Council of the aristocracy of labour – and of the Radical clubs worked for the last two years by Tussy. Edward is chairman of this Committee. This Committee will continue to act and invite

all other trade, political and socialist societies to send delegates, and gradually expand into a central body, not only for the 8 hours Bill but for all other revendications. . . ."[266]

It is clear from this letter that Engels hoped that Aveling's Central Committee would grow into a political party. Aveling thought so too. On May 9, 1890 the Central Committee met to review the position after the demonstration. Aveling urged his colleagues to keep the committee in being until a permanent organisation had been established to agitate for a legal eight-hour day.[267] Shortly afterwards he told the Bloomsbury Socialist Society that the Central Committee was destined to develop into a political party of the workers. On July 13, 1890 a number of representatives of trade unions, socialist societies, and radical clubs were brought together by Aveling's Central Committee and they established a new organisation called the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League.

The League did not, however, develop into a political party. It was very slow to get off the ground. Its provisional executive committee did not meet until February 1891 and shortly afterwards the *Workman's Times* reported that the League was not in a healthy state.[268] In May 1891 Engels was only able to report that the League was still "in process of formation".[269] Then the League showed some signs of life by co-operating in the arrangements to hold a May Day demonstration in 1891. Once more it was not possible to hold a single demonstration. Shipton and Aveling collaborated to set up a committee to organise the event so that on this occasion there was no rivalry between the London Trades Council and Aveling's Central Committee. But the Social Democratic Federation held aloof and organised a meeting of its own in Hyde Park. Engels attended the demonstration with his old friend Sam Moore. He wrote to Laura Lafargue that "the platforms extended in an immense arc across the Park, the procession began to march in at 2.30 and had not done by 4.15; indeed fresh processions came in up to 5 o'clock. . . . The crowd was immense, about the same or more even than last year. . . . It has been almost exclusively Edward's and Tussy's work, and they had to fight it through from beginning to end. . . . The Canning Town Branch of the (Social Democrat) Federation sticks to Edward and Tussy in spite of Hyndman and marches with our people, and that is their strongest branch. . . ."[270]

Aveling and Eleanor Marx had their successes in organising May Day demonstrations and in stimulating the formation of unions of unskilled workers. But they were not able to turn the Eight Hours League into a political party. In the early 1890s the labour

movement in England developed in a way that gave Aveling and Eleanor Marx little opportunity to aspire to a position to leadership among the workers. In London a new political organisation – the Progressive Party – was founded in 1889 and it put candidates up for election to the newly established London County Council and to the new London boroughs. Liberals, radicals, and Fabians rallied to the new party. The energies of reformers in the capital were concentrated on promoting the success of the new party. The Eight Hours League only survived as a propaganda organ and as a committee to organise May Day demonstrations.

At the same time the Social Democratic Federation enjoyed a new lease of life under the leadership of men like Herbert Burrows, Harry Quelch, James Macdonald, and George Lansbury. Its organ, *Justice*, edited by Quelch from 1892 to 1913, enjoyed a large circulation. And while the Social Democratic Federation and the Progressive Party were gaining strength in London the Independent Labour Party – established in 1893 – attracted the support of many workers in the provinces. In the 1880s the socialists had made little progress outside London. But in the early 1890s the workers in the manufacturing districts of the north began to show a new militancy towards their employers and began to take a new interest in labour politics. Joseph Burgess' *Yorkshire Factory Times* and Robert Blatchford's *The Clarion* encouraged the new movement in the north. The establishment of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford marked the climax of this movement. Its programme included demands for an eight-hour day, a legal minimum wage, insurance against unemployment, and the nationalisation of the land and basic industries. In 1893 Engels wrote to Sorge that the Independent Labour Party was "the most genuine expression of the present movement".[271] He thought that "Aveling was right in joining and in accepting a seat on the executive" and that the new party might "succeed in detaching the masses from the Social Democratic Federation and in the provinces from the Fabians, too, and thus force unity".[272]

Shortly before his death, Engels made some final comments upon the labour movement in England. In January 1895 he declared that

> "the socialist instinct is becoming ever stronger among the *masses*, but whenever the instinctive drives here have to be converted into clear demands and ideas, the people fall asunder. Some join the Social Democratic Federation, others the Independent Labour Party, still others stay in the trades union organisation etc., etc. In short a lot of sects and no party. Almost all the leaders are unreliable, the candidates for the top leadership are very numerous but far from

outstandingly fitted for the job and the two big bourgeois parties stand ready, money bag in hand to buy up whomever they can."[273]

And in March 1895 Engels wrote to Adler:

"The masses are making headway instinctively and the forward march will go on. But when it comes to giving practical expression to these instincts and tendencies one come up against the stupidity and folly of the leaders of the (socialist) sects. I feel like knocking their silly heads together. But that is the way that things are done in the Anglo-Saxon countries."[274]

The death of Engels in 1895, followed soon afterwards by the deaths of Eleanor Marx and Aveling, meant that the "Marx family party" had disappeared. Engels had been able to exercise some influence over the British labour movement through Eleanor Marx and Aveling but he never achieved his ambition to be the power behind the scenes in a political party with a Marxist programme.

Russia: Georgi Plekhanov[275]

When Marx and Engels formulated their doctrine of the class struggle they argued that just as the middle classes had once wrested power from the feudal aristocracy, so one day the industrial proletariat would triumph over the bourgeois capitalists. As modern manufacturers developed so a factory proletariat was created which grew with the expansion of the industrial sector of the economy. Eventually the workers would be strong enough to overthrow their bourgeois oppressors and establish a classless communist society which would nationalise the means of production.

Marx and Engels believed that this revolution – the culmination of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – would occur first in western Europe in industrialised countries such as Britain, Belgium, and Germany. There would be no similar revolution in underdeveloped agrarian countries such as Russia, Spain, Italy and the Balkans until their manufactures had developed. Marx made this clear in a letter to Vera Zasulich. He wrote that "the 'historical inevitability' of this movement is *expressly* limited to the *countries of western Europe*".[276]

Marx and Engels considered that Russia had begun to develop modern industries – though only on a very modest scale – after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. Marx wrote in 1877 that "if Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861 she will . . . undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist régime".[277] Fifteen years later Engels warned Danielson that "capitalist production works its own ruin, and you may be sure it

will do so in Russia too".[278] Marx and Engels rejected Bakunin's assertion that the downtrodden peasants in Russia, Italy, Spain and the Balkans were potential revolutionaries. They also rejected the notion, supported by Alexander Herzen and by the Narodniks that the joint ownership of land and the communal methods of agriculture in many Russian villages could be used as the foundations upon which to build a communist society in the future. Shortly before his death Engels declared that it was "impossible to discuss things with the generation of Russians . . . which continues to believe in the spontaneously communist mission that distinguishes Russia – true Holy Russia – from the other, the profane peoples".[279]

Marx and Engels later learned Russian and studied the Russian economy after the emancipation of the serfs in the writings of Nicolai Chernyshevsky and Flerowski. They modified their views on the prospects of an early revolution in Russia. At one time they had expected that a rising of the Poles would spark off a revolution in Russia, but they now came to think that the Russian peasants and industrial workers might overthrow the autocratic régime of the czars. Marx and Engels also accepted the possibility that the village community might one day develop into a specifically Russian form of agrarian socialism. They came to believe that a revolution might break out in Russia at any time. This would obviously be different from a clash between the bourgeois capitalists and the industrial proletariat in the West but it might very well be a significant event in world history if – in addition to bringing down the reactionary régime of the czar – it also triggered off risings among the workers in the West. For some time Marx and Engels had been confident that a revolt in Paris would herald the collapse of reactionary governments all over Europe. But after the repression of the Commune in 1871 they no longer thought that the Paris workers would be in the forefront of the next revolution in Europe. A rising of the peasants and the industrial workers in Russia now seemed to them to be a more likely occurrence than a rising in the French capital. Such a revolution might be expected to topple the czar off his throne, to free the Poles, and to act as a call to arms to the workers in the West. In 1873 Engels declared that "no doubt Russia stands on the eve of a revolution"[280] and for over twenty years he waited for the revolution that did not break out until ten years after his death. In 1882 – in their introduction to the second edition of the Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto – Marx and Engels stated that Russia was now in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. "Should the Russian revolution prove to be the signal for a great revolt of the

workers in the West – so that the two revolutions complement each other – then the present Russian institution of communal landed property might serve as the starting point of a process which would culminate in the establishment of communism."[281] In 1883 Engels asserted that "Russia is the France of the present century". "To her belongs rightfully and lawfully the revolutionary initiative of a *new* social reorganisation."[282] Ten years later Engels told Voden that "it is important that the achievement of power by Social-Democracy in the West should coincide with the political and agrarian revolution in Russia".[283]

Engels was in contact with three groups of Russian revolutionaries – the exiles of the 1840s, the Narodniks, and the Marxists. First, in the 1840s, he met some members of the Russian intelligentsia – some of noble birth – who had left the repressive régime of the czar to travel or to settle in western Europe. One was P. V. Annenkov to whom Marx sent a letter containing one of his earliest criticisms of Proudhon's doctrines.[284] Another was Michael Bakunin who later became one of Engels's most determined enemies. Between 1850 and 1870, when he lived in Manchester, Engels lost touch with Russian revolutionaries but he continued to be interested in Russian affairs and he wrote several articles on the Crimean War.[285]

The second group of Russian revolutionaries whom Engels knew personally or by correspondence were intellectuals who supported the Narodnik (populist) movement.[286] The policy of the Narodniks was "to go in among the people" to spread revolutionary ideas among the Russian peasants. In 1875, shortly after the movement had been broken up by the authorities, an official report estimated that 770 persons had been members of Narodnik groups and that 265 of them were now in prison.[287] Some of the survivors of the original Narodnik movement formed a new organisation which gave up the former propaganda among the peasants and embarked upon an agitation in favour of an immediate revolt under the slogan *Zemlia i Volya* (Land and Liberty). In 1879 this movement split into an orthodox Narodnik group called *Chernyi Peredel* (the General Redivision) and a terrorist faction called *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will).

Some exiled Narodniks had joined the Russian section of the First International in Geneva in 1870.[288] When he moved to London in that year Engels joined the General Council of the First International where he met two of the Narodniks – Herman Lopatin and Peter Lavrov – both of whom he came to hold in high esteem as dedicated revolutionaries. The Narodniks were steeped in the writings of Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky. Marx had a high

opinion of Chernyshevsky's writings on economics. Lopatin wrote: "Marx told me several times that Chernyshevsky was the only contemporary economist who had really original ideas, while all the others were in fact only compilers; that his works were full of originality, force and depth and were the only modern works on that science which really deserved to be read and studied."[289]

Lopatin came to England in 1870 – at the age of 25 – to discuss with Marx his plan to translate the first volume of *Das Kapital* into Russian. He actually translated four chapters, the remainder of the work being undertaken by Danielson. In July 1870 Marx wrote to Engels that he had met a young Russian revolutionary called Lopatin who had recently escaped from a fortress in the Caucasus. Marx described him as "a very wide-awake fellow with a critical mind and a lively disposition who has all the stoicism of the Russian peasant".[290] In the following month Marx wrote that Lopatin was "the only 'sensible' Russian he had ever met", but that he was full of "national prejudices".[291] In September 1870 Lopatin was elected a member of the General Council of the First International[292] and he attended nine meetings between September 27 and November 22. Lopatin returned to Russia and went to Irkutsk in Siberia in the hope of organising the escape of Chernyshevsky. His attempt failed and he himself was arrested.[293] He escaped in July 1873 and succeeded in returning to England.[294] When Engels told Marx of Lopatin's arrival in London, Marx replied that Lopatin still looked upon the situation in Russia "as something unique, which is of no concern to the West".[295] A few years later, however, Marx told Engels that Lopatin had shed his jingoism.[296]

It is curious that although Lopatin knew Marx well he should have stated in a letter to a friend that he did not meet Engels until shortly after Marx's death in 1883. This is not quite correct since Lopatin had sat on the General Council of the First International on six occasions when Engels was present.[297] In his account of his meeting with Engels in 1883 he explained that their views "coincided completely". Engels told him that he did not "believe in the instant implementation of communism or anything like it" in Russia. He advised the revolutionary party in Russia "not to propagate a new socialist ideal" but to stir up "profound disturbances" and so force the czar to call an elected assembly.[298] When Lopatin returned once more to Russia he was imprisoned several times and eventually spent nine years in the fortress of Schüsselburg. He was not released until 1906. Engels praised Lopatin for rendering "great services" to the cause of revolution in Russia.[299]

Peter Lavrov[300] was one of Russia's leading sociologists and the principal philosopher of the Narodnik movement. Born in 1823 – he was three years younger than Engels – he held the rank of colonel in the army and taught mathematics for many years in the Russian college of Artillery. In the late 1850s he became more and more active in revolutionary politics and was arrested for his pains. Exiled to the Vologda region in northern Russia he made good his escape and turned up in Paris in time to see the Commune established. He actively supported the revolutionary movement in the XVII^e arrondissement. An article which he wrote on the day that the revolutionary government took office was a remarkably well-balanced appraisal of the situation[301] and the history of the events in Paris in 1871 which he wrote a few years later has been described as "one of the most informed and perceptive studies by Commune veterans".[302] In April 1871 he went to Brussels and to London on behalf of the Commune. In July he attended three meetings of the General Council of the First International by invitation.[303] In the same month Lavrov and other Russian refugees visited Marx.[304] Marx and Engels soon formed a friendship with Lavrov which lasted throughout their lives.

In 1873 Lavrov moved to Geneva, where he founded the radical journal *Vperyod* (*Forward*). He was back in London in 1874 and in January in the following year he joined Marx and Engels to attend a meeting to commemorate the Polish rising of 1863.[305] Soon after his review came to an end in 1876 Lavrov settled in Paris where he found it difficult to make ends meet. In March 1877 Marx wrote to Engels that "things are going damned badly for Lavrov"[306] and in 1885 Laura Lafargue wrote that "poor Lavrov finds it harder and harder to find remunerative work".[307] In Paris Lavrov made contact with French socialists through Marx's son-in-law Paul Lafargue. He continued to correspond regularly with Marx and Engels who sent him their books and articles and received his writings in return. In 1875 Marx sent Lavrov a copy of *Das Kapital* and the first six parts of the French edition,[308] while Lavrov sent Engels a copy of one of his articles in *Vperyod*.[309] In 1877 Lavrov praised Engels's articles in *Vorwärts* attacking Dr Dühring.[310] In 1881 Marx and Lavrov met in Paris[311] and in the following year Lavrov asked Marx and Engels to write a preface for the Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto.[312] When Marx died Lavrov wrote a tribute which Longuet read at the graveside.[313] Engels sent Lavrov the Russian books in Marx's library[314] and he kept Lavrov informed of his progress in editing the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*.[315] It may be added that another supporter of the Narodnik movement who

received regular reports from Engels on his work on *Das Kapital* was the economist N. F. Danielson – "his Russian correspondent for whom he had great respect".[316]

In one of the most important letters that Engels wrote to Lavrov, he discussed Darwin's theory of evolution. Lavrov had sent Engels a copy of an article which he had written on "Socialism and the Struggle for Existence". He had asked Engels to give his opinion on his criticism of Darwin's views. Darwin's theory of natural selection – determined by the struggle for existence – posed certain difficulties for socialists. It was not easy to apply Darwin's doctrine to human relationships since a continuous struggle for survival could hardly take place within a socialist society in which brotherly co-operation had taken the place of the sordid rivalries which characterised capitalist societies. Engels told Lavrov that he accepted Darwin's theory of evolution but that, in his view, Darwin's proof of his theory – "struggle for life, natural selection" – was only "a first, provisional, imperfect, expression of a newly discovered fact".

> "Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only *struggle* for existence . . . emphasised precisely *co-operation* in organic nature. The fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and that, conversely, the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure was particularly stressed by Liebig. Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrow-minded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature – inanimate as well as animate – includes both harmony and collision, struggle and co-operation."

Engels argued that Darwin's theory of the struggle for existence was "simply a transference from society to living nature of Hobbes's doctrine of 'a war of all against all', and of the bourgeois economic doctrine of competition together with Malthus's theory of population. When this conjurer's trick has been performed . . . the same theories are transferred back again from organic nature into history and it is now claimed that their validity as eternal laws of human society has been proved."

Engels held that "the essential difference between human and animal society consists in the fact that animals at most *collect*, while men *produce*. This sole but cardinal difference alone makes it impossible to transfer laws of animal societies to human societies." It was in his view ridiculous to regard Marx's doctrine of class struggles in history as similar to Darwin's theory of the struggle for existence in nature. Finally Engels criticised Lavrov for suggesting that the "war of all against all" characterised the first phase

of human development. Engels, on the contrary, believed that "the social instinct was one of the most essential levers of the evolution of man from the ape".[317] Some years later Engels expanded these views in his pamphlet on *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.*

Other Russian revolutionaries known to Engels were members of the terrorist organisation *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) which failed to blow up a train in which Alexander II was travelling in December 1879 but succeeded in assassinating him in March 1881. The police broke up the group and some of its members fled to England. One of them – a representative of the executive committee of *Narodnaya Volya* – was Leo Hartmann,[318] who arrived in London in 1880 at the age of 30. He was welcomed by Marx[319] and by Engels, who sympathised with the "heroic nihilists".[320] Hartmann found it difficult to make a living in England and Engels complained that it was not easy to discover how Hartmann was situated owing to "his everlasting ups and downs".[321] Hartmann was a chemist with some knowledge of electricity. Engels, after consulting his friend Schorlemmer, was apparently satisfied that Hartmann was an able chemist. But he was less confident about Hartmann's abilities as a businessman. In September 1882 Engels wrote to Marx that Hartmann had patented a new type of electric battery and had sold his invention for £3,000 "to a shabby fellow under an equally shabby contract". "It is very doubtful if and when he will see his money."[322] On December 15 Engels declared that Hartmann's battery was "probably a failure for lighting", though it might perhaps work satisfactorily "to operate an electric telegraph".[323] A few days later, much to Engels's relief, Hartmann left England for the United States. Engels wrote that it was "all for the best". "I am glad that he has gone."[324]

The attitude of Marx and Engels towards the Narodnik movement – both the earlier phase of propaganda among the peasants and the later phase of terrorism – changed as time went on. Certain Narodniks, such as Lavrov, studied the works of Marx and Engels and accepted at any rate some of their theories. But they argued that Marx's doctrines were applicable only to Western Europe and not to Russia. Marx himself had clearly stated that after the collapse of feudal institutions, economic and political power must pass first into the hands of the middle classes, before the industrial proletariat, in its turn, could overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist society. The Narodniks held that Marx's theories were not relevant to Russia in the 1870s because Russia's political, social, and economic situation was quite different from that about which Marx had written in *Das Kapital.* The serfs had only recently

been emancipated and Russia was still virtually a feudal society with an autocratic ruler supported by a faithful aristocracy. The middle classes were far too small to be the spearhead of a revolution.

The earliest Narodniks favoured a revolution – but it was to be a very different sort of revolution from that forecast by Marx. It would be a peasant rising – like the Peasants' War in Germany in the sixteenth century – and it would involve the transfer of land from the nobles and from the village community to the peasants. If this was socialism it was a very different sort of socialism from anything advocated by Marx and Engels. The Narodnik revolution would have led to the establishment of a new society and a new economy based upon two peculiarly Russian institutions – the *mir* and the *artel*. The *mir* was the village community which (in some parts of Russia) held land in joint-ownership and controlled the work of the peasants on their smallholdings on a communal basis. The *artels* were primitive co-operative labour organisations. Builders, fishermen and porters, for example, were men whose work was frequently organised through voluntary co-operative *artels*.

Engels rejected these arguments. In 1875 in articles on "Soziales aus Russland" in *Der Volksstaat*[325] he criticised Peter Tkachev for suggesting that "a social revolution could be started now with the greatest facility and with much less difficulty than in Western Europe". Tkachev had observed that since Russia was still a predominantly agrarian country with few modern industries, there was no capitalist organisation – no powerful bourgeoisie – to overthrow. "Our workers", declared Tkachev, "will have to fight only against the holders of *political power* – the *power of capital* is still in its early origins". Tkachev regarded the Russian peasants as "instinctive revolutionaries", who had formerly protested incessantly against serfdom and were now ready to rise at any moment to overthrow the government. Engels regarded this as wishful thinking. He asserted that the Russian peasants, far from being "instinctive revolutionaries", had never risen against the czar, "unless a false czar put himself at the helm and claimed the throne". Engels agreed that Russia stood "on the eve of revolution". But it would not be a peasant rising. The Russian revolution would be "started by the upper classes in the capital, perhaps by the government itself". Engels expected that the revolution would be "driven further by the peasants beyond the first constitutional phase". He thought that a revolution in Russia would be "of the utmost importance for all Europe, simply because it will destroy with one blow the last, until now intact, reserve of all-European reaction".[326] Nine years later Engels wrote in a postscript to this article that when the Russian

revolution occurred "it would also give a new impetus to the working-class movement in the West". "It will give the workers' movement new and better opportunities for its struggle and it will therefore hasten the victory of the modern industrial proletariat. But in Russia itself the revolution cannot be expected – either through its village communities or through its capitalist institutions – to lead to the establishment of a socialist society."[327]

The third group of Russian revolutionaries with whom Engels came into contact was composed of Narodniks who eventually accepted Marx's doctrines. In 1884 Engels wrote that there had long existed in Russia revolutionaries who had shown a "sympathetic understanding of Marx's doctrines".[328] A year later he declared that he was "proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx and has decisively broken with all the anarchists and more or less Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. And Marx would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia".[329]

One of these revolutionaries was Sergius Stepniak, a former army officer who had been an active leader of the workers' movement in St Petersburg in the 1870s and a dedicated terrorist. In August 1878, in broad daylight, he stabbed to death General Megentsev, the head of the Russian secret police, and thereupon left Russia for Italy. He lived in London from 1882 until his death in 1894, making his living by his pen. His books included a work on *The Russian Peasantry* and a novel entitled *Career of a Nihilist* in which the character of the hero (Andrey Kojukhov) was based upon the Russian revolutionary Andrey Jelyabov. Stepniak put in a regular appearance at May Day demonstrations.[330] He was a dedicated opponent of Russian absolutism. "No wonder," declared Kautsky, "that Engels regarded it as a privilege to be in touch with such a fighter."[331] Stepniak's wife later recalled that "one Sunday my husband and I went to Engels's with Marx's daughter Eleanor. The charming old man made a most favourable impression on me. He and my husband used to see each other and meet to talk about various political subjects".[332]

The most important group of Russian revolutionary émigrés in the 1880s were those who settled in Switzerland where they came into contact with exiled members of the German Social Democrat Party such as Bernstein. In November 1883 Bernstein wrote to Engels that "Axelrod, Plekhanov, Zasulich etc. have undertaken the task of spreading Marx's socialism among their countrymen".[333] Far from giving these new allies a warm welcome Marx accused

them of deserting their posts at home. He denounced them as a "so-called party of propaganda, as opposed to the terrorists who risk their lives".[334] Eventually, however, these exiled revolutionaries played a significant *rôle* in spreading socialist ideas in Russia. In 1883 Vera Zasulich, Paul Axelrod, and Georgi Plekhanov established a party in Geneva called the Emancipation of Labour Group, which adopted a Marxist programme two years later.

Vera Zasulich – whom Peter Struve regarded as "the cleverest and subtlest woman" he had ever met[335] – had been involved in revolutionary activities since the age of sixteen. A member of the *Zemlia i Volya* movement, she was sent to prison for two years at the age of eighteen. A period of exile followed. She returned to western Russia in 1875 and resumed her career as a revolutionary agitator. In 1878 Vera Zasulich fired a shot at General Trepov, the Governor of St Petersburg, because he had ordered the flogging of a student named Bogolyubov who was in prison for taking part in a demonstration outside the Kazan Cathedral in 1876. Fortunately for her Trepov recovered. She gave herself up and was brought to trial. A sympathetic jury found her not guilty. Mackenzie Wallace, who was in the court, states that the surprising verdict was brought in partly because the jury wanted "to make a little political demonstration" and partly because the jury strongly suspected that, in flogging Bogolyubov, the prison authorities "had acted in summary fashion without observing the tedious formalities prescribed by law".[336] It may be added that after Vera Zasulich's acquittal, Trepov faced charges of peculation and was dismissed from his post. Vera Zasulich fled to Switzerland since the police intended to arrest her again.

Vera Zasulich studied the works of Marx and Engels and translated some of them in Russian. Engels congratulated her on her excellent translation of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.*[337] In February 1881 Vera Zasulich wrote to Marx to enquire if an underdeveloped country like Russia would have to pass through all the stages of industrialisation before its proletariat could hope to seize power. She declared that if the village commune in Russia was "fated to perish, the socialist has no alternative but to devote himself to more or less ill-founded calculations, in order to find out in how many decades the land of the Russian peasant will pass from his hands into those of the bourgeoisie, and in how many centuries capitalism will perhaps attain a development similar to that in western Europe".[338] It has been observed that "Marx's effort to reply to this question was perhaps the last vital flicker of his mind; and his several drafts of an attempt to deal with it, show the difficulty the problem gave him".[339] In the end Marx wrote

quite a brief reply in which he stated that his examination of the stages of economic production in the first volume of *Das Kapital* dealt with the countries of western Europe. He explained that his analysis had not included any discussions of "the vitality of the rural community" in Russia. His subsequent researches, however, had convinced him that the village commune could be "the mainspring of Russia's social regeneration".[340]

After Marx's death Vera Zasulich asked Engels to advise her concerning works on socialist theory which she might translate into Russian. In March 1884 he replied that an abridgement of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, based perhaps upon Deville's French summary, might be "useful in a country where the book itself can be obtained only with difficulty". He went on to discuss the situation in Russia. He thought that Alexander III's reactionary régime was on the verge of collapse since the landowners and the peasants were ruined and the government was in very serious financial difficulties. Engels considered that "each month must increase the impossibility of the situation. If a constitutionally minded and hardy Grand Duke turned up, Russian 'society' itself ought to see in a palace revolution the best way out of this impasse".[341]

A year later, in another letter to Vera Zasulich, Engels gave the Russian revolutionaries some advice which was inconsistent with views that he had previously expressed. He had often declared that the days of secret societies and underground conspiracies were over and that it was no longer possible for a small dedicated group of terrorists to start a revolution with any hope of success. Now he asserted that the situation in Russia was an exceptional one and that it would be possible for the reactionary Russian autocracy to be overthrown if a handful of conspirators took action to start a revolution.

> "To me the important thing is that the impulse in Russia should be given, that the revolution should break out. Whether this faction or that faction gives the signal, whether it happens under this flag or that matters little to me. If it were a palace conspiracy it would be swept away tomorrow. There – where the situation is so strained, where the revolutionary elements have accumulation to such a degree, where the economic conditions of the enormous mass of the people become daily more impossible, where every stage of social development is represented (from the primitive commune to modern large-scale industry and high finance) – and where all these contradictions are violently held in check by an unexampled despotism (a despotism which is becoming more and more unbearable to a youth in whom the dignity and intelligence of the nation are united) – there, when 1789 has once been launched, 1793 will not be long in following."[342]

In 1893 Vera Zasulich met Engels at the congress of the Second International which was held in Zürich.[343] In August 1894 Engels learned from Bebel that Vera Zasulich was being expelled from Switzerland.[344] She went to London where, according to Aveling, she was "a constant visitor at Engels's house".[345] In February 1895 Engels wrote to Plekhanov that he was concerned about Vera Zasulich's health. She had severe bronchitis. He arranged for his friend Dr Freyberger to examine her and he offered to send Plekhanov £5 to pass on to Vera Zasulich who was to be told that the money came from Plekhanov.[346] A few months later Vera Zasulich frequently visited Engels during his last illness.[347]

The leader of the Russian exiles in Switzerland in the 1880s and 1890s was Georgi Plekhanov. When Engels declared that Plekhanov was "not inferior to Lafargue or even Lassalle",[348] he did less than justice to Plekhanov's outstanding abilities as an interpreter of Marx's doctrines and as an original thinker. Aveling was nearer the truth when he described Plekhanov as "one of the most able thinkers"[349] of the socialist movement of his day.

Plekhanov was born in 1856 and entered a military school at St Petersburg at the age of seventeen. After studying there for only one term he moved to the Mining Institute. He was drawn into the revolutionary movement through his friendship with Paul Axelrod and Leo Deutsch whom he sheltered when they were hiding from the police. By 1876 Plekhanov was supporting the revolutionary cause and he was expelled from the Mining Institute for failing to attend classes regularly. He joined the *Zemlia i Volya* movement and in December 1876 he helped to organise a demonstration of students and workers in front of the Kazan Cathedral in St Petersburg. He made an inflammatory speech and the police dispersed the demonstrators. Plekhanov was now being sought by the police and, on instructions from the organisers of the *Zemlia i Volya* movement, he left Russia for Switzerland.

In Switzerland Plekhanov led a tiny group of Russian exiles – Axelrod, Deutsch, Vera Zasulich – who founded the Emancipation of Labour party in 1883. In the following year Plekhanov called upon his countrymen to organise a workers' party as soon as possible as "the only means of resolving all the economic and political contradictions of present-day Russia".[350] Plekhanov and his faithful band of associates made an intensive study of the writings of Marx and Engels and they also learned something of the achievements of the outlawed German Social Democrat Party through discussions with Bernstein and other German exiled socialists who were producing *Der Sozialdemokrat* in Zürich. When he visited Zürich early in 1884 Plekhanov made a very favourable

impression upon Kautsky who wrote to Engels: "Simple, without ostentation, he is very active and he is so well read that I sometimes feel ashamed of myself." And a few years later Kautsky wrote that Plekhanov was "the most important of the younger Marxists".[351]

Plekhanov, like Vera Zasulich, translated several works of Marx and Engels into Russian. In 1882 Peter Lavrov told Marx and Engels that a new Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto had been made and that Plekhanov, the translator, was one of their "most zealous disciples".[352] Plekhanov later declared that "the reading of the Communist Manifesto constituted an epoch in my life".[353]

Plekhanov was far more than a translator and an interpreter of Marx and Engels. He made his own contributions to socialist thought. He has been described as "the author of a number of original ideas which creatively substantiated and developed certain highly important philosophical tenets of Marxism". Between 1883 when his *Socialism and the Political Struggle* appeared and 1898 when his *The Rôle of the Individual in History* was published, Plekhanov wrote numerous books, pamphlets and reviews which were "a brilliant defence, substantiation and development of Marxist theory".[354]

In the 1880s Plekhanov argued that the supporters of the revolutionary movement in Russia had been pursuing a mistaken policy. They had been convinced that the situation in Russia was entirely different from that in western Europe. They considered that Russia still had a predominantly agrarian economy and that most of her manufactured products were made by craftsmen in domestic workshops. The industrial revolution in Russia was only in its earliest phase. The Narodniks believed that once the despotism of the czar and the power of the nobles had been swept away by a successful revolution, a specifically Russian type of socialism would be established, based upon the village community and the *artel*. The Narodniks were opposed to the further development of capitalism which would, in their view, lead to the disintegration of the village community and the *artel*. Again, the Narodniks were opposed to the demand for democratic political liberties – an elected popular assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and so forth – because such reforms would benefit only the middle classes and would not be of any advantage to the workers.

Plekhanov rejected these arguments. His study of the writings of Marx and Engels had convinced him that the progress of capitalism in Russia was inevitable. The Russian economy was bound to develop in the same way as the economies of the coun-

tries of western Europe. In Russia, as in the west, the production of manufactured goods by domestic craftsmen would give way to the production of goods in factories by machines driven by steam engines. Similarly the primitive organisation of agriculture would be replaced by scientific modern methods of farming. Plekhanov argued that Marx's analysis of an advanced industrial economy in *Das Kapital* would one day be applicable to Russia. Capitalism, in his view, was an evil. But it was a necessary evil because the advent of capitalism would see the downfall of the landed aristocracy and would bring about the growth of an industrial proletariat which would, in due course, triumph over the middle classes. Plekhanov believed that the village community in Russia was doomed to extinction and that the *artels* had never played a significant *rôle* in the country's economy.

Plekhanov was expelled from Switzerland in 1889 and moved across the frontier to the Savoy district in France where he lived until 1894. He attended the first meeting of the Second International in the Salle Petrelle in Paris where he declared that "the revolutionary movement in Russia will triumph only as a revolutionary movement of the workers, or it will not triumph at all".[355] Afterwards he went to London with Axelrod and was introduced to Engels by Stepniak. Plekhanov later described his meetings with Engels as the happiest days of his life. A few years elapsed before Plekhanov ventured to write to his "greatly respected teacher" and then they corresponded until Engels's death.[356] Peter Struve has observed that by this time – the early 1890s – "the Russian social-democratic doctrine, in its main lines, had been firmly laid down in the writings of the émigré Social Democrats, namely Axelrod, Georgi Plekhanov, and Vera Zasulich. We greedily swallowed their writings, and they exercised a great influence on us". He added that the influence of Plekhanov's writings was particularly significant.[357]

In 1892 – at the time of a great famine in Russia – an attempt was made to heal the breach between the Narodniks and the Emancipation of Labour group. The initiative seems to have come from August Bebel, the leader of the German Social Democrat Party. He offered to come to London with Rusanov (representing the Narodniks) and Plekhanov (representing the Emancipation of Labour group) for a meeting and it was proposed that Engels should act as mediator. But neither Bebel nor Plekhanov arrived so that Rusanov alone discussed the problem with Engels.[358]

Plekhanov and Engels met in 1893 when Plekhanov attended the congress of the Second International at Zürich and again in the following year when he lived for a time in London after being expelled from France. On his return to Geneva he wrote to Kautsky:

"I will not find anywhere a library like the British Museum, nor anywhere will I meet a man like Friedrich Engels."[359] When Engels died, Plekhanov wrote to Kautsky: "It is needless to tell you how grieved I am. He was a great man and also an amiable man at the same time."[360]

III. The Second International[361]

The collapse of the First International may have checked but it did not halt the progress of the international labour movement. After its transfer to New York, the First International did not survive for long and the resignation of Sorge, the last secretary of its General Council, marked the end of an organisation which had for ten years embodied the socialist hopes of the brotherhood of man. Meanwhile Bakunin and his followers – ejected from the First International – held their own congress at St Imier in Switzerland. They repudiated the authority of the General Council in New York and claimed that they were the true representatives of the First International. They formed a new organisation which has been called the "Anti-Authoritarian International" because it rejected the power wielded by a single individual – Karl Marx – over the General Council of the First International. A number – though by no means all – of the leaders of this International were anarchists. At its second congress, held in Geneva in 1873, there was a lively discussion on the use of the general strike as a method of destroying the capitalist system. Like so many previous organisations with which Bakunin had been associated this "International" was "a mere handful of revolutionaries, without any following among the working classes".[362] Bakunin's powers of leadership were failing in his last years and, one by one, his disciples deserted him. Some, like Jules Guesde and Andrea Costa, became Marxists. Others, like Carlo Cafiero, remained true to their principles but transferred their allegiance to Peter Kropotkin, who came to be recognised as the new philosopher of the anarchist movement. Bakunin who had once undermined the First International lived to see his own organisation rent by disputes between the anarchists and their opponents. He died in July 1876 complaining bitterly of the ingratitude of the masses who "did not want to become impassioned for their own emancipation".[363]

In 1877 two international workers' conferences were held in Belgium. The first met at Verviers and was attended only by anarchists. It marked the end of Bakunin's "International". The second, attended by more than 40 delegates, met at Ghent in September. The organisers gave it the grandiloquent title of "World

Socialist Congress" and they hoped to revive the First International. Marx and Engels declined to attend, explaining that they had "retired from active participation in politics".[364] Engels encouraged Wilhelm Liebknecht to go to this congress while Marx was glad to learn that his friend Maltman Barry, a former member of the General Council of the First International, was representing the English workers. He regarded Maltman Barry as "our most able and zealous party comrade" in England.[365] (Maltman Barry, for his part, disliked Marx as a German, a Jew, and an atheist. But he declared: "When I stood before him, listening to his words, I forgot my idiosyncrasies and I had but one feeling – veneration.")[366] At Ghent the anarchists were in a minority and resolutions were passed in favour of nationalising the means of production and of participating in parliamentary and local elections. Marx considered that although "the Ghent conference leaves much to be desired in other respects, it has at least had the merit of proving to Guillaume & Co. that they have been deserted by their former followers".[367] Engels, too, rejoiced at the discomfiture of the anarchists, observing that they had found that "they were an insignificant minority when brought face to face with the delegates representing the united and unanimous large organisations of the European workers". "Although the conference emphatically repudiated their ridiculous doctrines and their arrogant presumption – leaving nobody in any doubt that they were only an insignificant sect – they were eventually treated with magnanimous tolerance. And so, after four years of fraternal strife, complete unity of action has again been achieved by the workers of Europe."[368]

Engels was mistaken for no unity of action was apparent in the labour movement of the 1880s. In 1881 – as in 1877 – two rival international conferences were held. The first was organised by the anarchists and met in London. To the chagrin of Marx and Engels the anarchists gained a new lease of life after Bakunin's death and actually had the affrontery to call their organisation the "International Working Men's Association" as if they were directly descended from the First International. They passed a resolution that "it is absolutely necessary to exert every effort towards propagating, by deeds, the revolutionary idea and to arouse the spirit of revolution in those sections of the popular masses who still harbour illusions about the effectiveness of legal methods".[369] The second congress was held at Coiré in Switzerland and it was attended by various types of socialists. It was dominated by the Swiss delegates. The veteran J. P. Becker, an old friend of Karl Marx, was present. Wilhelm Liebknecht represented the German Social Democrat Party while Malon represented the French workers.

Neither of these two conferences established a permanent workers' organisation.

Engels was opposed to any attempt to set up a new International in the 1880s. He appreciated that socialists in many lands favoured the revival of the First International. The holding of various workers' congresses – four between 1881 and 1886 – showed that the ideal of international co-operation had not been forgotten. And an occasional letter – as one from John Derbyshire of Manchester in 1883[370] – reminded Engels that the First International had not been forgotten in England. After Marx's death, Engels used his influence with socialist leaders on the Continent to pour cold water on proposals for a new workers' international. In 1886 he declared that "the International no longer has need of an organisation as such; it lives and grows by the spontaneous and ardent co-operation of the workers of Europe and America".[371] Engels even frowned upon the holding of international labour congresses. He considered them to be "unavoidable evils". He wrote to Laura Lafargue in 1889 that "people will insist on playing at congresses, and though they have their useful demonstrative side, and do good in bringing people of different countries together, it is doubtful whether the game is worth the candle when there are serious difficulties".[372]

Engels had vivid memories of his struggles against trade union leaders and anarchists when he had been a member of the General Council of the First International and had acted as corresponding secretary for Spain and Italy. In his view the rivalries between different sections of the working-class movement were still too strong to permit the formation of a new international. And Engels, of course, was determined that if a second international were established it should be run by uncompromising Marxists and should be dedicated to the class struggle and the overthrow of capitalism. In the 1880s the only socialist organisation powerful enough to take the initiative in establishing a new international was the Social Democrat Party in Germany. But this party had been banned and was an illegal body. Its leaders had their hands full with the struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law and could not be expected to devote much time to organising a new international labour association. This was another reason for delay. Engels considered that only after the disappearance of the Anti-Socialist Law would it be possible for his friends in Germany to co-operate with socialists in other countries to set up a new international workers' association.

In 1887, however, new moves were made independently by workers' organisations in Britain, Germany, and France to call an international labour congress. In England the Trade Union Con-

gress, meeting in Swansea, proposed to convene an international congress of trade unions in 1888. In Germany the outlawed Social Democrat Party, meeting at St Gall in Switzerland, resolved to contact foreign workers' associations with a view to holding a labour conference in 1888 to discuss international action to improve working conditions in industry. In France the Possibilists proposed to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution by holding a labour congress in Paris on July 14, 1889 (Bastille Day) to demand a universal 8-hour day in industry. This congress would coincide with the Paris industrial exhibition which was expected to attract many visitors to the French capital.

In November 1888 an international trade union conference was held in London which decided to entrust to the French Possibilists the organisation of an international labour congress in 1889.[373] In the following month the Possibilists sent out their invitations. The English Social Democratic Federation promptly accepted. Meanwhile the followers of Guesde and Lafargue had been holding workers' conferences at Bordeaux and Troyes at which it was decided to hold a rival international congress in Paris in July 1889. The attitude of the German Social Democrat Party was now of crucial importance. Although it was an illegal organisation in Germany it was the largest and best organised socialist party in Europe. No international workers' congress could hope to be regarded as successful unless it was supported by the German socialists. Despite failing eyesight,[374] Engels – who would much rather have been editing the third volume of *Das Kapital* – spent three months writing to his many socialist friends on the Continent to persuade them to support the congress organised by Guesde and Lafargue and to ignore the congress organised by Brousse and Malon.[375] At the same time – aided by Eleanor Marx and Bernstein – he attacked the English Social Democratic Federation for accepting the Possibilists' invitation and he supported the Socialist League which proposed to send delegates to Guesde's congress. He collaborated with Bernstein to write a pamphlet denouncing both the Social Democratic Federation and the French Possibilists.[376] Engels was satisfied that the pamphlet had "struck home like a thunderbolt, proving that Hyndman and Co. were liars and swindlers".[377] Engels was equally anxious to exclude from the congress both the anarchists and conservative English trade unionists such as Broadhurst and Shipton. Eventually Engels convinced Liebknecht and Bebel that they should support Guesde and Lafargue and ignore Brousse and Malon. In his view this ensured the success of the "Marxist" congress and the failure of the Possibilist congress. Paul Lafargue appreciated the services which

Engels had rendered to the Marxist cause. "It is you who have saved the congress," he wrote, "as, but for you, Bebel and Liebknecht would have left us in the lurch."[378]

In May 1889 Engels complained to Sorge that "the writing and running about in connection with the damned congress leave me hardly any time for anything else. It's the devil of a nuisance – nothing but misunderstandings, squabbles, and vexation on all sides, and nothing will come of the whole thing in the end".[379] But something did come of "the whole thing", though it was not quite what Engels had planned. By June Engels was more hopeful. He told Sorge that he had felt compelled to return to active politics – he had put his "shoulders to the wheel" – because he was fighting all over again "the old battle of The Hague" when he and Marx had secured the expulsion of Bakunin from the First International. "The adversaries are the same," he declared, "with the anarchist flag merely exchanged for the Possibilist one. The selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions, especially in return for well-paid jobs for the leaders (city council, labour exchange etc.), and the tactics are exactly the same". Engels went on to explain that "the alliance of the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation was to constitute the nucleus of the new International that was to be founded in Paris". But he was satisfied that "the intriguers are beaten already, and the significance of the congress – whether it draws the other one over to its side or not – lies in the fact that the concord of the socialist parties of Europe is demonstrated to all the world, with the few sectarian representatives left out in the cold unless they submit".[380]

In March 1889 Wilhelm Liebknecht had protested that there would be an "enormous scandal" if two rival congresses were held in July in the same city. But two socialist congresses were held in the same week – July 14 to July 20, 1889 – in two halls in Paris. The meeting organised by Guesde and Lafargue met at the Salle Petrelle while the conference organised by Brousse and Malon met in the rue de Lancry. The Possibilists had boycotted a preliminary meeting at The Hague in February and now – though they were ignored by the powerful German Social Democrat Party – they insisted upon holding their own congress. Their only foreign allies were the English Social Democratic Federation and some Belgian socialists. The Possibilist congress was a predominantly French conference, representing mainly trade unions and working men's social and educational clubs. Only 91 foreign delegates attended compared with 521 French representatives. The congress organised by Guesde and Lafargue, on the other hand, had 391 delegates and was supported by the main socialist parties on the Continent and by the

English Socialist League. It was attended by many leading socialists such as Liebknecht, Bebel, Bernstein, Adler, Clara Zetkin, Guesde, Lafargue, Longuet, Niewenhuis, César de Paepe, Eleanor Marx and Aveling. Laura Lafargue suggested that Engels should come to the congress. He replied that "there are two things which I avoid visiting on principle, and only go to on compulsion: congresses and exhibitions".[381] At the same time he told Sorge: "I am not going there, of course: I can't plunge into agitation over and over again."[382]

The rival congresses were still in session when Engels confidently asserted that the Marxist conference was "a brilliant success". So many delegates had arrived that it was necessary to move from the Salle Petrelle to the Salle des Fantaisies Parisiennes in the rue Rochechouart. Engels wrote that "the intrigues of the Possibilists and the Social Democratic Federation to obtain the position of leadership in France and England by stealth have miscarried completely and their pretensions to international leadership even more so".[383] Immediately after the congress Lafargue wrote to Engels that "the most genuine fraternity prevailed at our congress. The Possibilists are thoroughly demoralised; at the last session they had but 58 people, including delegates". "I fancy that Brousse is not very eager to take part in another international congress."[384]

The congresses of July 1889 had not been an unqualified success from Engels's point of view, since the public squabbles between rival socialists were a far from edifying spectacle. Thus at the final session of the Possibilist congress Allemane had accused Bebel and Liebknecht of being Bismarck's tools. Yet Engels's optimism was not without some justification since later events proved the Marxist congress to have been the inaugural meeting of the Second International which played so important a *rôle* in the socialist movement in the next 25 years. Although no permanent organisation was established in 1889 this meeting was the first of a series of international socialist congresses which eventually grew into the Second International.

There were two aspects of the "Marxist congress" in Paris which gave Engels particular satisfaction. First, the delegates clearly believed that they were carrying on the work of the First International. Wilhelm Liebknecht told them that the First International had now "taken new shape in the mighty organisations of the workers of each country. It lives in us today. This congress here is the work of the International Working Men's Association".[385] Secondly, the congress decided that the delegates would organise demonstrations in their respective countries in favour of the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890 – a date already proposed by the Ameri-

can Federation of Labour. Engels considered that a world wide agitation – organised by socialists – to secure the eight-hour day would help to promote a feeling of international solidarity among the workers. The demonstrations held on May 1, 1890 – in England on the first Sunday in May – were so successful that the Second International at its second congress (held in Brussels in 1891) decided that May Day should be celebrated by the workers every year. Engels regarded May Day demonstrations as symbolic gestures of great importance and he attended May Day celebrations in London.[386] On May 1, 1890 he wrote:

> "Today . . . the proletariat of Europe and America is reviewing its forces, mobilized for the first time as a united army under one flag and for one purpose – the legal recognition of an eight hours working day – already recommended at the Geneva Congress of the International Association in 1866, and again at the Paris Labour Congress in 1889. Today's drama will bring conclusively to the notice of all the capitalists and landlords in all countries that the proletarians of all lands are really united. If only Marx were by my side to see it all with his own eyes!"[387]

But three years later he was less enthusiastic. On May 17, 1893 he wrote to Sorge:

> "The May First demonstration here was very nice; but it is already becoming somewhat of an everyday or rather an annual matter; the first fresh bloom has gone. The narrow mindedness of the Trades Council and of the Socialist sects – Fabians and the S(ocial) D(emocratic) F(ederation) – again compelled us to hold two demonstrations, but everything went off as we desired and we – the Eight Hours Committee – had many more people than the united opposition. In particular our international platform had a very good audience. . . ."[388]

The Second International might claim to carry on the traditions of the First International but there were significant differences between these two working men's associations. The First International had a varied membership – individual members, socialist societies, trade unions and other associations of workers. The Second International was a federation of national socialist parties. Other labour organisations, such as trade unions and co-operative societies, established international congresses of their own at which workers holding different political views could meet to discuss common problems. An international miners' congress was held at Jolimont in 1890 and an international textile workers congress met in Manchester in 1894. Since the Second International united socialist parties it was inevitable that the German Social Democrat

Party should play a predominant *rôle* in its affairs. It has been observed that "Engels's desire to impress the Marxist stamp" on the new International "shifted international leadership to the German Social Democrats".[389] The Second International was a larger organisation than the First International and was supported by socialists from a large number of countries. In 1869 the Basel congress of the First International had been attended by 80 delegates from nine countries but in 1893 the Zürich congress of the Second International was attended by 411 delegates from 20 countries.

Engels received a great ovation in Zürich when – on what proved to be his last visit to the Continent – he addressed the final session of the Congress of the Second International. He had been elected Honorary Chairman for the occasion and he made the following brief speech to the delegates:

"I accept the enthusiastic welcome you have given me, not in my personal capacity, but as the collaborator of the great man whose portrait you have here. It is just 50 years since Marx and I came into the movement. We were then writing our articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Marx is dead, but, were he still alive, there would be no one – either in Europe or in America – who could look back on his life's work with so much justifiable pride. In 1872 the last congress of the International was held. It did two things: the first was to separate once and for all the cause of the International from that of the anarchists. Today it can be seen whether or not that decision was superfluous. The congresses of Paris, of Brussels, and now this one in Zürich, have had to do the same thing.

"The second resolution that it adopted was to stop the activities of the International in their previous form. That was the epoch when reaction, drunk with the blood of the glorious Commune, was at its apogee. To continue the former International would have been to demand sacrifices no longer in proportion to the results obtainable. The Congress decided to make its headquarters in America – that is to say, the International vanished from the scene.

"To the proletariat of each country was left the responsibility of organising itself in its own way. And that is what happened and today the International is stronger than in the past. It is in this spirit that we must go forward and work on common ground. We must abandon argument to avoid turning into sects, but our common principle must be preserved. This free union, this voluntary assembly, brought about by the congresses, will be enough to give us victory, and a victory that no power on earth could take from us.

"I have just been travelling through Germany and everywhere I heard our comrades complaining about the end of the Anti-Socialist Law. It was, they say, far more fun fighting the police. No police, no government could ever get the better of fights like that.

With these words I declare the congress closed: 'Long live the international proletariat!' "[390]

On leaving Zürich Engels went to Vienna and Berlin where he received an enthusiastic welcome from Austrian and German socialists. His journey – his first visit to Germany since 1876 – was a triumphal progress, and it marked the climax of Engels's career as a socialist writer and agitator.

IV. Conclusion

Death of Engels, 1895

Engels had a robust constitution and was seldom ill in his youth. When he was in Manchester there was a period of three years which he suffered from glandular fever in 1857, from piles in 1858 and from a nervous breakdown in 1860. This left him "incapable of taking a single necessary decision".[391] In about 1867 he was thrown from his horse and subsequently suffered from a hernia and had to wear a truss.[392] But he enjoyed reasonably good health in the 1860s and 1870s while several of his socialist colleagues were less fortunate. Marx was rarely free from illness; Georg Weerth died at the age of 34; Wilhelm Wolff at 55; Carl Schorlemmer at 58; and Borkheim at 60. Engels, however, was still active when he was in his sixties and seventies. Bernstein, who met him shortly after his sixtieth birthday, was surprised at his physical fitness and mental vigour.[393] When Engels was seventy, Eleanor Marx wrote: "He is vigorous in body and mind. He carries his six foot odd so lightly that one would not think he is so tall. . . . He is really the youngest man I know. As far as I can remember he has not grown any older in the last twenty hard years."[394] Engels's 70th birthday was celebrated by a party attended by Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer and four delegates from the German Workers' Educational Society – "one of whom speechless drunk". Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue: "We kept it up till half past three in the morning and drank, besides, claret, 16 bottles of champagne – in the morning we had 12 dozen oysters. So you see I did my best to show that I was still alive and kicking."[395]

In the autumn of 1883 Engels had been confined to bed for eight weeks with muscular rheumatism. When he was allowed up again he wrote to Laura Lafargue: "Although I feel considerably better, and keep in bed more for safety's sake than anything else, I am still far from able to use my legs as I ought to."[396] Six months later, in June 1884, the trouble recurred[397] and he had to engage a secretary.[398] And from about 1880 onwards, Engels had trouble with his eyes.[399] In August 1888 he was suffering from chronic

conjunctivitis[400] and he could not write for more than two hours a day.[401] When he returned from a two months' holiday in America, however, he told Danielson that his eyesight had improved.[402] Early in 1892 Engels wrote to Sorge that he felt "healthier and stronger than five or six years ago".[403]

That Engels was so fit at the age of 71 was partly due to the care with which his womenfolk had looked after him. When Karl Marx died his housekeeper Helene Demuth moved into Engels's household. On her death in November 1890 Engels declared that her devotion had made it possible for him to work in peace for seven years.[404] To his friend Sorge he wrote:

> "Today I have mournful tidings for you. My good faithful, dear Lenchen passed away quietly yesterday afternoon, after a brief and, for the most part, painful illness. We had lived seven happy years together in this house. We were the last two of the old pre-1848 old guard. Now I am alone again. If Marx for many years and I for the last seven years, found the quiet required for work, it was largely her doing. I do not know what will become of me now. And I shall sadly miss her tactful advice on party affairs. . . ."[405]

Helene's place was taken by Louise Kautsky who had divorced Karl Kautsky in 1888. In December 1890 Engels wrote: "We get on capitally. She superintends the house and does my secretary's work which saves my eyes and enables me to make it worth her while to give up her profession[406] at least for the present."[407] Early in 1894 Louise Kautsky married Dr Ludwig Freyberger. He joined Engels's household, so that Engels now had a medical man on the spot to attend to him.[408] In November 1894 Engels moved from No. 122 to No. 41 Regent's Park Road.

In the summer of 1892 Engels's health deteriorated and he was confined to his armchair for six weeks.[409] He wrote to Adler that for some years there had been a recurrence of the trouble that had originally been caused by his riding accident in Manchester.[410] In May 1894 Engels wrote to Sorge:

> "I had a cold during the past few days which convinces me that I am an old man at last. What I used to treat as a trifle laid me rather low for a week and kept me for fully two weeks more under medical-police supervision. Even now I am supposed to be careful for another two weeks. It was a mild bronchitis, and among the elderly this can never be taken lightly, particularly when they have tippled as freely and merrily as I have."[411]

But the old man was not finished yet. In 1893 and 1894 he was as active as ever. His articles on the urgent need for the Great Powers to halt the armaments race appeared in March 1893[412] and in the

autumn he travelled for two months on the Continent and attended the congress of the Second International at Zürich. In 1894 he at last completed his work on preparing the third volume of *Das Kapital* for publication – his introduction was dated October 4 – and at the same time he contributed several articles to *Die Neue Zeit* on the history of early Christianity[413] and on the peasant question in France and Germany.[414] Early in 1895 Engels wrote an appendix to the third volume of *Das Kapital* and an introduction to a new edition of Marx's articles on the class struggles in France between 1848 and 1850.[415] In March 1895 Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue: "I am taking up Vol. 4 of the *Capital* and correcting the parts already copied out by K(arl) K(autsky) and shall then arrange with Tussy (Eleanor Marx) about her continuing the work."[416]

In May 1895 Engels told Kautsky that he had a painful swelling in his neck which had given him sleepless nights for a fortnight.[417] He had cancer of the throat. In June Dr Freyberger sent him to Eastbourne. He was accompanied by Laura Lafargue. On June 18 he wrote to Bernstein:

> "I feel stronger, eat better and have an improved appetite. People say that I am looking better. So in general there is an improvement. On the other hand the illness is taking its course. I have a larger swelling, more pain and I find that it is more difficult to get some sleep. The illness is in a more acute stage and not so passive as it was in London. But that is quite normal."[418]

But a month later Dr Freyberger became seriously concerned for the patient. On July 21 Samuel Moore wrote to Eleanor Marx that he had been to Victoria Station to meet Dr Freyberger who was returning from Eastbourne after visiting Engels. Dr Freyberger warned Samuel Moore to expect the worst. "He says," wrote Samuel Moore, "that the disease has attained such a hold that, considering the General's age, his state is precarious. Apart from the diseased glands of the neck, there is danger either from weakness of the heart or from pneumonia – and in either of these two cases the end would be sudden. . . . In spite of all, however, the General is quite hopeful and is certain that he will recover, and has arranged with the two doctors to return to London."[419] Two days later Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue that he was going back to Regent's Park Road. Meanwhile Victor Adler – warned by Dr Freyberger that Engels had not long to live – travelled to Eastbourne from Austria to see his friend for the last time.[420]

By August it was clear that there could be no hope of a recovery. Towards the end Engels could not speak and communicated by

writing messages on a slate. His last days were clouded by a distressing scene with Eleanor Marx. She had been led to believe that Engels was the father of Helene Demuth's illegitimate son Frederick. Shortly before his death Engels twice assured Samuel Moore that there was no truth in the story. Eleanor refused to accept the fact that Frederick Demuth was not Engels's son but the son of her own father. She was at Engels's bedside on the day before he died and questioned him about Frederick Demuth's parentage. Engels "wrote on his slate that Marx was Frederick Demuth's father". Louise Freyberger told August Bebel that "Tussy broke down when she left the room. . . . She wept bitterly on my shoulder."[421]

Engels died at 10.30 p.m. on Monday, August 5, 1895. Eleanor Marx wrote that "he had suffered much, but the end came quietly and peacefully. The loss not only to us but to the whole socialist world is beyond all words."[422] Engels had directed that his funeral should be a private one and that only his friends should attend. The funeral took place on the afternoon of Saturday, August 10 and was a purely secular affair. Engels's socialist friends – leaders of socialist parties in many countries – flocked to London to pay their tribute to Marx's lifelong ally and the veteran leader of the international socialist movement. The mourners included Samuel Moore, Friedrich Lessner, Harry Quelch, Will Thorne, Edward Aveling, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eduard Bernstein, Paul Singer, Vera Zasulich and Stepniak. Engels's family was represented by his brother Hermann and by several nephews. Some 80 mourners gathered in the austere surroundings of the private station (Waterloo) of the Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company before proceeding by a special hearse train to Woking for the cremation. There were speeches by Samuel Moore, Liebknecht, Bebel, Paul Lafargue and Gustav Adolf Schlechtendahl (one of the nephews).[423] Bebel also addressed a meeting organised by the German Workers' Educational Association to honour Engels's memory.[424] In accordance with Engels's wishes his ashes were scattered in the sea off Beachy Head.

When Engels died he was worth nearly £30,000. On leaving the firm of Ermen and Engels in 1869 he had invested his money wisely and had lived in comfort in retirement for 26 years. In his will, dated July 29, 1893,[425] Engels appointed Samuel Moore, Bernstein, and Louise Kautsky (Freyberger) as his executors. Each executor was to receive £250 and Louise Freyberger was also left Engels's furniture. Engels's only bequest to a member of his family was an oil painting of his father which was left to his brother Hermann. Engels bequeathed £1,000 to Bebel and Paul Singer which was to be used to defray the election expenses of such socialist

candidates for the German Reichstag as they might select. In a letter to Bebel and Singer, dated November 14, 1894 Engels had informed them of this legacy. He had written to them: "Above all see to it that you get the money and do not let it fall into the hands of the Prussians."[426] The sum of £3,000 had been left to Ellen Rosher (Pumps) under Engels's will. But in a codicil, dated July 26, 1895, Engels had revoked this bequest and had left his niece £2,230.[427]

The residue of Engels's estate (about £24,000)[428] was to be divided into eight equal parts. Three of these (£9,000) were bequeathed to each of Marx's surviving daughters – Laura and Eleanor – and two parts (£6,000) to Louise Freyberger. Much of Eleanor's share of Engels's estate quickly found its way into Aveling's pockets. Legal difficulties had prevented Engels from making any provision for the children of Marx's other daughter Jenny, who had died in 1883. In a letter to Laura and Eleanor (November 14, 1894) Engels had asked each of them to hold one third of their legacies (£3,000) in trust for Jenny's children.[429] This meant that Engels had divided the residue of his estate into four equal parts – one each to Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx, Louise Freyberger and Jenny Longuet's children. Louise Freyberger had been treated generously. She received as much money as Marx's daughters. In addition she received £250 as an executor and she also inherited Engels's furniture.[430]

August Bebel and Paul Singer, on behalf of the German Social Democrat Party, received Engels's library (including Marx's books), the copyright of his books and all the letters in his possession except the "family letters of Karl Marx".[431] Engels directed that "all manuscripts of a literary nature in the handwriting of my deceased friend Karl Marx and all family letters written by or addressed to him which shall be in my possession or control at the time of my death shall be given by my executors to Eleanor Marx. . . ." So while Engels's library – and the books formerly belonging to Marx which had been in his possession since 1883 – were kept together, the manuscripts were divided. Those in Marx's handwriting as well as Marx's "family letters" were given to Eleanor Marx, while the rest were left to Bebel and Bernstein.[432] Laura Lafargue complained that as Marx's eldest daughter she should have received her father's manuscripts, while Karl Kautsky complained that he – and not Bebel – should have been associated with Bernstein in having control over Engels's manuscripts.

Historians have had reason to regret the fact that in his will Engels should have provided for the splitting up of the Marx–Engels "Party archives" – a unique collection of documents from which

the development of the socialist movement could be traced from the 1840s to 1895. The drawback of dividing the material soon became apparent. After Engels's death Eleanor Marx published the articles on the revolution in Germany in 1848–9 (*Revolution and Counter-Revolution*) which Engels had contributed to the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1851–2. They appeared under Marx's name. If Eleanor Marx had been able to examine the correspondence between her father and Engels she would not have made this mistake. But these letters were now in Bernstein's possession.[433]

The provisions of Engels's will concerning his own manuscripts and those of Marx were not in accordance with his earlier plans. The year before he died he told Laura Lafargue that in 1889 he had decided that "it would be useful to have one or two intelligent men of the younger generation broken in to read Mohr's handwriting". "I thought of Kautsky and Bernstein."[434] On January 28, 1889 Engels had written to Kautsky offering to teach him to decipher Marx's handwriting and to pay him £50 per annum expenses for two years to make a fair copy of the manuscript – about 750 pages – of the fourth volume of *Das Kapital*.[435] Kautsky declined Engels's offer of financial assistance but agreed to make the fair copy. But when Engels drew up his will in 1893 he did not appoint Kautsky one of his literary executors. He left the manuscripts in Marx's handwriting to Marx's daughters and his own manuscripts to Bebel and Bernstein. The reason why Engels changed his mind was because Kautsky did not complete the task of producing a fair copy of Volume 4 of *Das Kapital*. According to Engels he deciphered only "perhaps $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole". In a letter to Laura Lafargue of December 17, 1894 Engels made it clear that he had given up hope of persuading Kautsky to resume work on Volume 4 of *Das Kapital*. He also doubted whether Bernstein who "suffers from overwork" would be able to render much assistance.[436] A few days later Engels wrote that he would help Eleanor Marx "if she will undertake the work of writing out the original manuscript".[437]

Karl Kautsky was disappointed when he learned of the provisions of Engels's will concerning the disposal of the Marx–Engels manuscripts. He considered that he should have been entrusted with the task of editing Marx's manuscripts. Eleanor Marx did not feel able to shoulder the burden of preparing her father's manuscripts for publication. She edited some of the articles written by Marx and Engels in the 1850s but she asked Kautsky to resume his labours on the manuscript of the fourth volume of *Das Kapital*. When Eleanor Marx died in 1898 her sister Laura also encouraged Kautsky to edit this manuscript. What had originally been planned

as the concluding volume of *Das Kapital* eventually appeared between 1905 and 1910 in three parts as a separate book entitled *Theorien über den Mehrwert.* Over twenty years had elapsed since Engels had first asked Kautsky to make a fair copy of Karl Marx's manuscript on the history of surplus value.

Engels's Successors

The leader of the orchestra had made his final appearance. Engels had hoped to see the twentieth century[438] but this was not to be. His death left a gap in the ranks of the socialist leaders and thinkers that could not easily be filled. Engels had promoted the socialist cause in various ways since 1883. Until the establishment of the Second International he had acted as a personal link between leaders of socialist parties all over the Continent. His lifelong connection with the socialist movement, his experience as corresponding secretary for Italy and Spain at the time of the First International, and his numerous contacts with socialists in many countries stood him in good stead. An accomplished linguist, he corresponded with socialists in several languages. Once the Second International had been established it gradually set up administrative machinery by which Engels could be relieved of the routine correspondence involved in keeping socialist leaders in touch with each other.

Engels had also filled admirably the *rôle* of an elder statesman who had placed his long experience of revolutionary politics at the disposal of the various socialist parties in Europe. His detailed knowledge of the history and politics of different countries enabled him to give sound advice not only to the powerful German Social Democrat Party but also to smaller parties in France and Italy and Austria which were still in a relatively early stage of development.[439] After Engels's death no one could assume the mantle of a veteran revolutionary campaigner whose long experience gave him the right to offer advice to a new generation of socialist leaders.

But Engels's outstanding contribution to the socialist cause after 1883 had been made as the acknowledged interpreter of Marx's doctrines. As Marx's closest friend and collaborator – who was devoting much of his time to editing the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* – he could claim to know exactly what Marx had taught. Earnest young socialists who put their queries to Engels about surplus value or historical materialism could be confident that they would be given the right answer. In addition Engels carried on Marx's work by using his doctrines to assess economic and political changes that had occurred since Marx's death. Thus he wrote on the significance of trusts and cartels, the industrialisation

of formerly underdeveloped countries such as Russia, and the exploitation of new regions in Africa and Asia by the capitalists of the West. And shortly before his death, Engels had returned to his study of history on Marxist lines by writing on the early history of Christianity.

In September 1895 Ignaz Auer wrote to Victor Adler deploring the grievous loss that the socialist movement had sustained through the loss of Engels's "experience and authority". "For the time being we shall have to manage without a 'fountain-head of wisdom' and we shall sometimes find this to be very inconvenient."[440] Auer considered that none of the younger socialists who were regarded as authorities on Marx's doctrines – Kautsky, Bernstein and Plekhanov – were men of sufficient stature to step into Engels's shoes.

At one time Engels had hoped that Bernstein[441] and Kautsky[442] would succeed him as interpreters of Marx's doctrines. He knew them both well. They had made a thorough study of the works of Marx and Engels. They were both experienced journalists who had served the socialist cause as editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat* and *Die Neue Zeit*. But eventually Engels had come to doubt whether they could fulfil the *rôle* that he had designed for them. He was alarmed at Bernstein's "comical respect for the Fabians"[443] and he thought that Bernstein's neurotic tendencies were being aggravated by overwork.[444] And Kautsky fell into Engels's bad books when he failed to keep his promise to make a fair copy of Marx's manuscript on the history of the doctrine of surplus value. In 1895 Engels was displeased with both Bernstein and Kautsky when he learned that they were planning to write a history of socialism without seeking his advice or collaboration. In his final letter to Kautsky, written during his last illness, he sharply rebuked him for his conduct.[445]

Engels could not have foreseen that soon after his death, Bernstein and Kautsky would be engaged in a bitter ideological controversy which would split the socialist movement on the Continent. In a series of articles in *Die Neue Zeit*, Bernstein declared that the time had come to revise the programme of the German Social Democrat Party. He argued that the statistical evidence provided by the Prussian industrial census of 1895 had shown conclusively that Marx had been mistaken in supposing that the continued expansion of capitalism would lead to a concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands and to the pauperisation of the masses. On the contrary the number of capitalists was increasing (not declining) and the condition of the workers in industrialised countries was getting better (not worse). "Instead of becoming

polarised into two opposed classes, the few extremely rich and the multitude of poor, society was in fact more complex than before, with an extended scale of social gradations. Middle income groups, instead of disappearing, had grown both absolutely and relatively."[446] Bernstein also argued that Marx's forecast of a cycle of economic crises, culminating in a revolution, had not materialised. He suggested that, in the circumstances, the Social Democrat Party in Germany should no longer aim at replacing capitalism by socialism immediately by means of a revolution. Socialists in Germany and elsewhere should work for "the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism" and their representatives in parliament should try to secure reforms to benefit the workers. Bernstein asserted that a communist society was a utopian dream attainable only in the distant future, while practical reforms – such as factory legislation and the nationalisation of public utilities and key industries – might be achieved within a few years.[447] These arguments were very similar to those advanced nearly twenty years before in the "three-star" article in Dr Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* which Engels had severely criticised.

Kautsky, on the other hand, would have none of this.[448] He argued that the increase in the number of cartels in Germany and trusts in the United States showed that Marx had been right in predicting that there would be an ever-greater concentration of industry in fewer hands. He considered that Engels had given a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the delay in the appearance of the economic crises which – in Marx's view – would herald the downfall of capitalism and the dawn of an era of socialism. Karl Kautsky declared that Bernstein had not invented "revisionism" but had taken over the ideas of Sidney Webb in England and Jaurès in France. In these countries the existence of long established parliamentary institutions made it possible to envisage an orderly and gradual progress towards socialism. But in Germany, where democracy had by no means advanced as far as in France and in England, Bernstein's "revisionism" would not be the right policy for the Social Democrats to pursue. And, as Bebel observed, it was significant that "revisionism" was more popular in south Germany than in Prussia. The south German states had more liberal traditions than Prussia. While the Kaiser denounced the socialists as "a crew of upstarts without a fatherland", the King of Bavaria was quite prepared to shake hands with Vollmar.

While Bernstein's ideas might be acceptable in countries with liberal constitutions, they had no hope of success among socialists who lived under a despotic régime such as that of the Romanovs in Russia. In such a country a gradual progress towards social and

political reform seemed to be out of the question. It is not surprising that Plekhanov and Lenin were among the foremost opponents of "revisionism". Lenin declared that the controversy between Bernstein and Kautsky "resulted in as fruitful a revival of theoretical thought in international socialism as did Engels's controversy with Dühring twenty years earlier". Lenin asserted that Bernstein and his friends had made the mistake of persistently painting a "rose-coloured picture of modern small-scale production". They were guilty of making "superficial generalisations based on facts selected one-sidedly and without reference to the system as a whole". Lenin considered that "the position of revisionism was even worse as regards the theory of crises and the theory of collapse. Only for a very short time could people – and then only the most short-sighted – think of refashioning the foundations of Marx's theory under the influence of a few years of industrial boom and prosperity. Realities very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past: prosperity was followed by a crisis." In 1908 Lenin was confident – as Marx and Engels had been confident so often before him – that capitalism was "heading for a breakdown" and that Marx's predictions would soon come true.[449]

If Kautsky could be regarded as "the principal Marxian theoretician" after Engels's death, it was because he edited Marx's manuscripts on the history of surplus value and not because he made any new contributions to socialist thought. The task of interpreting the economic and political changes that occurred between 1895 and 1914 in accordance with Marx's doctrines was shouldered by socialists whom Engels had never met. (Lenin had visited Paul and Laura Lafargue in Paris in 1895 but he realised that there was no point in going to London to see Engels who was too ill to receive him.) But those who attempted to interpret a new age on Marxian lines acknowledged their indebtedness to Engels. Lenin, for example, revered Engels as "the most noteworthy scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat in all the civilised world".[450]

Two works which would have gained Engels's approval were Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital. A Contribution to the Economic Explanation of Imperialism* (1913)[451] – "her best known and most important book"[452] – and Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916).[453] The authors examined various aspects of capitalism on the eve of the first World War in the light of Marx's doctrines. Both regarded their books as a continuation of the researches of Marx and Engels on capitalism and imperialism.

Rosa Luxemburg examined Marx's discussion of the accumulation of capital in the second volume of *Das Kapital*. She observed that Marx had constructed a model for the maintenance of a constant stock of capital but that he had left only notes of an incomplete model for stock of capital that was not merely being maintained but was expanding. She tried to complete the unfinished model. Her main thesis was that the accumulation of capital – essential for the maintenance and expansion of the capitalist system – was the extension of capitalism to underdeveloped countries. She argued that capitalists were flooding primitive economies with cheap mass-produced consumption goods, thereby ruining local native craft industries. This had happened in India in the nineteenth century and was now taking place in many parts of Africa and Asia. In this way the capitalists in the advanced industrial countries – having saturated their markets at home – could expand their output of manufactured products by opening up new markets overseas. These arguments – foreshadowed by the attacks of Marx and Engels on the colonial ambitions of the Great Powers in the nineteenth century[454] – were illustrated by a wealth of detail from the recent history of the exploitation of underdeveloped regions by advanced industrial countries.[455]

In his essay on imperialism Lenin came to much the same conclusions as those reached by Rosa Luxemburg a few years before. He discussed two changes in the capitalist system to which Engels had already drawn attention in the early 1890s. They were, first, the rise of huge combines which monopolised the production of particular goods and commodities in the major industrial countries and, secondly, the extension of capitalism to the hitherto underdeveloped regions of the world. Lenin considered that by 1914 capitalism had reached a new phase which Marx had not described – since it did not exist in his day – but which Marx and Engels had foreseen. Imperialism, in Lenin's view, was the characteristic feature of this stage in the development of capitalism. Lenin, like Marx and Engels, believed that capitalism carried within itself the seeds of its own decay. When he republished his pamphlet in 1920 Lenin declared that "the parasitism and decay of capitalism . . . are characteristic of its highest stage of development, i.e. imperialism" and that "a handful . . . of exceptionally rich and powerful states . . . plunder the whole world simply by 'clipping coupons'."[456] These sentiments faithfully echoed the views that Engels had expressed on combines, on monopolies, and on imperialism. And they were expressed by the greatest of his disciples, the leader of the great revolution that Engels had not lived to see.

NOTES

1 F. Engels to J. P. Becker, October 15, 1884 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 270 and Eleanor Marx in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 188.

2 V. Adler to F. Engels, December 29, 1891 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 31.

3 E. Bottigelli in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 495.

4 Antonio Labriola to Victor Adler, August 16, 1895 in *Annali Feltrinelli*, Vol. 5, 1962, p. 472.

5 Eleanor Marx in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 187.

6 August Bebel to F. Engels, March 17, 1883 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 151.

7 F. Engels, "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland" in *Die Neue Zeit*, July 1892.

8 F. Engels to August Bebel, April 30, 1883 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 152.

9 Engels's introduction to Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 2, 1885 (new edition, 1957), p. 6.

10 Paul Lafargue, "Reminiscences of Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 91. The unfinished manuscript was subsequently published under the title: *Dialectics of Nature* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964). See also B. Kedrow, *Über Engels' Werk "Dialektik der Natur"* (1954).

11 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, June 29, 1883 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 140–1.

12 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 30, 1883 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 164.

13 Gabriel Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx . . .* (1883). An English edition appeared in 1905.

14 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 6, 1863 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 148–52.

15 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 24, 1867 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 3, pp. 409–11.

16 Karl Marx to N. F. Danielson, April 10, 1879 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 241.

17 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 21, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 122–3.

18 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 21, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 123.

19 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, November 13, 1885 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 298.

20 For Rodbertus see J. K. Rodbertus, *Overproduction and Crises* (translated by Julia Franklin, 1898).

21 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, February 19, 1887 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 302.

22 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, January 5, 1888 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 304–5.

23 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, July 4, 1889 (*ibid.*, pp. 314–15).

24 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 8, 1885 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 271.
25 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, October 15, 1888 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 307.
26 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 15, 1889 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 247.
27 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, June 18, 1892 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 346.
28 F. Engels to V. Adler, October 23, 1892 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922) p. 57.
29 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, February 24, 1893 (*ibid.*, p. 360).
30 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, January 28, 1889 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 227.
31 "Wie Karl Marx im Jahre 1846 über Streiks und Arbeiter Koalitionen dachte" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, February 12 and 26, 1885.
32 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, August 22, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 141 and F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, March 4, 1891 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 324.
33 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, October 15, 1888 (*ibid.*, p. 307); Conrad Schmidt, October 27, 1890 (*ibid.*, p. 317); Max Oppenheim, March 24, 1891 (*ibid.*, pp. 324–6); Rudolf Meyer, July 19, 1893 (*ibid.*, p. 361); Heinz Starhenberg, January 25, 1894 (*ibid.*, p. 365); J. Bloch, September 21–22 (W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings*, 1967, pp. 333–5).
34 See *Engels on Capital* (New York International Publishers, 1937), pp. 118–19 and Jürgen Kuczynski, "Friedrich Engels und die Monopole" in *Friedrich Engels 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 39–42.
35 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, June 18, 1892 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 344.
36 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, September 22, 1892 (*ibid.*, p. 355).
37 See the documents in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).
38 "Marx über das Kolonialsystem" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, July 10, 1884.
39 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 23, 1894 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 411. See also F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, November 10, 1894 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 266.
40 F. Engels, "Supplement to *Capital*, Volume III" (1895) in L. E. Mins (ed.), *Engels on Capital* (New York, 1937), p. 117.
41 See, for example, an article in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 1, 1885 attacking German militarism.
42 See, for example, F. Engels, "Kann Europa abrüsten?" in *Die Neue Zeit*, March 1893.
43 F. Engels, "Was nun?" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 8, 1890.
44 F. Engels, "Eine Antwort" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, September 13, 1890
45 For Georg von Vollmar see Reinhard Jansen, *Georg von Vollmar* (1958).
46 F. Engels to August Bebel, July 23, 1892 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965) pp. 564–5.

For Bebel's criticism of Vollmar at the Erfurt congress of the Social Democrat Party see Albrecht Langer (ed.), *August Bebel: Politik als Theorie und Praxis* (1967), p. 80.

47 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, October 27, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, p. 126 (postscript). Engels wrote: "Things at Erfurt went very well. The execution of the insolent young student and commis-voyageur (commercial traveller) lot was very necessary. They will soon disappear now, and the next lot of the same sort will be less cheeky".

48 G. Hennig, *August Bebel* . . . (1963), pp. 91–105.

49 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 14 and 20, 1892 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 572 and p. 576.

50 *Daily Chronicle*, July 1, 1893 (interview with Engels) in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, Appendix, p. 397. The interviewer described Engels as "a kindly, genial soul . . . and his ripe and mellow wisdom made a talk with him . . . one of the pleasantest experiences I have ever had".

51 F. Engels to Julie Bebel, October 3, 1893 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 708–9.

52 Eduard Bernstein, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (1898). See also his articles on "Probleme der Sozialismus" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 15, 1896–7, Part I, pp. 164–71; 204–13; 303–11; 772–83 and Part II, pp. 100–7; 138–43; Vol. 16, 1897–8, Part I, 484–97; 548–57 and Part II, pp. 225–32; 388–95.

53 "Der Entwurf des neuen Parteiprogrammes" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 9, 1891: three articles were written by Kautsky and one by Bernstein.

54 F. Engels, "Kritik des Gothaer Programmes" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 9, 1891, p. 502: English translation – Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1871). Engels sent the manuscript of Marx's letter on the Gotha programme to Kautsky on January 7, 1891: see F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, January 7, 1891 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 268.

55 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, February 23, 1891 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 281–3.

56 F. Engels, Zur Kritik der sozialdemokratischen Programmentwurtes 1891" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 20, 1901, pp. 5–13.

57 August Bebel to F. Engels, July 12, 1891 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 424.

58 For the Erfurt programme of the Social Democrat Party see Marx–Engels, *Kritiken der sozialdemokratischen Programmentwürfe von 1875 und 1891* (1928), pp. 128–32: English translation in V. L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–90* (1966), Appendix B, pp. 335–8.

59 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, October 24, 1891 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 237.

60 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, October 7, 1893 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 254–6. A copy of the programme is preserved in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), M 50.

61 Engels's speech at the banquet in the Concordia Hall, Berlin, on September 22, 1893 is printed in F. Engels, *Auf Reisen* (1966), pp. 235–7.

62 Karl Marx, *Klassenkampfe in Frankreich 1848–50* (Berlin, 1895).

63 Bebel wrote to Engels on March 11, 1895: " . . . We do not ask you to say something that you do not wish to say – or may not say – but we ask you *not* to say something which, if said at this time, would be embarrassing for us. . . ." (Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 1965, p. 795).

64 "Wie man heute Revolution macht": leading article in *Vorwärts*, 1895.

65 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, April 1, 1895 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 429–30. Kautsky printed Engels's introduction (though not in full) in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 13, 1894–5. See also K. Kautsky, "Engels' politisches Testament" in *Der Kampf*, Vol. 18, 1925, p. 472 *et seq*, and N. Rjazanov in *Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, Vol. 1, 1925, p. 160 *et seq*.

66 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, April 3, 1895 in *Friedrich Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, p. 373.

67 *Daily Chronicle*, July 1, 1893 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue*, Vol. 3, 1891–5, Appendix, p. 400.

68 For Victor Adler see *Neue Österreichische Biographie*, Vol. 3, 1926, pp. 152–72; *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 1, 1953, p. 72; *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, 1815–1950, Vol. 1, 1957, p. 7; Max Ermers, *Victor Adler . . .* (1932); F. Adler (ed.), *Victor Adler: Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (1954); *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden, Brief* (11 parts, 1922–29).

69 E. Aveling, "Engels at Home" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 312.

70 For socialism in Austria see Hans Mommsen, *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalitätenfrage im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*, Vol. 1, *1867–1907* (1963) and "Friedrich Engels und die politische und nationale Taktik der Sozialdemokratie in Österreich" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971, pp. 133–9); H. Steiner *Die Arbeiterbewegung Österreichs, 1867–1889* (1964); H. Steiner (ed.), *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, 1867–1918* (1962).

71 Karl Kautsky to F. Engels, July 22, 1883 and F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 18, 1883 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 76–7 and p. 84. For Leo Frankel's letter introducing Adler to Engels see *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. vii.

72 *Gleichheit* was published between 1886 and 1889. When it ceased publication Adler founded a new socialist paper called *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna).

73 See Peukert's memoirs – Josef Peukert, *Erinnerungen eines Proletariars aus der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung* (1913).

74 Adler did not start to serve the sentence until February 1890.

75 Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 414.

76 F. Engels to V. Adler, July 22, 1891 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 27. The royalties amounted to 50 Marks (£2 10s) per 1,000 copies. The

publisher paid Adler 500 Marks (£25): see V. Adler to F. Engels, September 2, 1891 (*ibid.*, p. 29).

77 F. Engels to V. Adler, May 19, 1892 and V. Adler to F. Engels, May 26, 1892 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 35–7. Engels stated that royalties amounting to £25 were due in the autumn of 1892 and £25 in the spring of 1893.

78 F. Engels to V. Adler, January 12, 1895 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 119.

79 Karl Kautsky, "Die Arbeiterbewegung in Österreich" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 8, 1890, pp. 49–56, 97–106, 154–63.

80 For the speeches by Adler and Engels at the socialist meeting in Vienna on September 11, 1893 see the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), September 22, 1893 and *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 70–6.

81 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 18, 1893 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 293–4.

82 Paul Lafargue, *The Evolution of Property* (1891); *Social and Philosophical Studies* (1906); and *The Right to be Lazy* (1907); J. Varlet's introduction to *P. Lafargue: théoricien du Marxisme* (1933); G. Stolz, *Paul Lafargue, théoricien militant du socialism* (1937); Émile Bottigelli in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 489–542; S. Bernstein, *The Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France* (1965); Georges Weil, *Histoire du mouvement socialiste en France* (1904); Claude Willard, *Le mouvement socialiste en France* (1893–1905), *Les Guesdistes* (1965).

83 G. Deville, *Le Capital de Karl Marx* . . . (1883).

84 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, November 5, 1880 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 124–5.

85 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, October 25, 1881 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 50.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

87 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, November 5, 1880 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 124–5. See also Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, *Le programme du Parti Ouvrier. Son histoire, ses considérants, ses articles* (1883).

88 F. Engels to August Bebel, October 28, 1882 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), pp. 137–8.

89 Émile Bottigelli in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 500.

90 F. Engels to Theodore Cuno, January 24, 1872 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italieni 1848–95* (1964), p. 134.

91 F. Engels to J. P. Becker, February 16, 1872 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 33, p. 404.

92 *La Plebe* was published first in Lodi and then in Milan. Engels's articles appeared in the following issues: December 12, 1871; April 24, October 5 and 8, November 17, December 14, 1872; February 26, 1877; January 22, 1878; and March 30, 1879.

93 Lafargue described this translation as "magnificent": see Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, June 15, 1885 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 294.

94 Engels wrote to Lafargue on January 28, 1887: "Martignetti has written to me again. It seems that he is in a tight corner. He asks me to try and find some way out for him and makes impossible suggestions. I have written to Hamburg and Vienna on his behalf and have promised him that I would write to you too: you will no doubt have a letter from him direct. There is nothing for him here or in America, since he does not know a word of English. Would there be any opening for him in France as a teacher of Italian? This is the only thing I see for him to do. Or can you think of something better? He is going to be dismissed from his post. Find out whether in Paris or in the provinces there is some opening for the poor devil" (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 485). See also F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 21, 1887 (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 42) and F. Engels to August Bebel, August 30, 1887 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 309.

95 E. Ragionieri, *Socialdemocrazia tedesca e socialisti italiani. L'influenza della socialdemocrazia tedesca sulla formazione del partito socialista italiano, 1875–95* (Milan, 1961), pp. 192–219.

96 Antonio Labriola, *La concezione materialistica della stori* (Bari, 1965: edited by E. Gavin) and Antonio Labriola, *Scritti politici* (Bari, 1970: edited by V. Garratana).

97 Antonio Labriola to F. Engels, March 14, 1894 in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani* (Milan, 1964), p. 525.

98 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 21, 1893 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 286.

99 G. M. Bravo, "Friedrich Engels und Achille Loria" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971, pp. 175–88). Loria taught at the Universities of Sienna, Padua and Turin.

100 F. Engels to Filippo Turati, April 12, 1894: "this charlatan announced to the whole world that Marx never wrote a third volume of *Das Kapital*" in G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italieni* (1964), p. 531.

101 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 3, 1894 (edition of 1957): introduction by F. Engels, pp. 17–21.

102 *Nuova Antologia*, April 1, 1883.

103 Engels's introduction to the third volume of *Das Kapital*, 1894 was translated into Italian by Martignetti and appeared in *Rassegna* (1895, No. 1) and *Critica sociale*, December 1, and 16, 1895. See also F. Engels to Pasquale Martignetti, January 8, 1895 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 39, p. 369.

104 Loria replied to Engels's introduction to *Das Kapital*, Vol. 3 (1894) in *Riforma Sociale*, February 25, 1895. For Engels's rejoinder see his "supplement" to Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 3 (1894), (edition of 1957), p. 27 (footnote).

105 E. Ragionieri, "Engels und die italienische Arbeiterbewegung" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85), pp. 196–7.

106 *Federazione dell'Alta Italia*, The journal *La Plebe* was its official organ. See F. Engels to Karl Marx, February 23, 1877 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 447.

107 F. Engels, "Aus Italien" in *Vorwärts*, March 16, 1877 and in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 19, pp. 91–5.

108 *Partito operaio Milano.*
109 *Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani.*
110 Three years later its name was changed to *Partito Socialista Italiano.*
111 E. Ragionieri, "Engels und die italienische Arbeiterbewegung" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 197–8.
112 See F. Engels, "La futura Rivoluzione Italiana ed il Partito Socialista" in *Critica Sociale*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 35–6: reprinted in G. Pischel, *"Critica Sociale" 1891–1926* . . . (Milan, 1945), pp. 18–22.
113 E. Ragionieri, "Engels und die italienische Arbeiterbewegung" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Forschungsinstitut der *Friedrich Ebert* Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 198–9.
114 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, February 23, 1894 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 260.
115 G. Del Bo (ed.), *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italieni, 1848–95* (Milan, 1964), pp. 435–7, 447–50, 458–63, 469–70.
116 For Engels and the British labour movement between 1881 and 1895 see S. Bünger, *Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung von 1881–1895* (1962), M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, Vol. 2 (1929), and H. Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880–1900* (1954).
117 F. Engels, "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work" in *The Labour Standard*, May 7, 1881.
118 F. Engels to Adolph Hepner, December 30, 1872 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 112.
119 F. Engels, "Die englischen Wahlen" in *Der Volksstaat*, March 4, 1874 and in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953), p. 464. Engels added that the election of two working men (Alexander MacDonald and Thomas Burt) to the House of Commons had "ushered in a new phase in English political development".
120 Karl Marx to W. Liebknecht, February 11, 1878 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 245. English translation in Karl Max and F. Engels, *On Britain* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953), p. 509.
121 E. Bernstein to F. Engels, June 13, 1879 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 3. This was the first letter written by Bernstein to Engels.
122 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, June 17, 1879 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 510 and in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 510. This was the first letter written by Engels to Bernstein.
123 F. Engels to August Bebel, January 18, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebel Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 172. English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 517. For the depression of 1873–96 see D. H. Aldcroft and H. W. Richardson, *The British Economy, 1870–1939* (1969), Section B(i) "Retardation in Britain's Industrial Growth, 1870–1913".
124 F. Engels, *The British Labour Movement. Articles from "The Labour Standard"* (1934).
125 *The Labour Standard*, May 21, 1881.
126 *Ibid.*, May 28, 1881.
127 *Ibid.*, April 4, 1881.

128 *Ibid.*, April 4, 1881.
129 *The Labour Standard*, August 6, 1881.
130 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, August 27, 1881 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 38.
131 F. Engels to Karl Marx, August 11, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 510–11. The circumstances of the breach between Engels and Shipton (described in this letter) were as follows. Shipton complained that two passages in an article by Kautsky on international labour legislation (which Engels had corrected) were "too strong" for his paper. Engels replied that since some of his own leading articles would be a good deal "stronger" it would be best if he ceased to contribute to *The Labour Standard*. Engels's articles had converted one future leader of the workers to socialism – James Macdonald, *How I Became a Socialist* (1896), p. 61.
132 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, January 28, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 486.
133 Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 89.
134 Edward Aveling in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 313.
135 Engels declined an invitation to contribute to *Justice*, explaining that he was busy editing the manuscripts of the second volume of *Das Kapital*.
136 *Justice*, January 1, 1887.
137 F. Engels to August Bebel, October 28, 1885 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebel Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 240.
138 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, April 19, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 231.
139 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, August 12, 1892 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 359: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 528.
140 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 12, 1894 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 263.
141 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, September 16, 1886 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 162.
142 Engels wrote that "the anarchists are making rapid progress in the Socialist League" and that Morris and Belfort Bax were "wholly under their control for the present": F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, April 29, 1886 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 156.
143 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 4, 1887 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 185. See also A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics* (1962).
144 For the Fabian programme of 1887 see E. R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society* (revised edition of 1926), p. 284.
145 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, October 11, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 65.
146 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, February 8, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 226.
147 F. Engels to Mrs Wischnewetzky, May 2, 1888 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 200.
148 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 12, 1882 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 63 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 514.

149 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 30, 1883 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 166 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 516.
150 F. Engels to August Bebel, January 18, 1884 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 172 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p .517.
151 F. Engels, "England in 1845 and 1885" in *The Commonweal*, March 1, 1885; reprinted in the introduction to the English translation of F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1892: new translation by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971).
152 F. Engels to Mrs Wischnewetzky, May 2, 1888 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 200.
153 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, December 7, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 221.
154 See H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), and C. Tsuziki, *H. M. Hyndman and British Socialism* (1961).
155 John Barker in the *Daily Telegraph*, May 22, 1972, p. 11.
156 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men* (edition of 1968), p. 234.
157 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, December 31, 1884 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 143.
158 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 30, 1883 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 165.
159 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 16, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 179.
160 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 25, 1889 (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 262).
161 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, March 26, 1886 (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 347).
162 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 9, 1886 (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 334).
163 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, June 8, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 213.
164 Eleanor Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht, January 12, 1885 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 433.
165 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 273.
166 Karl Marx to Jenny Longuet, April 11, 1881 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence, 1846–95* (1934), p. 389.
167 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, December 15, 1881 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 130.
168 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 285.
169 F. Engels to H. M. Hyndman (no date) in C. Tsuzuki, *H. M. Hyndman and British Socialism* (1961), p. 43.
170 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, July 19, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 138.
171 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 22, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 124.
172 H. M. Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England* (1883), p. 417.
173 *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 4, 1885 (letter from Hunter Watts); *Justice*, December 12, 1885 (reply from the Social Democratic Federation admitting the receipt of £340 from the Conservatives).
174 Queen Victoria to W. E. Gladstone, February 11, 1886 in *Letters of Queen Victoria, 1886–1901* (1930), Vol. 1, p. 52 and F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 9, 1886 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 333–7.

175 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, March 18, 1893 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 249.
176 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 271.
177 H. M. Hyndman, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
178 H. M. Hyndman, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
179 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 279.
180 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 12, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 92.
181 H. M. Hyndman, "Dr Aveling?" in *Justice*, February 21, 1891.
182 H. M. Hyndman, "The Marxist Clique" in *Justice*, February 28, 1891.
183 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 279.
184 F. Engels to Mrs Wischnewetzky, February 9, 1887 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 171.
185 Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels's Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 168.
186 Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils* (1918), p. 218.
187 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (1960), p. 347.
188 Hyndman revived the controversy over Aveling's expenses in an article in *Justice*, February 21, 1891.
189 Eduard Bernstein to V. Adler, April 5, 1898 in Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (ed. F. Adler, 1954), p. 243.
190 For the inquest on Eleanor Marx see *The Times*, April 4, 1898 and the *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner*, April 8, 1898. See also Eduard Bernstein, "Was Eleanor Marx in den Tod trieb" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 16 (2), 1898, p. 118 and in *Justice*, July 30, 1898. Karl Kautsky accused Aveling of driving Eleanor Marx to suicide. He wrote: "For Tussy's sake I have always been careful to judge the wretch as charitably as possible. That is now both unnecessary and impossible. According to the latest information that I have received from Ede (Eduard Bernstein) Aveling not only drove Eleanor to her death by his scandalous behaviour but he *knew* that she intended to take her own life and did nothing to stop her. Aveling was present when Eleanor sent the maid for the poison. He was present when Eleanor signed the poison book on receipt of the poison. Then Aveling – who had been behaving as if he were on his deathbed – went off for the whole day and when he came back in the evening a lady living nearby met him to prepare him for the bad news. She said: 'Oh, Mrs Aveling is very ill.' And at once he replied: 'Is she dead? Is it all over?' " (Karl Kautsky to V. Adler, April 9, 1898 in V. Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (ed. F. Adler, 1954), p. 244).
191 H. M. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), p. 285 and p. 423.
192 "ein übles Subjekt": B. Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels's Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 25.
193 "Schuft", "Schurke", "Kerl": Eduard Bernstein to V. Adler, April 5, 1898 in Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (ed. F. Adler, 1954), p. 243.
194 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (1960), pp. 347–8.
195 Ben Tillett, *Memories and Reflections* (1931), p. 135.
196 S. Weintraub (ed.), *Shaw. An Autobiography* (1970), p. 43. G. B. Shaw did not mention Aveling by name. He stated that he was

describing the character of "one of the several models who sat unconsciously for Dubedat" in *The Doctor's Dilemma.*

197 Christopher St John (ed.), *Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw. A Correspondence* (1931), pp. 286–7.

198 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 148.

199 For Eleanor Marx see Olga Worobjowa and Irma Sinelnikowa, *Die Töchter von Karl Marx* (1963); C. Tsuzuki, *The Life of Eleanor Marx. A Socialist Tragedy* (1967).

200 Karl Marx to F. Engels, April 23, 1857 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 2, p.

201 Eduard Bernstein, "Eleanor Marx" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 16 (2), 1898, p. 118 *et seq.*

202 Paul Lafargue, "Reminiscences of Marx" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 82.

203 Eduard Bernstein in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 16 (2), 1898, p. 118 and p. 481.

204 Paul Lafargue, "Reminiscences of Marx" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 82.

205 Eleanor Marx, "Friedrich Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, pp. 185–6.

206 Eleanor Marx to Karl Kautsky, March 15, 1898 in the Marx–Engels Archives (Amsterdam), D. XVI. 489.

207 E. Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils* (1918), p. 172.

208 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, August 4, 1874 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 138.

209 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 14, 1874 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 418–9.

210 Karl Marx to Dr Kugelmann, August 4, 1874 in Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann*, p. 138.

211 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 18, 1881 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 515–16.

212 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 5, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 518–19.

213 *The Times*, April 4, 1898; *Forest Hill and Sydenham Examiner*, April 8, 1898; Robert Payne, *Marx* (1968), pp. 527–8.

214 Franzisca Kugelmann in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 285.

215 Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie* (1966), p. 484.

216 See Karl Marx to F. Engels, May 23 and 31, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 394 and p. 400.

217 Eleanor Marx to Olive Schreiner, June 16, 1885 in *The Modern Monthly*, Vol. 9, 1935, p. 290.

218 Karl Marx to F. Engels, January 12, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 521.

219 Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (1926 and 1946), pp. 258–9.

220 Eleanor Marx to Laura Lafargue, June 18, 1884 in C. Tsuzuki, *The Life of Eleanor Marx, 1855–98* (1967), p. 105.

221 Eleanor Marx to Dollie Radford, June 30, 1884 in C. Tsuzuki, *The Life of Eleanor Marx, 1855–98* (1967), pp. 105–6.

222 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 22, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86, p. 218. On August 1, 1884 Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue that he had "still to write to 'Mrs Aveling' " (*ibid.*, p. 228).

223 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, August 6, 1884 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.),

Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels (1970), p. 289.

224 For Dr Edward Bibbins Aveling (1851–98) see F. Boase, *Modern English Biography* (1908 and 1965), Vol. 4 (supplement to Vol. 1), pp. 209–10.

225 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 22, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86 (1959), p. 218.

226 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 9, 1888 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 121–2.

227 F. Engels to V. Adler, December 12, 1890 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 22.

228 F. Engels to Mrs Wischnewetzky, February 9, 1887 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 170–1. A few days later Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue: "In a day or two you will get a printed circular with Aveling's reply to the charges of the New York Executive. . . . It is nothing but the usual complaint of boorish louts against intellectuals that they live extravagantly on the pence of the working men. Fortunately we have a good reply. . . . Poor Edward had an awful shock about these ridiculous accusations. . . ." (F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 24, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 26).

229 S. Bünger, *Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung 1881–1895* (1962), p. 124.

230 *Daily Telegraph*, April 12, 1887.

231 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 21, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 31–2.

232 F. Engels to Eduard Bernstein, May 5, 1887 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 355.

233 F. Engels to John Lincoln Mahon, June 26, 1887 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 350 and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain* (1953), p. 520: J. L. Mahon to F. Engels, June 22, June 23, and July 21, 1887 in E. P. Thompson, *William Morris* (1955), pp. 863–6.

234 Tom Mann, *What A Compulsory Eight-Hour Working Day means to the Workers* (1886).

235 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 10, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 377.

236 *Link*, June 23, 1888.

237 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 137.

238 *Fifty Years of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers* (1939); Betty Grant, *Beckton Struggles* (1955); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men* (1968), Ch. 9.

239 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 30, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 379–80. Engels was writing about Will Thorne's success in Leeds where the gas workers went on strike and gained an 8 hour day in February 1890.

240 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, December 7, 1889 and April 19, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 220 and p. 230.

241 E. Bernstein to V. Adler, April 5, 1898 in Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (ed. Friedrich Adler, 1954), p. 244.

242 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 125.

243 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 117.
244 The meeting between Engels and Will Thorne occurred in 1890 on Engels's 70th birthday; see F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 1, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 423.
245 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 149.
246 Rev. W. Champneys in the *Northern Star*, May 4, 1844 quoted in F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (ed. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1971), p. 99.
247 Peter Quennell (ed.), *Mayhew's London* (1969), pp. 566–72.
248 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 27, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 304.
249 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
250 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 86.
251 Ben Tillett, *Memories and Reflections* (1931), p. 135.
252 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, September 1, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 306.
253 F. Engels, "Die Abdankung der Bourgeoisie" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, October 5, 1889; reprinted in Horst Bartel, *Marx und Engels im Kampf um ein revolutionäres deutsches Parteiorgan, 1879–1890* (1961), pp. 211–16. See also an article by Engels on the London dock strike in *The Labour Elector*, August 31, 1889.
254 *The Peoples Press* replaced *The Labour Elector* which ceased publication in April 1890.
255 F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, 1958 and 1971), Appendix III. Preface to the English edition of 1892, pp. 370–1. See also Engels's introduction of April 20, 1892 to the English translation (by Edward Aveling) of F. Engels, *Socialism. Utopian and Scientific* (Chicago, 1905), pp. xxxviii–xxxix.
256 H. Quelch, *Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and Social Democracy* (1892).
257 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), pp. 90–1.
258 F. Engels to Hermann Schlüter, January 11, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 222–3.
259 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 96.
260 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, July 30, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 379. Engels wrote that "young Will Thorne proved himself a leader in battle of both courage and ability. This mode of *lawful* resistance is very much to be approved of, especially here in England – and it succeeded".
261 Will Thorne, *My Life's Battles* (1926), p. 131.
262 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 18, 1890 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 261.
263 D. Torr, "Fifty Years of May Day" in *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 22, 1940, p. 313.
264 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 10, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 375–6.
265 F. Engels, "Der 4 Mai in London" in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Vienna), May 23, 1890: reprinted in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1, *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (Vienna, 1922), pp. 8–15. Hyndman replied to this article by attacking Engels in *Justice*.
266 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 10, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and*

Laura Lafargue: Correspondence, Vol. 2, pp. 375–7. For the May Day demonstration in London on May 4, 1890 see also F. Engels, "Der 4 Mai in London" in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Vienna), May 23, 1890, reprinted in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 8–15.

267 *People's Press*, May 17, 1890.

268 *Workman's Times*, March 27, 1891.

269 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 21, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 71.

270 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 4, 1891 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 56–60.

271 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, March 18, 1893 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 249.

272 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, January 18, 1893 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 246.

273 F. Engels to Hermann Schlüter, January 1, 1895 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 268.

274 F. Engels to V. Adler, March 16, 1895 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 126–7.

275 Boris Tartakowski, "Friedrich Engels und das revolutionäre Russland" and Timur Timofejaw, "Das Erbe von Engels und der Leninismus" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 163–8 and pp. 201–17. For Plekhanov see L. Hainson, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* (1955). S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov, The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963) and W. A. Fomina, *Die philosophischen Anschauungen G. W. Plechanows* (Berlin, 1967). See also L. Labedz (ed.), *Revisionism. Essays on the History of Marxist Ideas* (1962), Ch. 2.

276 Karl Marx to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 412.

277 Karl Marx to the editorial board of *Fatherland Notes (Otechestvenniye Zapiski)*, November 1877 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 376–7. Marx did not send this letter and it was not published until 1886.

278 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, June 18, 1892 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 344.

279 F. Engels to G. V. Plekhanov, February 26, 1895 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 561.

280 F. Engels, "Russia and the Social Revolution (1873)" in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe* (edited by P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz, 1953), p. 215.

281 Preface by Marx and Engels to the second Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto, January 21, 1882 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (edition of 1957), pp. xv–xvi.

282 H. A. Lopatin to M. N. Oshanina, September 20, 1883 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 204–5.

283 A. M. Voden, "Talks with Engels", in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 329.

284 Karl Marx to P. V. Annenkov, December 28, 1846 in Karl Marx and

F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 39–51.

285 F. Engels, *Ausgewählte Militärische Schriften*, Vol. 1 (1958), pp. 234–396; Karl Marx (should be Karl Marx and F. Engels), *The Eastern Question . . .* (ed. by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling, 1897: new edition, 1969); and Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace* (ed. by P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz, 1953).

286 For the Narodniks see W. G. Simkhovitsch, "Die Ökonomische Lehre der russischen Narodniki" in *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie*, Vol. 69, p. 653 *et seq.*; A. I. S. Branfoot, *A Critical Survey of the Narodnik Movement* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1926); and R. Kindersley, *The First Russian Revisionists* (1962), Ch. 1, "Marxism versus Narodnichestvo".

287 Report published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 27, 1881, p. 351.

288 See Karl Marx, "The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to committee members of the Russian section in Geneva" (March 24, 1870) in *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 3, 1868–70, pp. 410–11. A little later Marx wrote that "the intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that deep below the surface, fermentation is going on" (Karl Marx to S. Meyer, January 21, 1871 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 82).

289 H. A. Lopatin to N. P. Sinelnikov, February 15, 1873 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 201–2.

290 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 5, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 403.

291 Karl Marx to F. Engels, August 3, 1870 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 416.

292 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1: meetings of September 6 and 20, 1870 (p. 59 and p. 61).

293 H. A. Lopatin to N. P. Sinelnikov, February 15, 1873 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 201–3. This letter was published in Lopatin's autobiography in 1922.

294 F. Engels to Karl Marx, November 29, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 406.

295 Karl Marx to F. Engels, November 30, 1873 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 408.

296 Karl Marx to F. Engels, July 23, 1877 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. 463.

297 Engels and Lopatin were both present at meetings of the General Council of the First International held on October 11, 18 and 25, and November 1, 8 and 15, 1870.

298 H. A. Lopatin to M. N. Oshanina, September 20, 1883 in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 204–5. This letter was first published in 1893.

299 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, November 24, 1886 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 396.

300 For Peter Lavrov's career see an article in *L'Humanité Nouvelle* (Paris), Vol. 37 (1900), pp. 35–9. See also Peter Lavrov, *Historical Letters* (1967).

301 L. Pierre (Peter Lavrov) in *L'Internationale* (the organ of the Belgian

sections of the First International), April 2, 1871: English translation in E. Schulkind (ed.), *The Paris Commune of 1871* (1972), pp. 114–15.

302 E. Schulkind (ed.), *The Paris Commune of 1871* (1972), p. 114.

303 *The General Council of the First International: Minutes*, Vol. 4, 1870–1: Council meetings, July 4, 1871 (p. 226), July 11, 1871 (p. 231), and July 18, 1871 (p. 235).

304 *Karl Marx. Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten* (Makol Verlag, 1971), p. 309.

305 *Karl Marx. Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten* (Makol Verlag, 1971), p. 351 and p. 453. In December 1875 Lavrov asked Marx to attend another meeting in London in support of the Poles but Marx had to decline the invitation owing to ill-health (*ibid.*, pp. 354–5).

306 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 3, 1877 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 449–50.

307 Laura Lafargue to F. Engels, April 21, 1885 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 1868–86, p. 282.

308 Karl Marx to Peter Lavrov, February 11, 1875 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 223–5.

309 F. Engels to Peter Lavrov, November 12, 1875 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 226–9: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 366–70.

310 Karl Marx to F. Engels, March 3, 1877 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, p. ?

311 *Karl Marx. Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten* (Makol Verlag, 1971), p. 385.

312 Boris Tartakowski, "Friedrich Engels und das revolutionäre Russland" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), p. 165.

313 *Karl Marx. Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten* (Makol Verlag, 1971), p. 393.

314 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, February 5, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 169. Engels wrote "The Russian books we have promised to Lavrov: he is, I think, positively entitled to them. . . ." On March 3, 1884 Paul Lafargue told Engels that Lavrov had "received his packing case several days ago" (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 184).

315 F. Engels to Peter Lavrov, April 2, 1883; January 28, February 5 and 12, 1884 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 277, 281–2, 283–5, and 293–4.

316 A. Voden, "Talks with Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Modern Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 328. Danielson translated *Das Kapital* into Russian (Vol. 1 in collaboration with Lapotin) and was the author of *Essays on our Post-Reform Social Economy* (in Russian) (1880).

317 F. Engels to Peter Lavrov, November 12, 1875 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 226–9: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 366–70.

318 For Leo Hartmann see Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 18–19.

319 N. Morozov, "Visits to Karl Marx", in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 302.

320 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, January 25, 1885 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 260.
321 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 12, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 558–60.
322 F. Engels to Karl Marx, September 12, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 558–60.
323 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 15, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 581–3: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 429.
324 F. Engels to Karl Marx, December 22, 1882 in *Gesamtausgabe*, Part III, Vol. 4, pp. 586–7.
325 This was Engels's reply to Tkachev's pamphlet entitled *Open Letter to Mr Friedrich Engels. . . .* Marx read Tkachev's pamphlet in December 1873 and suggested that Engels should "hit back hastily": see *Karl Marx. Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten* (Makol Verlag, 1971), p. 350.
326 F. Engels, "Soziales aus Russland" in *Der Volksstaat*, April 16, 18 and 21, 1875: English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe* (ed. by P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz, 1953), pp. 203–15.
327 F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat"*, 1871–5 (1894) and Boris Tartakowski, "Friedrich Engels und die revolutionäre Russland" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), p. 167.
328 F. Engels to Eugenie Papritz, June 26, 1884 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 450–1.
329 F. Engels to Vera Zasulich, April 23, 1884 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 459.
330 F. Engels to August Bebel, May 9, 1890 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 388 and an illustration in the *Daily Graphic*, May 2, 1892 entitled: "Labour Day in London. Yesterday's Demonstration in Hyde Park. Platform No. 14."
331 Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 169.
332 F. M. Kravchinskaya in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 335–9. Stepniak ("son of the steppes") was a nom de plume: his real name was Kravchinsky. For Stepniak see an article by Vera Zasulich in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 14 (Part I), 1896, p. 490 and Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils* (1918), pp. 231–4.
333 E. Bernstein to F. Engels, November 10, 1883 in H. Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 231.
334 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, November 5, 1880 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 126.
335 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 134.
336 Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia* (revised edition, 1912), pp. 599–600.
337 F. Engels to Vera Zasulich, March 6, 1884 in Karl Marx and

F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 444 (postscript).

338 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 73.

339 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 351.

340 Karl Marx to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 411–12.

341 F. Engels to Vera Zasulich, March 6, 1884 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 442–4.

342 F. Engels to Vera Zasulich, April 23, 1885 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 458–61.

343 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 21, 1893 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 286.

344 August Bebel to F. Engels, August 26, 1894 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 776.

345 E. Aveling, "Engels at Home" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 312.

346 F. Engels to Georgi Plekhanov, February 26, 1895 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels Profile* (1970), pp. 115–16.

347 Stepniak's wife wrote that "Engels kept up his interest in all events to the very end and wrote much. Vera Zasulich often went to see him and (she) shared (her) impressions with me" (F. M. Kravchinskaya in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 339).

348 A. Voden, "Talks with Engels" in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 328.

349 Edward Aveling, "Engels at Home" in *The Labour Prophet*, Vol. 4, 1895, Numbers 45 and 46 and in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 312.

350 Quoted by M. Sidorov in his introduction to G. V. Plekhanov, *Utopian Socialism of the Nineteenth Century*, 1913 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 8.

351 Karl Kautsky to F. Engels, February 14, 1884 and December 12, 1891 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 98 and p. 320.

352 Boris Tartakowski, "Friedrich Engels und das revolutionäre Russland" in *Friedrich Engels, 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), p. 165.

353 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 75.

354 M. Sidorov in his introduction to G. V. Plekhanov, *Utopian Socialism of the Nineteenth Century*, 1913 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 8–9.

355 *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 329 (note 2).

356 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 160.

357 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 142.

358 August Bebel to F. Engels, April 11, 1892 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 531 and N. S. Rusanov, "My Acquaintance with Engels" in *Reminiscences*

of Marx and Engels (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 318–24 and in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Vienna), February 20, 1931.

359 G. V. Plekhanov to Karl Kautsky, December 20, 1894 in the Institute of Social History (Amsterdam).

360 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 160 (note).

361 G. D. H. Cole, *The Second International, 1889–1914* (two volumes, 1956); James Joll, *The Second International, 1889–1914* (New York, 1956); M. M. Drachkowitch (ed.), *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* (1966): Part II "The Second International" (by G. Niemeyer and Carl Landauer); S. Bünger, *Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung, 1881–95* (1962), Ch. 7.

362 Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement* (1909), p. 184.

363 Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 287.

364 F. Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, July 31, 1877 in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (ed. Georg Eckert, 1963), p. 235.

365 Karl Marx to Wilhelm Bracke, August 24, 1877 in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Briefwechsel mit Wilhelm Bracke, 1869–80* (1963), p. 148.

366 M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, Vol. 2 (1929), p. 265 (note).

367 Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge, September 27, 1877 in *Briefe und Auszüge von Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere* (Stuttgart, 1906), p. 156. For the Ghent socialist congress of 1877 see *Vorwärts*, Numbers 104, 110, 111, 112 and 114 of 1877.

368 F. Engels, "Die europäischen Arbeiter im Jahre 1877" in *Marx-Engels Werke*, Vol. 19, pp. 123–4.

369 Max Nettlau, *Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre* (1931), p. 221 and Max Nomad, "The Anarchist Tradition" in M. M. Drachkowitch (ed.), *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* (1966), p. 76.

370 John Derbyshire to F. Engels, October 15, 1883 in the Marx–Engels Archives (Amsterdam), L.1072.

371 F. Engels in *Le Socialiste*, March 27, 1886 and in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 406–7.

372 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 11, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 276.

373 Adolphe Smith, *A Critical Essay on the International Trade Union Congress held in London, November 1888* (London, 1889).

374 In the previous autumn Engels had told Danielson that he had to be careful not to strain his eyes: F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, October 15, 1888 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), pp. 307–8.

375 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, May 11, 1889 and F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 11, 1889 (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 241 and p. 275) and F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, July 4, 1889 (Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 314).

376 *The International Working Men's Congress of 1889. A Reply to "Justice"* (London, 1899): German translation in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, March 30 and April 6, 1889. A second pamphlet by Engels and Bernstein attacking the Social Democratic Federation was published on June 1, 1889.

377 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 11, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 213.
378 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, May 4, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 248. See also Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, April 14, 1889 (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 220).
379 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 11, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 212.
380 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, June 8, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 213–16.
381 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, June 11, 1889 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 275.
382 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, June 8, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 216.
383 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, July 17, 1889 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 217.
384 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, July 23, 1887 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 293–4.
385 Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement* (1909), p. 186.
386 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, May 10, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue*, Vol. 2, pp. 375–7 and F. Engels, "Der 4.Mai in London" in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 23, 1890, reprinted in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), pp. 8–15. Friedrich Lessner wrote that Engels "always attended the May celebrations in spite of his age and even climbed onto the cart that was used as a rostrum". "And who can ever forget the May parties that followed those meetings?" (F. Lessner in *Die Hütte*, 1902 and in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Modern Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 179.
387 Engels's introduction to a new edition of the Communist Manifesto published in 1890: see Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (edition of 1957), pp. xxx–xxi.
388 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 17, 1893 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 253.
389 G. Niemeyer in M. M. Drachkowitch (ed.), *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943* (1966), pp. 96–7.
390 For an English translation of Engels's speech to the Zürich congress of the Second International in August 1893 see *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 282 (note). See also F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 21, 1893 (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 282–7) and F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, October 7, 1893 in F. Engels, *Auf Reisen* (1966), pp. 230–4 and an English translation in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), pp. 254–6.
391 F. Engels to Charlotte Engels, December 1, 1884 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 36, pp. 247–8 and Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Friedrich Engels: Profile* (1970), p. 99.
392 F. Engels to V. Adler, September 25, 1892 and March 16, 1895 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 53 and p. 126.
393 E. Bernstein, "Erinnerungen an Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels" in *Mohr und General* (1965), p. 497.
394 Eleanor Marx in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, November 30, 1890 and in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 187.

395 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 1, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 422.
396 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 13, 1883 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 159.
397 Paul Lafargue to F. Engels, June 24, 1884 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 209.
398 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, June 21, 1884 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 123.
399 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 12, 1894 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 262.
400 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, August 6, 1888 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 151.
401 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, October 15, 1888 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 307.
402 F. Engels to N. F. Danielson, October 15, 1888 in Karl Marx–F. Engels, *Briefe über "Das Kapital"* (1954), p. 307.
403 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, January 6, 1892 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 238.
404 F. Engels to Edouard Vaillant, December 5, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 425.
405 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, November 5, 1890 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–95* (1963), p. 232.
406 Louise Kautsky (Freyberger) was a qualified midwife.
407 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 17, 1890 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 426.
408 F. Engels to Paul Lafargue, March 6, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 326. Engels wrote: "So you were surprised by Louise's marriage? It has been brewing for some months. Freyberger has left Vienna and given up a brilliant University career because they forbade him to enlighten the workers, in his lectures, on the social causes of their ills. So he came here, and he has found very good openings in the hospitals here. Once that was settled, there was no further reason for delaying the wedding. While awaiting for his expectations to materialise he came to join his wife here. You can see that it is an entirely matriarchal marriage, the husband is his wife's boarder!"
409 On July 20, 1893 Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue: "I don't want to be laid up again lame in an armchair for six weeks" (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 279.
410 F. Engels to V. Adler, September 22, 1892 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1; *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 51.
411 F. Engels to F. A. Sorge, May 12, 1894 in Karl Marx and F. Engels, May 21, 1895 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 433.
412 F. Engels, "Kann Europa abrüsten? in *Vorwärts*, March 1 to March 10, 1893 and in Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, Vol. 4: *Geschichte und Politik* (2), pp. 236–57 (Fischer Bücherei, 2966). The articles were also published as a pamplet in Nürnberg in 1893.
413 F. Engels, "Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums" in *Die Neue Zeit*, September–October, 1894 and in *Le Devoir Social*, April–May, 1895. A writer in the *Economic Journal* (Vol. 5, 1895) observed that these articles "draw out a very striking historical parallel between Christianity and Socialism. Both have been democratic and revolutionary;

both have had their periods of struggles, sects, superstitions, violence, gradual consolidation and gradual victory" (p. 492). Engels had written previously on primitive Christianity in his obituary of Bruno Bauer: see F. Engels, "Bruno Bauer und das Urchristentum" in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Number 19 and 20, May 4 and May 11, 1882.

414 F. Engels, "Die Bauernfrage in Frankreich und Deutschland" in *Die Neue Zeit*, November 1894.

415 F. Engels's introduction to Karl Marx, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich, 1848 bis 1850* (1895).

416 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, March 28, 1895 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 369.

417 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, May 21, 1895 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 433.

418 F. Engels to E. Bernstein, June 18, 1895 in Helmut Hirsch (ed.), *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1970), p. 417. Engels stayed at 4 Royal Parade, Eastbourne.

419 Samuel Moore to Eleanor Marx, July 21, 1895 (wrongly dated 1891) in the Marx–Engels archives (Amsterdam), G.161.

420 Victor Adler to F. Engels, July 13, 1895 in *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, Heft 1: *Victor Adler und Friedrich Engels* (1922), p. 131. Adler stayed with Engels first in Eastbourne and then in London until August 3, 1895.

421 Louise Freyberger to August Bebel, September 2 and 4, 1898 in the Bernstein papers in the International and in W. Blumenberg, *Marx* (1962), pp. 115–17 and Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx, Eine Psychographie* (1966), pp. 325–7. Louise Freyberger wrote that "Freddy is ridiculously like Marx and only blind prejudice could see the slightest resemblance to General in the boy's typical Jewish features and blue-black hair".

422 Eleanor Marx to John Burns, August 6 and 8, 1895 in Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 2 (1934), p. 569 (note to p. 525).

423 Gustav Adolf Schlechtendahl (1840–1912) had married Elise Boelling, a daughter of Engels's sister Hedwig. He was a leading figure in the Reformed Evangelical Church in Barmen-Gemarke.

424 Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils* (1918), p. 208.

425 A copy of Engels's will is preserved in the Marx–Engels archives in Amsterdam, M.53. See also E. Bernstein, "Friedrich Engels' Testament. Seine Bedeutung und sein Schicksal" in *Vorwärts* (*Der Abend*), September 18, 1929 and E. Bernstein, "Geist und Ausführung des Engelsschen Testaments" in *Vorwärts* (*Der Abend*), September 20, 1929.

426 F. Engels to August Bebel and Paul Singer, November 14, 1894 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 783.

427 Under the codicil Ellen Rosher (Pumps) received (in addition to her legacy of £2,230) "the reversionary interest of the said Percy White Rosher in certain monies to which he is or was entitled expectant on the death of his parents under their marriage settlement which said reversionary interest I have bought from him for the sum of £240 and which also cost me £30 for legal expenses making £270 in all".

428 Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels's Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 445.

429 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx, November 14, 1894

in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 342.

430 In a letter to his executors, dated November 14, 1894 Engels reminded them that each legacy should bear its share of death duty; that money which he had sent to Mrs Rosher, Paul and Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling was to be regarded as a gift and not as a loan; and that Marx's papers in his handwriting (except Marx's letters to Engels) were to be handed over to Eleanor Marx. In a postscript Engels directed that the royalties from the English edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* should be divided between Laura Lafargue, Eleanor Marx, Jenny Longuet's children, Samuel Moore, Edward Aveling and Mrs Wischnewetzky.

431 In a letter to Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx dated November 14, 1894 Engels explained why he proposed to leave to the German Social Democrat Party not only his own library but also that part of Karl Marx's library which had come into his possession on Marx's death. Engels appreciated that Marx's daughters might expect him to return their father's books. He wrote: "I have taken the liberty of disposing of all my books, including those received from you after Mohr's (Marx's) death, in favour of the German Party. The whole of these books constitute a library so unique, and so complete at the same time, for the history and the study of modern socialism and all the sciences on which it is dependent, that it would be a pity to disperse it again. To keep it together, and to place it at the same time at the disposal of those desirous to use it, has been a wish expressed to me long ago by Bebel and other leaders of the German Socialist Party, and as they do indeed seem to be the best people for that purpose, I have consented. I hope that under the circumstances you will pardon my action and give your consent too" (*F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 342).

432 In a letter to Laura Lafargue, dated December 29, 1894 Engels wrote: "all these things I hold *in trust for you*, that you know; and consequently on my death they revert to you. In the last will I made (when Sam Moore were here last time but one) there is no special provision, but in the instructions to my executors accompanying it, there is a distinct direction to them, to hand over to Tussy, as the administrator of the will, the whole of Mohr's Mss. that are in his own handwriting, also all letters addressed to him with the sole exception of my correspondence with him. And as Tussy seems to have some doubts about the matter, I shall as soon as Sam M(oore) comes back in summer ask him to draw up a new will in which this is distinctly and unmistakably declared . . ." (F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 29, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 353). See also F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, January 19, 1895 (*ibid.*, p. 361).

433 Karl Kautsky in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), p. 447.

434 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 17, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 348.

435 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, January 28, 1889 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 227–9.

436 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 17, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 348.

437 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 29, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 352–3.

438 F. Engels to Paul Stumpf, January 3, 1895 in *Marx–Engels Werke*, Vol. 39, p. 367.

439 H. Wendel, "Friedrich Engels als politischer Mentor" in *Die Gesellschaft*, Vol. 3, 1926 (Part I), p. 70 and K. Obermann and Ursula Hermann (editors), *Friedrich Engels und die International Arbeiterbewegung* (1962).

440 Ignaz Auer to Victor Adler, September 26, 1895 in Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebel und Karl Kautsky* (edited by F. Adler, 1954), pp. 189–90.

441 For Eduard Bernstein see Pierre Angel, *Eduard Bernstein et l'evolution du socialisme allemande* (1961); Peter Gay, *The Dilemna of Democratic Socialism* (1952); and H. Hirsch, *Ein revisionistisches Sozialismusbild* (1966).

442 For Karl Kautsky see B. Kautsky (ed.), *Ein Leben für den Sozialismus. Erinnerungen an Karl Kautsky* (1954); Karl Kautsky, *Erinnerungen und Erörterungen* (ed. B. Kautsky, 1960); and Karl Kautsky, *Zu den Programmen der Sozialdemokratie* (documents edited by Albrecht Langer: Hegner Bücherei, 1968). For a list of Karl Kautsky's writings see Werner Blumenberg, *Karl Kautskys literarisches Werk* (1960).

443 F. Engels to August Bebel, August 14, 1892 in Werner Blumenberg (ed.), *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels* (1965), p. 572. Bebel replied on August 17, 1892 that "Ede's enthusiasm for the Fabians is simply ridiculous" (*ibid.*, p. 575). See also F. Engels to August Bebel, August 20, 1892 where he wrote about Bernstein's *Fabianschwärmerei* (*ibid.*, p. 576). Bernstein denied that his contacts with the Fabian Society had anything to do with his later policy of "revisionism": see Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils* (1918), p. 239 *et. seq.*

444 F. Engels to Laura Lafargue, December 17, 1894 in *F. Engels – Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 348.

445 F. Engels to Karl Kautsky, May 21, 1895 in Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky* (1955), pp. 433–6.

446 S. H. Baron, *Plekhanov. The Father of Russian Marxism* (1963), p. 171.

447 For Bernstein's "revisionism" see E. Bernstein, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (1898); E. Bernstein, *Der Revisionismus und die Sozialdemokratie* (1909); C. Gneuss, "Um die Einklang von Theorie und Praxis. Eduard Bernstein und der Revisionismus" in *Marxismusstudien*, Vol. 2, 1957, pp. 198–226.

448 For Karl Kautsky's criticism of Bernstein's "revisionism" see Karl Kautsky, *Bernstein und die Sozialdemokratie. Eine Anti-Kritik* (1898). In the following year Rosa Luxemburg attacked Bernstein's "revisionism" in her pamphlet: *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* (1899). See also E. Matthias, "Kautsky und die Kautskyanismus. Die Funktion der Ideologie in der deutschen Sozialdemokratie vor dem ersten Weltkriege" in Marxismusstudien, Vol. 2, 1957, pp. 151–97. See also L. Labedz (ed.), *Revisionism. Essays on the History of Marxist Ideas* (1962).

449 V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1916 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), p. 153.

450 V. I. Lenin, "Fredrick Engels" (1895) in V. I. Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism* (Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1951), p. 56. For Engels's influence on Lenin see T. Timofejew, "Das Erbe von Engels und der Leninismus" in *Friedrich Engels 1820–1970* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vol. 85, 1971), pp. 201–17.

451 Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals. Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Erklärkung des Imperialismus* (1913: new edition, 1921): English translation – Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (1951). For Rosa Luxemburg see J. P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg* (two volumes, 1966) and H. Hirsch, Rosa Luxemburg (1969). See also D. Howard (ed.), *Selected Political Writings of Rosa Luxemburg* (1971).

452 The phrase was used by Nettl.

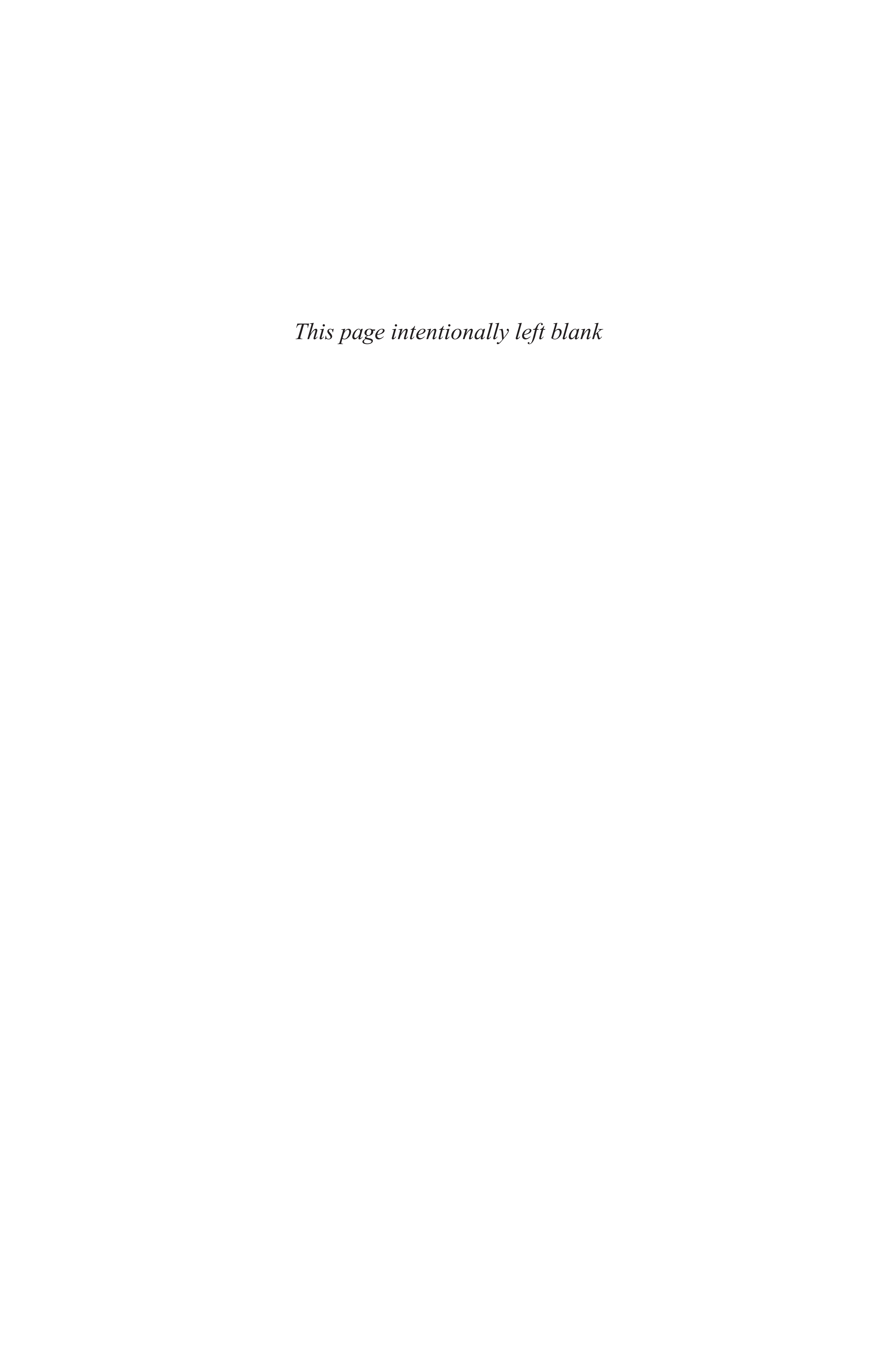
453 V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1913 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

454 Karl Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism* (collection of articles and letters) (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow).

455 See Joan Robinson's introduction to Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (1951).

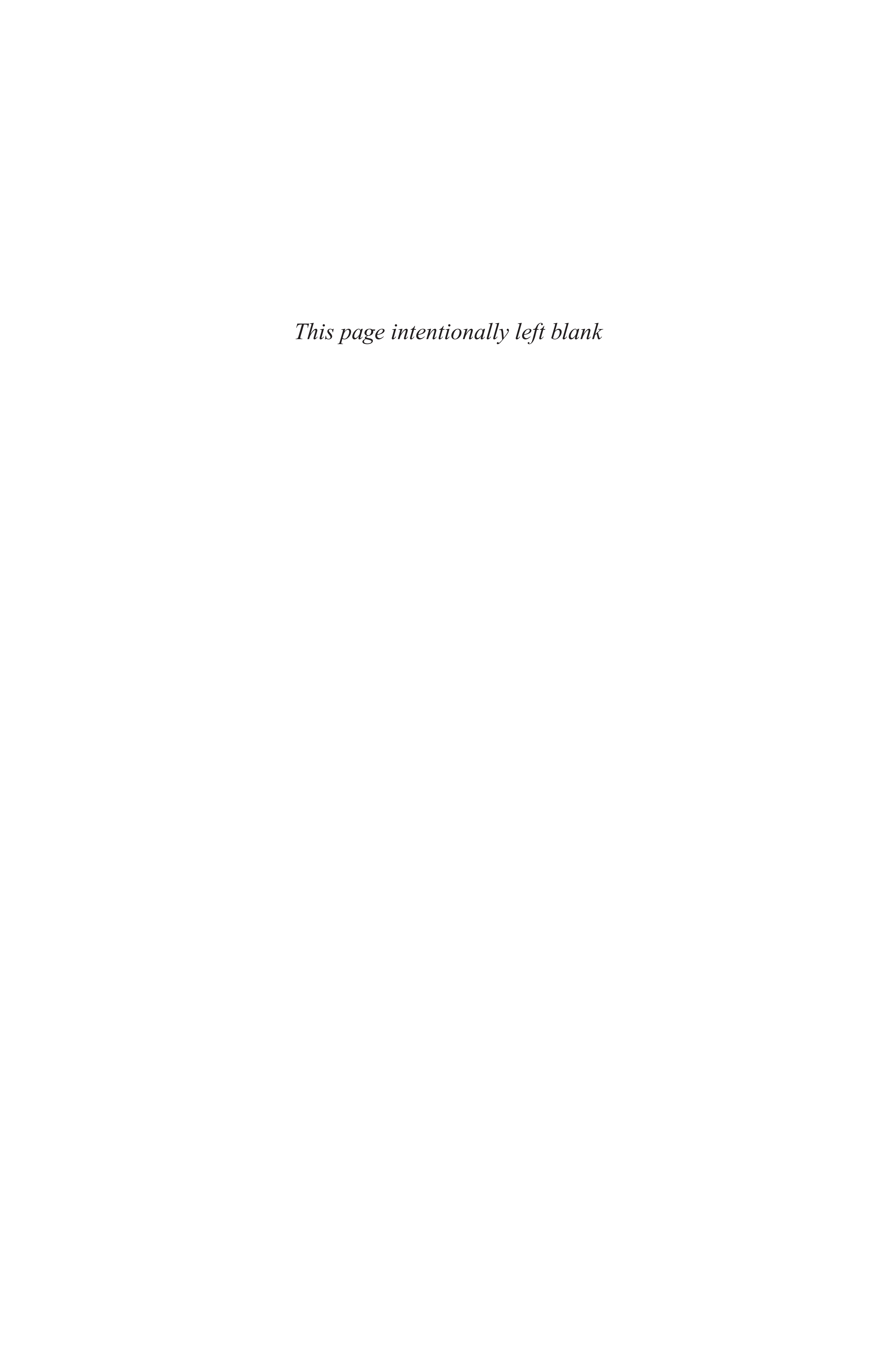
456 V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow): preface to the French and German editions, July 6, 1920 (p. 16).

Fifty years after Lenin's pamphlet was written it was still being discussed. For criticisms of Lenin's interpretation of the "new imperialism" see R. Avon, "The Leninist Myth of Imperialism" in *Partisan Review*, Vol. 18, 1951, pp. 646–62; M. Blaug, "Economic Imperialism Revisited" in *Yale Review*, 1960; D. Landes, "Some Thoughts on the Nature of Economic Imperialsm" in *Journal of Economic History*, 1961; and D. K. Fieldhouse, "'Imperialism'. An Historiographical Revision" in *Economic History Review*, 1961. For a defence of Lenin's argument (and a criticism of Fieldhouse's article) see Eric Stokes, "Late Nineteenth Century Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism" in *Historical Journal*, 1969, pp. 285–301.



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DOCUMENTS



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I

ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE (BY MARX AND ENGELS), MARCH 1850[1]

Brothers!

The Communist League achieved two things during the revolution of 1848–9. First, members of the League everywhere played an active part in the revolutionary movement. In the press, on the barricades and on the battlefield they inspired the proletariat which was the only social class capable of playing a really decisive part in the revolutionary movement. Secondly, the aims of the League concerning the revolution – announced in 1847 in addresses by its congresses and central committee and in 1848 in the Communist Manifesto – have proved their value as the only correct policy for the proletariat to follow. The forecasts made in these policy statements have been proved to be absolutely correct. Views of the present state of society, once secretly propagated by the Communist League, are now universally discussed and are preached in every market place. But at the same time the former strong organisation of the Communist League was greatly weakened. Many members, personally involved in the revolutionary movement, felt that public action should now take the place of underground activities. The links between many sections and cells of the League were weakened and gradually disappeared. So while the democratic party – the organ of the petty bourgeoisie – continually improved its political organisation in Germany, the party of the proletariat lost its cohesion as an organisation. It survived only in isolated districts where it fought for local issues. As a party it came to be completely dominated by the petty bourgeois democrats. This situation must be remedied.

[1] See Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (two volumes, 1853–4; new edition, 1969), Vol. 1, Appendix 13, pp. 251–9; appendix to Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess zu Köln* (new edition with introduction by F. Engels, Zürich, 1885: reprinted 1952), pp. 124–36 and Iring Fetscher (ed.), *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Studienausgabe*, Vol. 3 *Geschichte und Politik* (No. 1, 1966), pp. 90–9.

The central committee of the League, recognising the necessity of reasserting the independence of the proletariat as a political force, sent its emissary Joseph Moll on a tour of Germany in the winter of 1848–9 to reorganise the League in that country. Moll's mission had little result partly because the German workers still lacked political experience and partly because a new insurrection broke out in May 1849. Moll himself joined the revolutionary forces operating in Baden and the Palatinate and fell on June 29 in the action on the River Murg. The Communist League lost in Joseph Moll one of its oldest, most active and most reliable members. He had attended all our congresses and he had sat on our central committee. He had already undertaken a series of propaganda missions with great success. After the defeat of the revolutionary parties in Germany and in France in July 1849 nearly all the members of the central committee have come together again in London. They have been joined by new revolutionary forces and they are now energetically engaged in reorganising the Communist League.

The only way to achieve this reorganisation is by means of an emissary and the central committee considers that it is vital that our agent should now embark upon his task because we are on the eve of a new revolution. The party of the proletariat must take its part in this revolution as a fully organised, completely united, and absolutely independent organisation. If it fails to do this history will repeat itself and – as in 1848 – the party of the proletariat will be exploited and taken in tow by the middle classes.

We already told you, brothers, in 1848 that the German middle class would soon attain power and would then immediately use that power against the workers. You have seen that this actually happened. After the revolution of March 1848 the middle class immediately seized power and used its power to oppress the workers – their allies in the struggles – and to reduce them to their former state of servitude. And the middle class could not do this without the co-operation of the feudal party which had been overthrown in March. In the end the middle class actually had to abdicate its power in favour of the old authoritarian feudal elements in society. But the middle class abdicated its power on very favourable terms. It retained power behind the scene and protected all its interests by taking full advantage of the financial difficulties of the German governments. Consequently the revolutionary movement was able to take its course in a so-called peaceful manner. The middle class is actually in the happy position of not having to earn the hatred of the vast mass of the people by acts of violence – because the feudal counter-revolutionaries have taken all necessary

steps to suppress popular movements. But one cannot expect a peaceful evolution of events. A revolution is due in the immediate future. It may come through a rising of the French workers or it may come as a reaction to an invasion of the Holy Alliance.

The *rôle* which the middle class liberals in Germany played in relation to the people in 1848 – a thoroughly treacherous *rôle* – will be taken over by the democratic petty bourgeoisie. At present the petty bourgeoisie plays the same part in opposition as the liberal middle class played before 1848. The democratic party – which is far more dangerous to the workers than the liberals ever were – is composed of three groups:

1. The progressive section of the upper middle class. This group aims at the abolition of feudalism and absolutism. It represents the former progressives of Berlin and it may be expected to refuse to pay taxes.

2. The democratic constitutional petty bourgeoisie. During the revolution of 1848 its main aim was to secure the establishment of a more or less democratic German federal state. This was the aim of its representatives who sat on the left in the Frankfurt and Stuttgart Parliaments. This was the aim of the armed rising in support of the Frankfurt Constitution.

3. The republican petty bourgeoisie. Their aim is to set up a German republic on federal lines similar to Switzerland. Today they call themselves "reds" and "social democrats" because their pious hope is to remove the pressure exerted by the great capitalists – the wealthy middle class – upon the petty bourgeoisie. In 1848 the representatives of this section of the petty bourgeoisie were members of the democratic congresses and committees. They provided the leaders of the democratic associations and the editors of the democratic newspapers.

Since the victory of the counter-revolution all these groups call themselves "republicans" or "reds" just as the French republican petty bourgeoisie now call themselves "socialists". Where – as in Württemberg, Bavaria etc. – they still have the opportunity of furthering their aims in a constitutional manner they repeat their old slogans and they show by their actions that they have not changed in the slightest. It is of course obvious that the alteration in the name of this party has not in any way changed its attitude towards the workers. The change of name simply shows that this group opposes the wealthy middle class – which is in alliance with the supporters of absolutism – and that it must therefore try to secure the support of the workers.

The party of the democratic petty bourgeoisie is very strong in

Germany. It includes not only the vast majority of the middle class inhabitants of the towns, the petty traders, and the master craftsmen, but it is also supported by smallholders and farm workers in the countryside – except in so far as these groups in the rural districts are in alliance with the urban proletariat.

The relationship between the revolutionary workers and the petty bourgeois democrats is this – the revolutionary workers support the petty bourgeois democrats against the groups which they both wish to overthrow. But the revolutionary workers oppose the petty bourgeois democrats in any action which would benefit only the petty bourgeois democrats.

The petty bourgeois democrats have no intention whatever of turning society upside down to oblige the revolutionary proletariat. They aim at securing reforms which will make the present social system tolerable and satisfactory from their point of view. Above all they demand cuts in government expenditure by reducing the number of civil servants. They wish to see the great landowners and the wealthier section of the urban middle classes bear the main burden of taxation. They favour laws against usury and they desire the establishment of public credit banks to clip the wings of powerful financiers. This would enable the petty bourgeoisie and the smallholders to borrow money on easy terms from the state and not from private capitalists. Moreover they demand the complete abolition of all feudal institutions so that property can be held in the country districts on terms acceptable to the middle classes. To secure these reforms the petty bourgeoisie need a democratic constitution – under either a republic or a constitutional monarchy – which would enable them (and their allies the smallholders) to secure a majority of seats in parliament. The petty bourgeoisie class also needs democratic institutions of local government which would enable it to control public property and to control certain functions of local administration which are at present in the hands of civil servants.

The petty bourgeoisie is opposed both to the rapid growth of the great capitalists and to any extension of their power. It therefore favours a restriction of the right of inheritance and an expansion of the public sector of the economy at the expense of the private sector. The petty bourgeois democrats definitely intend the workers to retain the status of wage-earners. But they would like the workers to enjoy high wages and greater security. They imagine that opportunities of employment could be improved if the economic activities of the state were expanded. They also favour the extension of private welfare services for the benefit of the workers. They hope to bribe the workers by what is virtually disguised

charity and to crush the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers by giving them temporary improvements in their standard of living. These demands are not made all simultaneously by the various groups which make up the petty bourgeois democratic party. Very few of these democrats would bring all these demands together as a statement of their policy. The few individual democrats – or groups of democrats – who support all these reforms are convinced that they have put forward the maximum demands which a revolution could ever hope to achieve. Such a political platform is of course quite unacceptable to the proletariat. The petty bourgeois democrats want to complete the revolution as quickly as possible by achieving the reforms that have been mentioned. It will be the task of the proletariat to further its own interests by promoting a permanent revolution. The proletariat must deprive all the propertied classes of their wealth and must seize the powers exercised by the state. Moreover the proletariat should not merely be united in one country. The workers should unite in all the leading countries in the world so that competition between them shall cease. The most important aspects of the economy should be concentrated in the hands of the workers. We are not interested in making changes in private property. We propose to destroy it. We have no desire to hide class distinctions. We wish to remove them. We do not propose to improve the existing structure of society; we seek to create a new society. It is certain that – in the course of future revolutionary developments – the petty bourgeois democrats will have a decisive influence upon German affairs for a short time.

We now have to consider the future policy of the workers – and particularly the Communist League – in relation to the petty bourgeois democrats (1) for the duration of the present position when the petty bourgeois democrats are as much oppressed as the workers, (2) during the next phase of the revolution when the petty bourgeois democrats will hold the upper hand, and (3) after the completion of the revolution when the oppressed classes and the proletariat will be in power.

1. At present the petty bourgeois democrats are everywhere oppressed and they wish to be reconciled to the workers. They hope that the workers will make common cause with the petty bourgeois democrats. They hope to establish a powerful opposition party embracing all shades of democratic opinion. They want to absorb the workers into a party dominated by the catchwords of the petty bourgeois democrats. The real class interests of the petty bourgeoisie are disguised by these hollow phrases. The petty bourgeois democrats have no intention of supporting the demands

of the proletariat. A coalition would benefit only the petty bourgeoisie and would definitely harm the proletariat. The workers would lose their political independence which they have worked so hard to secure and they would once more be tied to the apron strings of the middle class democrats. The workers should never again allow themselves to be reduced to the position of an audience which claps whenever a middle-class democrat speaks. The workers – above all the members of the Communist League – must strive to establish organisations of their own (open and underground) which will be independent of the democrats. Every group in the Communist League should be a rallying point for the local workers' associations. Here political problems can be discussed from the point of view of the proletariat, free from any middle class influence. The bourgeois democrats have no intention of forming a coalition with the workers in which the workers would have equal rights and equal powers with their middle class allies. This can be seen by examining the behaviour of the democrats in Breslau. Their organ – the *Neue Oder Zeitung* – has launched furious attacks upon the independently organised workers, whom it labels "socialists". No formal coalition between the petty bourgeoisie democrats and the working classes is necessary for the two groups to join together to fight a common enemy. As soon as an opponent has to be faced both parties – democrats and workers – will have a common interest in standing shoulder to shoulder, at any rate for the time being. As on previous occasions so in the future this co-operation will be quite brief. In the bloody conflicts that lie before us the workers – determined, courageous, self-sacrificing – will as usual bear the brunt of the fighting before victory is gained. As in the past so in the future the actions of the vast mass of the petty bourgeoisie will be characterised by sloth, hesitancy and lack of determination. As soon as victory is won the petty bourgeoisie will appeal to workers to return to their homes, to go back to work, and to avoid any so-called "excesses". The workers will not be powerful enough to stop the petty bourgeois democrats from doing this. But the armed proletariat will be strong enough to check the ambitions of the petty bourgeoisie. The workers will be strong enough to dictate terms that will ensure the eventual downfall of the petty bourgeois and will prepare the way for the future seizure of power by the proletariat. Above all – during and immediately after the revolution – the workers must do everything possible to counter any underhand moves on the part of the bourgeoisie. They must force the democrats to carry out their present terrorist threats. They must see to it that a victorious revolution is not immediately followed by a return to normality. The workers should not be frightened

of so-called "excesses" – popular vengeance against detested individuals or buildings – which leave unpleasant memories in their wake. On the contrary the workers should not merely accept the fact that "excesses" occur but should try to control them. As soon as the middle classes are able to take over the administration the workers should demand guarantees for themselves. The authority of the new rulers should be restricted by every possible promise and concession. In this way the new bourgeois government will be fatally compromised. After a successful revolution – achieved by demonstrations and street fighting – the new régime will be greeted with enthusiasm. The policy of the leaders of the workers must be guided by a stern, cold-blooded assessment of the situation. They must treat new government with suspicion and reserve. They should establish their own proletarian administration through local workers' councils or clubs. In this way the middle class régime will immediately lose the backing of the workers. The new government will realise that its activities are being watched by organisations which enjoy the support of the vast mass of the workers. The policy that the workers should adopt may be summed up as follows – As soon as there are signs that the bourgeois revolution is achieving its aims the workers should cease to attack the reactionary parties and should begin to oppose the middle classes with whom they have formerly been allied. The middle classes have sought the alliance of the proletariat only in the hope of exploiting for themselves alone the fruits of the victory gained by their joint exertions.

2. In the first hour of victory the petty bourgeois democrats will begin to betray the workers. The proletariat must take energetic steps to counter this betrayal. The workers must be organised and they must be armed. They will have to get hold of flintlocks, fowling pieces, cannon and ammunition. They must, if possible, prevent the revival of the old middle class national guard which would oppose the proletariat. If this cannot be done the workers should try to set up their own militia under elected officers and an elected general staff. This militia should not obey a bourgeois government but should take its orders from revolutionary workers' councils. Those workers who are employed by the government should be organised in a special corps (under elected officers) or they could form part of the workers' militia. This militia should in no circumstances surrender its arms or ammunition. If the government should try to do this it should, if necessary, be resisted by force. During and immediately after the revolution the proletariat (and members of the Communist League) should adopt the following policy – destruction of the influence exercised by the bourgeois

democrats; immediate establishment of workers' councils; strong demands for guarantees (of a compromising nature) from the new (and unavoidable) middle class government.

3. The struggle with the workers will begin as soon as the new governments have attained a means of stability. To oppose the petty bourgeoisie effectively the workers must be organised in clubs under a central administration. When the present governments have been overthrown the central committee of the Communist League will move (from London) to Germany as soon as it is possible to do so. It will call a congress to which will be submitted plans for the establishment of an organisation to co-ordinate the activities of the workers' clubs. One of the most effective means of strengthening the party of the proletariat and of promoting its future growth will be to secure quickly the organisation of the workers' clubs at any rate on a provincial basis.

Whenever the existing governments are overthrown it will be necessary to hold elections for a national assembly. During these elections the proletariat should

(*a*) prevent any workers from being deprived of the vote by the chicanery of the officials of the local or central government.

(*b*) put forward candidates of the workers' party for all seats in opposition to middle class candidates. If possible the workers' candidates should be members of the Communist League and their election should be promoted by all means at the disposal of the proletariat. Workers' candidates should stand for election even if there is no likelihood that they will be successful. The appearance of such candidates at the election will show the public that the workers have formed an independent party of their own. The workers' candidates must put a radical and revolutionary programme before the electors. Candidates of the workers' party must not allow themselves to be blackmailed by their democratic opponents. They must not listen to the argument that to split the left wing vote by putting up working-class candidates would allow reactionary candidates to be elected. To fall for such arguments would be to prepare the way for the certain defeat of the workers. The advantages that the workers would gain by putting up independent candidates of their own would far outweigh the disadvantage of seeing some reactionary candidates elected to the assembly. And if the democratic parties stand up to present reaction in a really decisive manner – using methods of terrorism if necessary – the reaction will at once be denied any influence at the elections.

The first clash between the bourgeois democrats and the workers will be over the abolition of feudalism. What occurred during the first French revolution will occur again. The petty bourgeoisie will

hand over to the peasants the land which they now cultivate under various feudal tenures. This will involve the continued existence of a landed proletariat and the creation of a class of petty bourgeois smallholders. These smallholders, like the modern French peasants, will be caught up in the vicious circle of poverty and debt.

In their own interests – and in the interests of the landed proletariat – the workers must oppose this scheme. They must demand the nationalisation of the confiscated feudal estates and their transformation into workers' farming settlements. In this way the landed proletariat will be able to cultivate the land using all the benefits to be obtained from large-scale farming. In this way the principle of nationalising the means of production can be firmly established at a time when middle class property relationships will be in a state of flux. If the democrats ally themselves to the farmers then the town workers must ally themselves to the landed proletariat. Moreover the middle class democrats will try to secure the establishment of a federal German republic. If they are forced to accept a really united German state they will try to weaken the central government by giving the provincial and other local authorities as much power as possible. The workers must aim at securing the establishment of a united German republic in which sovereignty will lie in the hands of the central authority. The proletariat must not be taken in by the fine speeches of the democrats in favour of self-government and freedom for local authorities. In Germany many local and medieval traditions and privileges still have to be swept away. In such a country it would be extremely foolish to allow every village, town and province to have enough power to check the progress of the revolution if it wished to do so. The energy of the revolution should be concentrated in the heart of a country and should not be dissipated in small localities.

The workers must insist that there should be no return after the revolution to the present situation in which the Germans must fight for the same little bit of progress in every town and in every province. Least of all should the workers allow communal property to survive in the rural parts of the country. This is an earlier form of property than modern private ownership of land and goods. Communal property must inevitably be absorbed by private property. Moreover communal property had led to quarrels between rich and poor villages and to legal actions which involve a clash between individual rights enjoyed by private citizens and communal rights enjoyed by communities. The workers have suffered from the chicanery of their opponents in such legal actions. Unless the workers offer strong resistance the establishment of a so-called "independent communal constitution" might simply

perpetuate the existing state of affairs. As in France in 1793 so in Germany today the truly revolutionary party should do everything in its power to secure the establishment of a powerful central authority.[2]

We have seen how the next revolution will bring the democrats to power and how they will be compelled to introduce more or less socialist measures. One might ask what immediate reforms should be demanded by the workers. Obviously in the first stage of a revolution the workers cannot suggest the adoption of completely communist measures. But they should

1. Force the democrats to make numerous radical changes in the existing state of affairs. These reforms should effectively hamper the smooth working of the present social system and should lead to the nationalisation of many forms of economic production such as factories, railways and other transport systems. Such reforms would compromise the democrats in the eyes of the upper middle classes and the reactionaries.

2. Attack those measures proposed by the democrats which are reforms that are not of a revolutionary character. It may be possible to turn these proposed reforming measures into direct assaults upon private property. Suppose, for example, that the democrats should propose to nationalise factories and railways by purchasing them from their present owners. The workers should demand that the factories and railways should be confiscated without any compensation being paid. If the democrats should propose

[2] Friedrich Engels added the following note in 1885 "This statement was based upon a misconception. In 1850, thanks to the falsifications of Napoleon and liberal historians, it was assumed that the great revolution in France had introduced a powerful centralised machinery of government into France. It was thought that – particularly at the time of the Convention – the central authority had been the vitally important weapon which had enabled the revolution to overthrow royalist and federal reactionaries at home and foreign enemies abroad. But it is now known that throughout the period of the revolution until the 18[e] of Brumaire the country was run by autonomous Departments, arrondissements and cantons which elected their own officials and were fully responsible (within the framework of the constitution) for managing their own affairs. It is now known that this system of provincial and local autonomy (similar to the American system) provided the most powerful focus for revolutionary activities. No wonder that Napoleon – as soon as he had seized power by the coup d'état of the 18[e] of Brumaire – promptly abolished local autonomy and greatly increased the power of the Prefects who were from the first used to promote the reaction against the revolution. Although local and provincial autonomy prevents the establishment of a centralised administration such self-government must not be confused with the ridiculously exaggerated form of cantonal semi-independence which exists in Switzerland and which all the south German federal republicans favoured in 1848."

a reform in taxation by which everyone pays in proportion to his income, the workers should advocate progressive – as distinct from proportional – rates of taxation. And if the democrats should themselves suggest a moderate progressive income tax then the workers should insist upon rates of taxation that are so progressive as to abolish the wealth of the really large capitalists. If the democrats should propose to regulate the national debt, the workers should demand the immediate abolition of the national debt by declaring the state to be bankrupt. The precise nature of the demands of the workers should, therefore, be determined by the measures proposed – and the concessions offered – by the democrats.

It may be impossible for the (German) workers to seize power and to secure the passing of laws in their own class interests. It may require a long period of revolutionary activity before the full aims of the workers can be achieved. In such circumstances the German workers can – if they adopt the policy that we have outlined – at any rate be certain that the first act of the future revolutionary drama will coincide with the triumph of the proletariat in France. They can be sure that they have hastened the day of their own victory.

The German workers, however, will have to achieve their own triumph by their own efforts. They will have to work out for themselves the nature of their own class interests and they must never for a moment allow themselves to be deceived by the hypocritical catchwords of the petty bourgeoisie. They must hold fast to the policy of organising a workers' political party. Their battle cry must be – Forward to a victorious permanent revolution.

London, March 1850.

II

REAL CAUSES WHY THE FRENCH PROLETARIANS REMAINED COMPARATIVELY INACTIVE IN DECEMBER LAST, 1852[1]

Ever since the end of December last, the whole interest that foreign, or at least continental politics may excite, is taken up by that lucky and reckless gambler, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. "What is he doing? Will he go to war, and with whom? Will he invade England?" These questions are sure to be put wherever continental affairs are spoken of.

And certainly there is something startling in the fact of a comparatively unknown adventurer, placed by chance at the head of the executive power of a great republic, siezing, between sunset and sunrise, upon all the important posts of the capital, driving the parliament like chaff to the winds, suppressing metropolitan insurrection in two days, provincial tumults in two weeks, forcing himself, in a sham election, down the throat of the whole people, and establishing in the same breath, a constitution which confers upon him all the powers of the state. Such a thing has not occurred, such a shame has not been borne by any nation since the praetorian legions of declining Rome put up the empire to auction and sold it to the highest bidder. And the middle-class press, from the *Times* down to the *Weekly Dispatch*, has never since the days of December, allowed any occasion to pass without venting its virtuous indignation upon the military despot, the treacherous destroyer of his country's liberties, the extinguisher of the press, and so forth.

Now, with every due contempt for Louis Napoleon, we do not think that it would become an organ of the working class to join in this chorus of high-sounding vituperation in which the respective papers of the stockjobbers, the cotton lords, and the landed aristocracy strive to out-blackguard each other. These gentlemen might as well be remembered of the real state of the question. *They* have every reason to cry out, for whatever Louis Napoleon

[1] *Notes to the People* (editor: Ernest Jones), February 21, 1852, pp. 846–8: appeared anonymously under the heading: "The Continental Correspondent of the *Notes*."

took from others, he took it not from the working-classes, but from those very classes whose interests in England, the aforesaid portion of the press represents. Not that Louis Napoleon would not, quite as gladly, have robbed the working-classes of anything that might appear desirable to him, but it is a fact that in December last the working-classes could not be robbed of anything, because everything worth taking had already been taken from them during the three years and a half of middle-class parliamentary government that had followed the great defeats of June 1848. In fact, what, on the eve of the 2nd of December, remained to be taken from them? The suffrage? They had been stripped of that by the Electoral Law of May 1850. The right of meeting? That had long been confined to the "safe" and "well-disposed" classes of society. The freedom of the press? Why, the real proletarian press had been drowned in the blood of the insurgents of the great battle of June, and that shadow of it which survived for a time, had long since disappeared under the pressure of the gagging laws, revised and improved upon every succeeding session of the National Assembly. Their arms? Every pretext had been taken profit of, in order to ensure the exclusion from the National Guard of all working men, and to confine the possession of arms to the wealthier classes of society.

Thus the working-class had, at the moment of the late *coup d'état*, very little, if anything to lose in the chapter of political privileges. But, on the other hand, the middle and capitalist class were at that time in possession of political omnipotence. Theirs was the press, the right of meeting, the right to bear arms, the suffrage, the parliament. Legitimists and Orleanists, landholders and fundholders, after thirty years' struggle at last found a neutral ground in the republican form of government. And for them it was indeed a hard case to be robbed of all this, in the short space of a few hours, and to be reduced at once to the state of political nullity to which they themselves had reduced the working people. That is the reason why the English "respectable" press is so furious at Louis Napoleon's lawless indignities. As long as these indignities, either of the executive government or the parliament, were directed against the working-classes, why that, of course, was right enough; but as soon as a similar policy was extended to "the better sort of people", the "wealthy intellects of the nation", ah, that was quite different, and it behoved every lover of liberty to raise his voice in defence of "principle"!

The struggle, then, on the 2nd of December lay principally between the middle classes and Louis Napoleon, the representative of the army. That Louis Napoleon knew this, he showed by the

orders given to the army during the struggle of the 4th, to fire principally upon "the gentlemen in broad-cloth". The glorious battle of the boulevards is known well enough; and a series of volleys upon closed windows and unarmed *bourgeois* was quite sufficient to stifle, in the middle class of Paris, every movement of resistance.

On the other hand, the working classes, although they could no longer be deprived of any direct political privilege, were not at all disinterested in the question. They had to lose, above all, the great chance of May 1852, when all powers of the state were to expire simultaneously, and when, for the first time since June 1848 they expected to have a fair field for a struggle; and aspiring as they were to political supremacy, they could not allow any violent change of government to occur, without being called upon to interpose between the contending parties as supreme umpires, and to impose to them their will as the law of the land. Thus, they could not let the occasion pass without showing the two opposing forces that there was a third power in the field, which, if momentarily removed from the theatre of official and parliamentary contentions, was yet ever ready to step in as soon as the scene was changed to its own sphere of action – to the *street*. But then, it must not be forgotten that even in this case the proletarian party laboured under great disadvantages. If they rose against the usurper, did they not virtually defend and prepare the restoration and dictatorship of that very parliament which had proved their most relentless enemy? And if they at once declared for a revolutionary government, would they not, as was actually the case in the provinces, frighten the middle class so much as to drive them to a union with Louis Napoleon and the army? Besides, it must be remembered that the very strength and flower of the revolutionary working class have been either killed during the insurrection of June, or transported and imprisoned under innumerable *different* pretences ever since that event. And finally, there was this one fact which was alone sufficient to ensure to Napoleon the neutrality of the great majority of the working classes; TRADE WAS EXCELLENT, and Englishmen know well enough, that with a fully employed and well-paid working class, no agitation, much less a revolution, can be got up.

It is now very commonly said in this country that the French must be a set of old women or else they would not submit to such treatment. I very willingly grant that, as a nation, the French deserve, at the present moment, such adorning epithets. But we all know that the French are, in their opinions and actions, more dependent upon success than any other civilised nation. As soon as a certain turn is given to events in this country, they almost

without resistance follow up that turn, until the last extreme in that direction has been reached. The defeat of June 1848 gave such a counter-revolutionary turn to France and, through her, to the whole continent. The present association of the Napoleonic empire is but the crowning fact of a long series of counter-revolutionary victories, that filled up the three last years; and once engaged upon the declivity, it was to be expected that France would go on falling until she reached the bottom. How near she may be to that bottom it is not easy to say; but that she is getting nearer to it very rapidly every one must see. And if the past history of France is not to be belied by future deeds of the French people, we may safely expect that the deeper the degradation, the more sudden and the more dazzling will be the result. Events, in these times of ours, are succeeding each other at a tremendously rapid rate, and what it formerly took a nation a whole century to go through, is now-a-days very easily overcome in a couple of years. The old empire lasted four years[2]; it will be exceedingly lucky for the imperial eagle if the revival, upon the most shabby scale, of the piece of performance will last out so many months. And then?

[2] The empire of Napoleon I lasted 10 years (1804 to the first abdication in 1814).

III

A FORECAST OF THE PRUSSIAN VICTORY AT SEDAN, 1870[1]

The two latest facts of the war are these – that the Crown Prince is pushing on beyond Châlons, and that MacMahon has moved his whole army from Rheims, whither is not exactly known. MacMahon, according to French reports, finds the war getting on too slowly; in order to hasten its decision he is now said to be marching from Rheims to the relief of Bazaine. This would indeed be hurrying on matters to an almost final crisis.

In our Wednesday's publication we estimated MacMahon's force at from 130,000 to 150,000 men on the assumption that all the troops from Paris had joined him. We were right in supposing that he had at Châlons the remnants of his own and of De Failly's troops; also that Douay's two divisions were at Châlons, whither we know now they went by a circuitous railway journey via Paris; also that the marines and other portions of the Baltic corps are there. But we now learn that there are still troops of the line in the forts round Paris; that a portion of MacMahon's and Frossard's men, especially cavalry, have gone back to Paris to be reorganised, and that MacMahon had only about 80,000 regular troops in camp. We may, therefore, reduce our estimate by fully 25,000 men, and set down 110,000 to 120,000 men as the maximum of MacMahon's forces, one third of which would consist of raw levies.

[1] Engels's forecast of the defeat of the French at Sedan was written a week before the battle was fought. See "Notes on the War, XII" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Friday, August 26, 1870, reprinted in F. Engels, *Notes on the War* (Vienna, 1923), pp. 31–3. Engels wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of September 2, 1870: "On the 26th of August, when the whole of our contemporaries, with scarcely one exception, were far too busy descanting upon the immense importance of the Crown Prince's 'resolute' march upon Paris to have any time left for MacMahon, we ventured to point out that the really important movement of the day was that which the latter general was reported to be making for the relief of Metz. We said that in case of defeat 'MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet'. What we presumed then is now almost accomplished." (F. Engels, *Notes on the War*, 1923, p. 37.)

And with this army he is said to have set out to relieve Bazaine at Metz.

Now, MacMahon's next and more immediate opponent is the army of the Crown Prince. It occupied on the 24th with its outposts the former camp of Châlons, which fact is telegraphed to us from Bar-le-Duc. From this we may conclude that at that town were then the headquarters. MacMahon's nearest road to Metz is by Verdun. From Rheims to Verdun by an almost straight country road there is fully seventy miles; by the high road via St Ménéhould, it is above eighty miles. This latter road, moreover, leads through the camp at Châlons – that is to say, through the German lines. From Bar-le-Duc to Verdun the distance is less than forty miles.

Thus not only can the army of the Crown Prince fall upon the flank of MacMahon's march if he use either of the above roads to Verdun, but it can get behind the Meuse and join the remaining two German armies between Verdun and Metz, long before MacMahon can debouch from Verdun on the right bank of the Meuse. And all this would remain unaltered, even if the Crown Prince had advanced as far as Vitry-le-Français, or required an extra day to concentrate his troops from their extended front of march; so great is the difference of distance in his favour.

Under these circumstances it may be doubted whether MacMahon will use either of the roads indicated; whether he will not at once withdraw from the immediate sphere of action of the Crown Prince and choose the road from Rheims by Vouziers, Grandpré, and Varennes, to Verdun, or by Vouziers to Stenay, where he would pass the Meuse, and then march south east upon Metz. But that would only be to secure a momentary advantage in order to make final defeat doubly certain. Both these routes are still more circuitous, and would allow still more time to the Crown Prince to unite his forces with those before Metz, and thus to oppose to both MacMahon and Bazaine a crushing superiority of numbers.

Thus, whichever way MacMahon chooses to get near Metz, he cannot shake off the Crown Prince, who, moreover, cannot be denied the choice of fighting him either singly or in conjunction with the other German armies. From this it is evident that MacMahon's move to the relief of Bazaine would be a gross mistake, so long as he has not completely disposed of the Crown Prince. To get to Metz, his shortest, quickest, and safest road is right across the Third German army. If he were to march straight upon it, attack it wherever he finds it, defeat it, and drive it for a few days in a south easterly direction, so as to interpose his victorious army

like a wedge between it and the other two German armies – in the same way as the Crown Prince has shown him how to do it – then, and not till then, would he have a chance to get to Metz and set Bazaine free. But if he felt himself strong enough to do this, we may be sure that he would have done it at once. Thus, the withdrawal from Rheims assumes a different aspect. It is not so much a move towards the relief of Bazaine from Steinmetz and Frederick Charles as a move for the relief of MacMahon from the Crown Prince. And from this point of view it is the worst that could be made. It abandons all direct communications with Paris to the mercy of the enemy. It draws off the last available forces of France away from the centre towards the periphery, and places them intentionally farther away from the centre than the enemy is already. Such a move might be excusable if undertaken with largely superior numbers; but here it is undertaken with hopelessly inferior numbers and in the face of the almost certainty of defeat. And what will that defeat bring? Wherever it occurs it will push the remnants of the beaten army away from Paris towards the northern frontier, where they may be driven upon neutral ground or forced to capitulate. MacMahon, if he really has undertaken the move in question, is deliberately placing his army in exactly the same position in which Napoleon's flank march round the southern end of the Thuringian forest in 1806 placed the Prussian army at Jena. A numerically and morally weaker army is deliberately placed in a position where, after defeat, its only line of retreat is through a narrow strip of territory leading towards neutral territory or the sea. Napoleon forced the Prussians to capitulate by reaching Stettin before them. MacMahon's troops may have to surrender in that little strip of French territory jutting out into Belgium between Mézières and Charlemont-Givet. In the very best of cases they may escape to the northern fortresses – Valenciennes, Lille, etc., where, at all events, they will be harmless. And then France will be at the mercy of the invader.

The whole plan seems so wild that it can only be explained as having arisen from political necessities. It looks more like a *coup de désespoir* than anything else. It looks as if anything must be done, anything risked, before Paris be allowed fully to understand the actual situation. It is the plan not of a strategist, but of an *Algérien*, used to fight irregulars; the plan not of a soldier, but of a political and military adventurer, such as have had it all their own way in France these last nineteen years. The language ascribed to MacMahon in justifying this resolve is quite in keeping with this. "What would they say" if he did not march to the aid of Bazaine? Yes, but "what would they say" if he got himself into a worse

position than Bazaine has got himself into? It is the Second Empire all over. To keep up appearances, to hide defeat, is the thing most required. Napoleon staked all upon one card, and lost it; and now MacMahon is again going to play *va banque*, when the odds are ten to one against him. The sooner France is freed from these men the better for her. It is her only hope.

IV

PRUSSIAN FRANCS-TIREURS, 1870[1]

For some time past the reports of village-burning by the Prussians in France had pretty nearly disappeared from the press. We began to hope that the Prussian authorities had discovered their mistake and stopped such proceedings in the interests of their own troops. We were mistaken. The papers again teem with news about the shooting of prisoners and the destroying of villages. The Berlin *Börsen Courier* reports, under date Versailles, Nov. 20:

> Yesterday the first wounded and prisoners arrived from the action near Dreux on the 17th. Short work was made of the francs-tireurs, and an example was made of them; they were placed in a row, and one after another got a bullet through his head. A general order for the whole army has been published forbidding most expressly to bring them in as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drumhead court-martial wherever they show themselves. Against these disgracefully cowardly brigands and ragamuffins (*Lumpengesindel*) such a proceeding has become absolutely necessary.

Again, the Vienna *Tagespresse* says, under the same date: "In the forest of Villeneuve you could have seen, for the last week, four francs-tireurs strung up for shooting at our Uhlans from the woods."

An official report, dated Versailles, the 26th of November, states that the country people all around Orleans, instigated to fight by the priests, who have been ordered by Bishop Dupanloup to preach a crusade, have begun a guerrilla warfare against the Germans; patrols are fired at, officers carrying orders shot down by labourers seemingly working in the field; to avenge which assassinations all non-soldiers carrying arms are immediately executed. Not a few priests are now awaiting trial – seventy-seven.

These are but a few instances, which might be multiplied almost infinitely, so that it appears a settled purpose with the Prussians to carry on these brutalities up to the end of the war. Under these

[1] F. Engels, "Prussian Francs-Tireurs" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Friday, December 9, 1870, reprinted in F. Engels, *Notes on the War* (Vienna, 1923), pp. 105–8.

circumstances it may be as well to call their attention once more to some facts in modern Prussian history.

The present King of Prussia can perfectly recollect the time of his country's deepest degradation, the Battle of Jena, the long flight to the Oder, the successive capitulations of almost the whole of the Prussian troops, the retreat of the remainder behind the Vistula, the complete downbreak of the whole military and political system of the country. Then it was that, under the shelter of a Pomeranian coast fortress, private initiative, private patriotism, commenced a new active resistance against the enemy. A simple cornet of dragoons, Schill, began at Colberg to form a free corps (*Gallice*, francs-tireurs), with which, assisted by the inhabitants, he surprised patrols, detachments, and field-posts, secured public moneys, provisions, war matériel, took the French General Victor prisoner, prepared a general insurrection of the country in the rear of the French and on their line of communication, and generally did all those things which are now laid to the charge of the French francs-tireurs, and which are visited on the part of the Prussians by the titles of brigands and ragamuffins, and by a "bullet through the head" of disarmed prisoners. But the father of the present King of Prussia sanctioned them expressly and promoted Schill. It is well known that this same Schill, when Prussia was at peace but Austria at war with France, led his regiment out on a campaign of his own against Napoleon, quite Garibaldi-like; that he was killed at Stralsund and his men taken prisoners. Out of these, all of whom Napoleon, according to Prussian war rules, had a perfect right to shoot, he merely had eleven officers shot at Wesel. Over the graves of these eleven francs-tireurs the father of the present King of Prussia, much against his will, had to erect a memorial in their honour.

No sooner had there been a practical beginning of freeshooting among the Prussians than they, as becomes a nation of thinkers, proceeded to bring the thing into a system and work out the theory of it. The theorist of freeshooting, the great philosophical franc-tireur among them, was no other than Anton Neithardt von Gneisenau, some time field marshal in the service of his Prussian Majesty. Gneisenau had defended Colberg in 1807; he had had some of Schill's francs-tireurs under him; he had been assisted vigorously in his defence by the inhabitants of the place, who could not even lay claim to the title of national guards, mobile or sedentary, and who therefore, according to recent Prussian notions, clearly deserved to be "immediately executed". But Gneisenau was so impressed by the greatness of the resources which an invaded country possessed in an energetic popular resistance that he made it his study for a

series of years how this resistance could be best organised. The guerilla war in Spain, the rising of the Russian peasants on the line of the French retreat from Moscow, gave him fresh examples; and in 1813 he could proceed to put his theory into practice.

In August 1811, already Gneisenau had formed a plan for the preparation of a popular insurrection. A militia is to be organised which is to have no uniform but a military cap (*Gallice*, képi) and black and white belt, perhaps a military great-coat; in short, as near as can be, the uniform of the present French francs-tireurs. "If the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps and belt, are hid, and the militiamen appear as simple inhabitants of the country." The very thing which the Prussians now consider a crime to be punished by a bullet or a rope. These militia troops are to harass the enemy, to interrupt his communications, to take or destroy his convoys of supplies, to avoid regular attacks, and to retire into woods or bogs before masses of regular soldiers. "The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint French aggression in the blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upón them to follow their example. . . . Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, etc., to the enemy until compelled by actual force" – in fact, they are to preach the same crusade which the Bishop of Orleans has ordered his priests to preach, and for which not a few French priests are now awaiting their trial.

Whoever will take up the second volume of Professor Pertz's "Life of Gneisenau" will find, facing the title page of the second volume, a reproduction of part of the above passage as a facsimile of Gneisenau's handwriting. Facing it is the facsimile of King Frederick William's marginal note to it – "As soon as one clergyman shall have been shot this will come to an end." Evidently the King had no great faith in the heroism of his clergy. But this did not prevent him from expressly sanctioning Gneisenau's plans; nor did it prevent, a few years later, when the very men who had driven out the French were arrested and prosecuted as "demagogues," one of the intelligent demagogue-hunters of the time, into whose hands the original document had fallen, from instituting proceedings against the unknown author of this attempt to excite people to the shooting up the clergy.

Up to 1813 Gneisenau never tired in preparing not only the regular army but also popular insurrection, as a means to shake off the French yoke. When at last the war came, it was at once accompanied by insurrection, peasant resistance, and francs-tireurs.

The country between the Weser and Elbe rose to arms in April; a little later on the people about Magdeburg rose; Gneisenau himself wrote to friends in Franconia – the letter is published by Pertz – calling on them to rise upon the enemy's line of communications. Then at last came the official recognition of this popular warfare, the Landsturm-Ordnung of the 21st of April, 1813 (published in July only), in which every able-bodied man who is not in the ranks of either line or landwehr is called upon to join his landsturm battalion, to prepare for the sacred struggle of self-defence which sanctions every means. The landsturm is to harass both the advance and the retreat of the enemy, to keep him constantly on the alert, to fall upon his trains of ammunition and provisions, his couriers, recruits, and hospitals, to surprise him at nights, to annihilate his stragglers and detachments, to lame and to bring insecurity into his every movement; on the other hand to assist the Prussian army, to escort money, provisions, ammunition, prisoners etc. In fact this law may be called a complete vademecum for the franc-tireur, and, drawn up as it is by no mean strategist, it is as applicable today as it was at that time in Germany.

Fortunately for Napoleon, it was but very imperfectly carried out. The King was frightened by his own handiwork. To allow the people to fight for themselves, without the King's command, was too anti-Prussian. Thus the landsturm was suspended until the King was to call upon it, which he never did. Gneisenau chafed, but managed finally to do without the landsturm. If he were alive now, with all his Prussian after-experience, perhaps he would see his beau-ideal of popular resistance approached, if not realised, in the French francs-tireurs. For Gneisenau was a man – and a man of genius.

V

THE MILITARY ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN FRANCE, FEBRUARY 1871[1]

If the series of disasters to the French arms which mark the January campaign – the defeats of Faidherbe and Chanzy, the fall of Paris, the defeat and surrender to the Swiss of Bourbaki – if all these crushing events, concentrated in the short period of three weeks, may well be considered to have broken the spirit of resistance in France, it now seems not improbable that the Germans, by their extravagant demands, may rouse that spirit again. If the country is to be thoroughly ruined by peace as well as by war, why make peace at all? The propertied classes, the middle class of the towns, and the larger landed proprietors, with part of the smaller peasantry, hitherto formed the peace party; they might have been reckoned upon to elect peace deputies for the National Assembly; but if such unheard-of demands are persisted in, the cry of war to the knife may rise from their ranks as well as from those of the workmen of the large towns. At any rate, it is well not to neglect whatever chance there may be that the war may be resumed after the 19th of February; especially since the Germans themselves, if we may trust the *Daily News* of today, are not so satisfied with the prospect of affairs as to abstain from serious preparations for the resumption of hostilities. Let us, therefore, cast another glance at the military aspect of affairs.

The twenty-seven departments of France now occupied by the Prussians contain an area of 15,800,000 hectares, with a population (allowing for the fortresses still unsurrendered) of rather less than 15,500,000. The extent of all France comprises 54,240,000 hectares, and its population is 37,382,000. It thus appears that, in round numbers, thirty-eight and a half millions of hectares, with a population of 25,000,000, remain still unconquered – fully two-thirds of the people, considerably more than two-thirds of the soil. Paris and Metz, the resistance of which so long retarded further

[1] F. Engels, "The Military Aspect of Affairs in France" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, (Wednesday, February 8, 1871) reprinted in F. Engels, *Notes on the War* (Vienna, 1923), pp. 134–6.

hostile advance, have certainly fallen. The interior of the unconquered country contains no other entrenched camp – Lyons excepted – capable of playing the same part which these two fortresses have played. Rather less than 700,000 Frenchmen (not counting the National Guard of Paris) are prisoners of war or interned in Switzerland. But there are other circumstances which may make up for this deficiency, even if the three weeks' armistice should not be used for the creation of new camps, surrounded by field works; for which there is ample time.

The great bulk of unconquered France lies south of the line Nantes-Besançon; it forms a compact block, covered on three sides by the sea or neutral frontiers, with only its northern boundary line open to the enemy's attack. Here is the strength of the national resistance; here are to be found the men and the material to carry on the war if it is resumed. To conquer and occupy the immense rectangle of 450 miles by 250 against a desperate resistance – regular and irregular – of the inhabitants, the present forces of the Prussians would not suffice. The surrender of Paris, leaving four corps for the garrison of that capital, will set free nine divisions; Bourbaki's surrender sets free Manteuffel's six line divisions; in all, fifteen divisions, or 150,000 to 170,000 additional soldiers for operations in the field, added to Goeben's four and Frederick Charles's eight divisions. But Goeben has plenty on his hands in the north, and Frederick Charles has shown by his halt at Tours and Le Mans that his offensive powers are exhausted to the full, so that for the conquest of the South there remain not above fifteen divisions; and for some months to come no further reinforcements can arrive.

To these fifteen divisions the French will have to oppose in the beginning mostly new formations. There were about Nevers and Bourges the 15th and 25th Corps; there must have been in the same neighbourhood the 19th Corps, of which we have heard nothing since the beginning of December. Then there is the 24th Corps, escaped from Bourbaki's shipwreck, and Garibaldi's troops, recently reinforced to 50,000 men, but by what bodies and from what quarters we do not know. The whole comprises some thirteen to fourteen divisions, perhaps even sixteen, but quite insufficient as to quantity and quality to arrest the progress of the new armies which are sure to be sent against them if the armistice should expire without peace having been made. But the three weeks' armistice will not only give these French divisions time to consolidate themselves; it will also permit the more or less raw levies now in the camps of instruction, and estimated by Gambetta at 250,000 men, to transform at least the best of their battalions into useful

corps fit to meet the enemy; and thus, if the war should be renewed, the French may be in a position to ward off any serious invasion of the South, not perhaps at the boundary line of the Loire or much north of Lyons, but yet at points where the presence of the enemy will not efficiently impair their forces of resistance.

As a matter of course, the armistice gives ample time to restore the equipment, the discipline, and the morale of Faidherbe's and Chanzy's armies, as well as of all the other troops in Cherbourg, Havre etc. The question is whether the time will be so employed. While thus the strength of the French will be considerably increased, both as to numbers, and quality, that of the Germans will scarcely receive any increment at all. So far, the armistice will be a boon to the French side.

But beside the compact block of southern France, there remain unconquered the two peninsulas of the Bretagne with Brest, and of the Cotentin with Cherbourg, and, moreover, the two northern departments with their fortresses. Havre, too, forms an unconquered, well-fortified spot on the coast. Every one of these four districts is provided with at least one well-fortified place of safety on the coast for a retreating army; so that the fleet, which at this moment has nothing, absolutely nothing, else to do, can keep up the communications between the South and all of them, transport troops from one place to another, as the case may require, and thereby all of a sudden enable a beaten army to resume the offensive with superior forces. Thus while these four western and northern districts are in a measure unassailable, they form so many weak points on the flanks of the Prussians. The line of actual danger for the French extends from Angers to Besançon; for the Germans it extends, in addition to this, from Angers to Le Mans, Rouen, and Amiens to the Belgian frontier. Advantages on this latter line gained over the French can never become decisive if moderate common sense be used by them; but those gained over the Germans may, under certain conditions, become so.

Such is the strategical situation. By using the fleet to advantage the French might move their men in the West and North, so as to compel the Germans to keep largely superior forces in that neighbourhood, and to weaken the forces sent out for the conquest of the South, which it would be their chief object to prevent. By concentrating their armies more than they have hitherto done, and, on the other hand by sending out more numerous small partisan bands, they might increase the effect to be obtained by the forces on hand. There appear to have been many more troops at Cherbourg and Havre than were necessary for the defence; and the well-executed destruction of the bridge of Fontenoy, near Toul, in the

centre of the country occupied by the conquerors, shows what may be done by bold partisans. For, if the war is to be resumed at all after the 19th of February, it must be in reality a war to the knife, a war like that of Spain against Napoleon; a war in which no amount of shootings and burnings will prove sufficient to break the spirit of resistance.

VI

LETTERS ON HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, 1890–1894

Engels to C. Schmidt[1] August 5, 1890

Many young German writers are now using the term "materialism" as a convenient phrase to cover anything and everything without giving the matter any further thought. They stick this label onto something that they have written and then they think that they have finished with it. But for us (socialists) history is above all a guide to our studies. It is not the foundation of any Helegian philosophical system. All history must be approached from a new angle. We must examine the basic factors which underlie the existence of one after another of the various aspects of society. This is an essential preliminary to the discovery of the political, legal, aesthetic, philosophical and religious aspects of different types of society. Hitherto little has been achieved since so few scholars have seriously tackled the problem from this point of view. We need all the help that we can get and anyone who is prepared to undertake research on these lines can achieve a great deal and can add to his reputation. What has happened is that the catchphrase "historical materialism" – and everything is turned into a catchphrase nowadays – is used by many of the younger Germans merely to organise their scanty knowledge of the past as quickly as possible into a "philosophy of history" and to march on majestically from there. And if their knowledge of history in general is pretty meagre their knowledge of economic history is more meagre still! Then someone like Barth can come along and attack the idea which has in fact – in his own circle – already been degraded to a mere catchphrase.

But all this will work itself out in time. We socialists are strong enough in Germany to survive a great deal. One of the greatest services which the Anti-Socialist Law performed for us was to free us from any pressure from academic pseudo-socialists. Now we are

[1] *Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1 *Philosophie* (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 225–6.

strong enough to swallow even the German academics who are once more throwing their weight about. Someone like yourself who has really achieved something must have noticed how few of the young literary gentlemen who have attached themselves to the Socialist Party take the trouble to master the science of economics, or the history of the structure of society, or such important aspects of economic history as the evolution of trade, industry and agriculture. How many of them know anything about Maurer except his name? What should be studied thoroughly by scholars is left to the ephemeral efforts of mere journalists. It seems to me that these academic people think that anything is good enough for the workers. If only they realised that Marx himself considered that even his best writings were not really good enough for the workers. He thought that it would be a positive crime to offer the workers anything less than the very best!

Engels to J. Bloch[2] September 21–22, 1890

. . . According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure – political forms of the class structure and its results, namely: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas – also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnexion is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible) the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic

[2] From Marx to Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow), pp. 498–500 and W. O. Henderson (ed.), *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 333–5.

ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones etc. – and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds – also play a part, although not the decisive one. The Prussian state also arose and developed from historical, ultimately economic, causes. But it could scarcely be maintained without pedantry that among the many small states of North Germany, Brandenburg was specifically determined by economic necessity to become the great power embodying the economic, linguistic and, after the Reformation, also the religious differences between North and South, and not by other elements as well (above all by its entanglement with Poland, owing to the possession of Prussia, and hence with international political relations – which were indeed also decisive in the formation of the Austrian dynastic power). Without making oneself ridiculous it would be difficult to explain in terms of economics the existence of every small state in Germany, past and present, or the origin of the High German consonant permutations, which widened the geographical partition wall formed by the mountains from the Sudeten range to the Taunus to form a regular fissure across all Germany.

In the second place, however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one result – the historical event. This may again itself be viewed as the product of a power which works as a whole *unconsciously* and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus history has proceeded hitherto in the manner of a natural process and is essentially subject to the same laws of motion. But since the wills of individuals – each of whom desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the last resort economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general) – do not attain what they want but are merged into an aggregate mean, a common result, it must not be concluded that they are equal to zero. On the contrary each contributes to the result and is – to this extent – included in it.

Moreover I would ask you to study this theory from its original sources and not at second hand; it is really much easier. Marx hardly wrote anything in which it did not play a part. But especially *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is a most excellent example of its application. There are also many allusions to it in *Capital*. Then may I also direct you to my writings: *Herr Eugen*

Dühring's Revolution in Science and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy,* in which I have given the most detailed account of historical materialism which, as far as I know, exists.

Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle *vis-à-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction. But when it came to presenting a section of history – that is, to making a practical application – it was a different matter and there no error was permissible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have assimilated its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter too. . . .

Engels to H. Starkenberg January 25, 1894

Here are the answers to your questions.

1. The economic factors which Marx and I considered to be fundamental influences upon society include the way in which people in a particular society produce what they require in order to live as well as the methods which they employ to exchange these products – assuming of course that there is a division of labour. Among the basic economic factors, therefore, we include the whole technique of production and transport. We consider that the technique of production is responsible for the way in which output is divided among consumers and also – after the dissolution of the primitive *gens* society – the division of society into classes. The relationship between master and serf, the nature of the state, politics and the law are all included in our examination of the class structure of society. Economic factors include the geographical environment of society – an environment upon which economic development depends – as well as the residue of former economic systems which often survive only in the form of traditions or *vis inertiae* within the framework of the new economic system.

Although, as you say, the level of technological attainment in any society depends upon the level of scientific achievement there is much greater truth in the statement that the level of scientific achievement is dependent upon the *level* and the *needs* of technology. If society requires a certain technical advance then this will encourage scientific progress more than the efforts of ten

universities put together. Progress in water engineering in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by men like Torricelli were brought about by the needs of the rulers of the mountain streams. We have come to learn something about the science of electricity only after electricity has been put to practical use. Unfortunately in Germany it has become customary to write histories of science as if scientific discoveries fell from heaven.

2. We (socialists) believe that economic factors are the fundamental cause of historical developments. Race, too, is an economic factor. In this connection, however, there are two points to remember.

(*a*) Political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, and artistic developments depend upon economic factors. But these aspects of human life react upon each other and upon the economic factor which is fundamental to all of them. It would not be true to say that the economic factor is the *sole* cause – the *only* active impulse – influencing social developments. On the contrary the various factors that we have mentioned influence each other but *in the final analysis* they are all determined by economic necessities. The state, for example, influences the development of society through protection, free trade, a good or a bad fiscal policy. In Germany the long period of economic stagnation between 1648 and 1830 was responsible for the complete exhaustion and impotence of the lower middle classes. This state of affairs resulted first in Pietism, secondly in sentimentality, and finally in a miserable toadying to the princes and nobles. Yet even this was by no means without economic consequences. It was a major obstacle to Germany's economic recovery and it was only swept aside when the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars still further aggravated social distress. Some people put forward the easy and convenient theory that events follow automatically upon economic causes. But this is an over simplification of what really happens. People make their own history – but they make it within a given framework. And this framework is based upon actual facts. However important political and ideological factors may be it is in the last instance the economic factor which is decisive. The economic factor is the scarlet thread that we must follow to arrive at an understanding of the true causes of historical events.

(*b*) People make their own history. But hitherto they have not made history with a common will in accordance with a common plan. Not even closely knit societies have been able to achieve this. Their efforts clashed and in all such societies there is therefore a *need* for change which has hitherto worked itself by *chance*. And this necessity – which achieves its purpose by chance – is an

economic necessity. It is at this point that the so-called "great man of history" appears in a particular society at a particular time and this of course purely a matter of chance. But supposing that the "great man" had not appeared. In that case there would still be a need for change and the problems of the day would in the end have to be solved without him *tant bien que mal*. It was a pure chance that the Corsican military dictator Napoleon solved the problems left by a French Republic exhausted by its own wars. But if Napoleon had not existed someone else would have taken his place and done the job. The "great man" always turns up when he is needed. This assertion can be proved by considering the appearance of men like Julius Caesar, the Emperor Augustus and Oliver Cromwell on the stage of history. Karl Marx discovered the materialist conception of history. But French writers such as Thierry, Mignet and Guizot and all the English historians who wrote before 1850 paved the way for this idea. And Morgan discovered it independently at about the same time as Marx. This shows that the idea *had* to be discovered by somebody.

This argument also holds good for all other chance – or apparently chance – occurrences. The further removed that the field of study upon which we are engaged is removed from economics – the closer that it approaches abstract ideological thought – the more likely we are to come across developments that are due to chance. Progress is made not in a straight line but in a zig-zag curve. But once you discover the axis of the curve you will find that – the longer the period that you study and the wider the field of your investigations – this axis runs more or less parallel to the axis of economic development.

In Germany the greatest obstacle to a correct understanding of all this is the irresponsible neglect of economic history by scholars. It is very difficult to forget the "history" that has been thumped into us at school. It is still more difficult to master all the material that has to be examined in order to appreciate the significance of economic history. Who, for example, reads old G. von Gümeln nowadays? Yet his collection of documents – dull though it may be – includes a great deal of material that throws light upon countless aspects of political history. . . .

Please do not regard every word that I have written as gospel truth. Read my letter as a whole. I regret that I have not the time to work out the argument as precisely as I would have to do if I were writing for publication.

VII

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY, 1891–1892[1]

The following article is a translation of one that I wrote at the invitation of our Paris friends for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. I feel that I have a duty both to French and to German socialists to publish the article again in Germany. I am under an obligation to the French socialists to make it clear to the Germans that it is possible to discuss frankly with the French in what circumstances German socialists would undoubtedly take up arms against France. And I must make it clear to the Germans how free the French socialists are from the chauvinism and thirst for revenge that is shared by all the French middle-class parties from the monarchists to the radicals. And I have a duty to the German socialists to repeat to them what I have said about them to the French.

It should be self-evident – but I repeat it yet again – that this article represents only my own personal views. I am not writing in the name of the German Social Democrat Party. Only the Party's elected representatives, officials and committees have any authority to do that. My fifty years of service to the international socialist movement make it impossible for me to put myself forward as the representative of any one national socialist party. On the other hand I cannot forget that I am a German by birth and that I am proud of the achievements of the German workers in the socialist movement – achievements which are greater than those of socialists anywhere else.

Part I

The German socialist movement had its origin in events that occurred long before 1848. It began with two independent movements. The first was a purely working class movement which

[1] The first version of this article was written in French for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. A second – and longer – article subsequently appeared in German. This is a translation of the German article. See *Marx–Engels III Geschichte und Politik 1* (Fischer Bücherei, 1966), pp. 29–41.

derived its inspiration from the early communist agitation of the French workers. One aspect of this German movement was Weitling's utopian communism. The second was a purely intellectual movement which developed as a result of the collapse of Hegel's philosophical system and this type of socialism was from the first dominated by Karl Marx. The Communist Manifesto of January 1848 represented the fusion of these two early German socialist movements. This union was finally forged in the fiery furnace of the revolution of 1848 when all socialists – workers and intellectuals alike – stood shoulder to shoulder on the barricades.

After the collapse of the European revolutions in 1849 socialism in Germany had to go underground. It was not until 1862 that Lassalle – one of Marx's disciples – raised the socialist banner again. Lassalle's type of socialism, however, was not the bold courageous socialism of the Communist Manifesto. Lassalle merely demanded the establishment of state-subsidised industrial co-operative factories for the benefit of the workers. This was just a revival of the programme put forward by a group of Paris workers who had – prior to 1848 – supported Marrast's republican newspaper, the *National*. Marrast had been opposed by the republicans who supported the views expressed by Louis Blanc in his *Organisation du Travail*. Lassalle's demands were obviously only a very meagre socialist programme. Nevertheless his agitation represented the second phase in the development of the socialist movement in Germany. Lassalle's talents, fiery zeal and irrepressible energy called into existence a new working class movement. And everything that the German workers achieved on their own in ten years was ultimately derived from Lassalle's movement in one way or another. The links may have been forged by his opponents. They may have represented positive or negative attitudes to Lassalle's policy. But there can be no doubt of the reality of Lassalle's contribution to the socialist cause in Germany.

Could Lassalle's doctrines, as preached in their pristine purity in the 1860s, satisfy the socialist hopes of the people that had been aroused by the Communist Manifesto? Of course not. And so – thanks above all to the efforts of Bebel and Liebknecht – there arose in Germany a working class party which openly supported the principles of the manifesto of 1848. Next, three years after Lassalle's death (the first volume of) Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* appeared in 1867. It is from the day of the publication of this work that the decline and fall of Lassalle's brand of socialism may be dated. The doctrines laid down in *Das Kapital* rapidly became the common heritage of all German socialists. And in due course even the followers of Lassalle were numbered among the converted. From

time to time entire groups of Lassalle's adherents came over – with banners flying and drums beating – to the party of Liebknecht and Bebel which had accepted the Eisenach programme. The Eisenach party steadily gained in strength and there was soon open hostility between the two socialist parties in Germany. The enmity between them became most serious – even leading to physical violence – at the very time when they were no longer divided on any question of principle. The arguments and even the weapons employed by the two factions were on all important points identical!

The rivalry between the two socialist parties became positively ridiculous when Lassallean and Eisenach deputies sat side by side in the Reichstag and the need for united action was becoming daily more and more obvious. The situation became absolutely impossible. At last in 1875 the two factions united and from that time onwards the former rivals have acted together harmoniously as a completely united family. Even if there had been the slightest chance of the party again falling into rival factions Bismarck very kindly made this quite impossible when his notorious Emergency Law of 1878 declared the German Socialist Party to be an illegal organisation. Bismarck's hammer blows fell impartially upon Lassalleans and Eisenachers alike with the result that the two groups have been finally forged into a single homogeneous political party. Today a standard edition of Lassalle's collected works is being published under the auspices of the German Social Democratic Party at the very time that – with the aid of former followers of Lassalle – the last vestiges of Lassalle's doctrines are being expunged from the party programme.

Shall I describe in detail all the vicissitudes, the struggles, the reverses, and the triumphs experienced by our party since its establishment? When manhood franchise was introduced and the doors of the Reichstag were opened to the socialists we were supported by a hundred thousand voters and gained two seats.[2] Today the party polls a million and a half votes and sends 35 deputies to the Reichstag. The Social Democrat Party secured more votes than any other party in the general election of 1890. After eleven years of the Anti-Socialist Exceptional Law the strength of the party – measured in votes – has increased fourfold and it is now the strongest party in the country. In 1867 the middle-class deputies looked upon their socialist colleagues as strange creatures from another planet. Today, whether they like it or not, they have to accept Socialist deputies as representatives of a powerful popular force to which the future belongs. The Social Democrat Party has toppled Bismarck from power and – after a struggle which lasted

[2] i.e. those held by Bebel and Liebknecht.

for eleven years – it crushed the Exceptional Law which crumbled into fragments. Our party is like a great flood which is bursting all the dams that hold it in check and which is flooding both urban and rural districts and penetrating even the most reactionary agrarian regions. Today the growth of the party enables us to predict with almost mathematic certainty the date on which it will achieve power.

The votes cast for socialist candidates at Reichstag elections have been as follows:

1871	...	101,927	1884	...	549,990
1874	...	351,670	1887	...	763,128
1877	...	493,447	1890	...	1,427,298

Ever since the last election the government has moved heaven and earth to wean the mass of the workers from socialism. It has clamped down upon unions and strikes. Despite the rise in the cost of living the government has maintained the bread and meat taxes and has increased the price of food at the expense of the poor for the benefit of the great landowners. At the next Reichstag elections – to be held in 1895 – we can confidently hope to poll at least 2,250,000 votes. In 1900 we can expect to secure between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 votes. What a fine *fin du siècle* gift that will be for our middle classes!

The united and growing mass of popular support for the Social Democrat Party is opposed only by rival middle class parties which are divided among themselves. At the elections of 1890 the two Conservative parties together secured 1,377,417 votes, the National Liberals 1,177,807, the Radicals 1,159,915, and the Roman Catholic Centre 1,342,113. In these circumstances a united socialist party supported by over 2,500,000 voters is in a position to triumph over any government.

The main strength of German socialism, however, does not by any means lie solely in the number of voters who support the Social Democrat Party at Reichstag elections. In Germany men are not eligible to vote until the age of 25 but they are liable to perform military service at the age of 20. And it is just among the younger generation that our party draws most of its recruits. Consequently the ranks of the German army are being filled with more and more supporters of the socialist cause as the years go by. Even today one soldier in five is a socialist and within a few years there will be one in three. By the end of the century the ranks of the army – once the stronghold of Prussianism in Germany – will be filled with socialists. Nothing can withstand the fateful march of events. The government in Berlin knows what is happening just as well as we

do but it is powerless to remedy the situation. The army is falling from its grasp.

Time and time again the middle classes have urged us to confine ourselves to propaganda, to keep within the law, and to abstain under any circumstances from employing revolutionary means to further our cause. They now argue that the repeal of the Exceptional Law has restored to all German citizens – including the socialists – the protection afforded by the rule of law. But we cannot accept such advice from the middle classes. At the moment, however, it is not the socialists who are defying the rule of law. This is because the rule of law at present operates very much to our advantage. So long as this situation lasts we should indeed be fools to defy the law. Much more pertinent is the question whether it is not the middle classes and the government who are more likely to defy the law if, by so doing, they could wipe out their socialist enemies. We shall see. Meanwhile let us say to the middle classes: "You fire first, gentlemen, if you please!"

There can be no doubt that it is the middle classes who will be the first to open fire. One fine day they – and the government which they support – will tire of sitting with folded arms while the tide of socialism overwhelms them. And they will seek refuge in the overthrow of the rule of law. They will try to retain power by a coup d'état. And what good will that do? Force of arms can suppress a minor movement operating in a limited area but it cannot wipe out a party supported by two or three million voters spread all over the territories of the German Reich. A counter-revolutionary coup d'état might achieve some temporary success and might perhaps delay the triumph of socialism for a few years. But this would be achieved only at the cost of making the ultimate victory of socialism more certain, more complete, and more permanent.

Part II

The arguments that have been advanced so far have been based upon the assumption that the blessings of peace will continue and that the economic and political development of Germany can proceed undisturbed. In the event of war the whole situation would be radically changed. And war can break out any time.

When one refers to "the war" everyone knows what is involved. The war will be between France and Russia in opposition to Germany and Austria-Hungary – perhaps also Italy. Should war break out the socialists of all countries will have to fight against fellow socialists whether they like it or not. What would the

German Social Democrat Party do in those circumstances? And how would a world war affect the fortunes of the Party?

Although Germany is ruled by a semi-feudal monarchy its policy is ultimately determined by the economic interests of the middle classes. Thanks to Bismarck the government has made colossal blunders. Its conduct of domestic affairs has been characterised by a mean petty policy enforced by police misconduct unworthy of a great nation. All middle class states under liberal governments despise this policy. The foreign policy of Germany has earned the distrust – indeed the detestation – of its neighbours. By forcibly annexing Alsace-Lorraine the German government has made any reconciliation with France impossible for very many years and – without gaining any advantage for itself – it has made Russia the arbiter of Europe. This has long been self-evident. Indeed on the very day that Sedan fell, the General Council of the First International accurately forecast the present international situation. In its address of September 9, 1870 the General Council declared: "Do the Teutonic patriots really think that they can ensure peace and freedom by driving France into the arms of Russia? If Germany – inflamed by the over-confidence engendered by military successes – allows dynastic intrigues to despoil France of any of her territories then one of two things will follow. France will either become the tool of Russia's expansionist policy or she will embark upon a new 'war of defence'. This will not be the sort of 'local war' that has recently become fashionable. It will be a racial war in which the Germans will be fighting the allied Slavs and French."

There can be no doubt that as compared with *this* German Reich even the French Republic of the present day represents a revolutionary force – only a middle-class revolution but a revolution all the same. The situation would, of course, be radically changed if the French Republic were to accept orders from Czarist Russia. The Czarist régime in Russia is the enemy of all the western nations. It is the enemy even of the middle classes in those countries. Should the Russian hordes overrun Germany they would not bring freedom with them but slavery, not progress but barbarism. In alliance with the Czars France could not offer Germany an iota of freedom. Any French general who talked about the "German Republic" would be laughed out of court throughout Europe and America. France would deny its entire historical revolutionary *rôle* in such circumstances and it would enable Bismarck's empire to claim that it represented western progress as against oriental barbarism.

But while official Germany holds the stage there is another

Germany – a socialist Germany – waiting in the wings. The future – the very near future – belongs to the Social Democrat Party. As soon as this party assumes office it would be unable to govern the country or to maintain its authority unless it reversed the injustices done to other nations by its predecessors. A socialist German government would prepare the way for the restoration of the independence of Poland – a country so shabbily betrayed by the French middle classes. It would give North Schleswig and Alsace-Lorraine the chance to decide their own political future. All such territorial questions could easily be solved in the near future so long as Germany is left in peace. No dispute concerning Alsace-Lorraine would endanger the relations between a socialist Germany and a socialist France. The whole question could be settled in a minute. All that we have to do is to wait patiently for ten years or so for the solution of these territorial problems. The whole proletariat of England, France and Germany is waiting for its freedom. Cannot the patriots of Alsace-Lorraine wait a little longer? Is it right that their impatience should lead to the destruction of a whole continent and its eventual delivery into the hands of the Russians? Is such a game really worth the candle?

On the outbreak of hostilities the chief campaigns will be fought in Germany and in France. Those two countries will bear the brunt of the cost and the devastation of the war. From the very first day such a war would be characterised by a degree of treachery among states bound by solemn treaties of alliance such as even international diplomacy – that arch-begetter of treachery – has never seen before. And France and Germany would be the first to suffer from such treachery. In the light of these circumstances it is obviously not in the interests of either France or Germany to provoke a war. Russia, however, is in a different position. She is protected by her geographical and economic situation from the worst destructive consequences of a series of military defeats. Only Czarist Russia has an interest in provoking so frightful a conflict. Anyhow, in the present international situation, the betting is ten to one in favour of the French marching on the Rhine as soon as a shot is fired on the Vistula.

If that happened the Reich would be fighting for survival. If Germany were to win such a war there is no territory for her to annex since both in the east and in the west she is already trying to digest provinces inhabited by people who are not German. On the other hand if the Reich were crushed between the French hammer and the Russian anvil, East Prussia and Germany's Polish provinces would be seized by Russia, Schleswig by Denmark, and the whole of the left bank of the Rhine by France. Even should

France hesitate to annex the left bank of the Rhine she would be forced to do so under pressure from Russia. This is because it is in Russia's interests that there should always be a bone of contention between France and Germany so as to maintain a permanent enmity between those two countries. But if France and Germany were reconciled Russia could not dominate Europe. Should Germany be greatly reduced in size after a lost war she could no longer fulfil her historic mission of furthering Europe's mission as a civilising influence in the world. If Germany were again reduced to the frontiers once forced upon her by Napoleon at the Peace of Tilsit she would have to prepare for a new war to recover the territory that she needs for survival. Meanwhile Germany would be a mere satellite state – always at the beck and call of the Czar who would, if necessary, not hesitate to use her against France.

What would be the fate of the German Social Democrat Party in such circumstances? It is certain that the Czar, the middle-class republicans of France, and the German government would all take full advantage of such a heaven-sent opportunity to crush the one party which all three consider to be their deadly enemy. We have seen how Thiers and Bismarck embraced each other over the ruins of the Paris Commune. We would see the Czar, Constans and Caprivi – or their successors – clasping hands over the dead body of German Socialism.

Thanks to thirty years of continuous struggle and sacrifice the German Social Democrat Party has won for itself a unique position among the Socialist parties of the world. It has gained for itself a position which makes it certain that it will achieve power within a very short time. If Germany were ruled by the Social Democrat Party it would hold the most honourable and responsible place in the international working class movement. The Social Democrat Party is bound to defend this position to the last man against any assault mounted against it.

What is the duty of German socialists when faced with the fact that a Russian victory over Germany would inevitably be followed by the suppression of their party? Should they passively stand by and let events that would lead to their destruction take their course? Should they surrender without a struggle the honourable position which they have a responsibility to the working classes of the world to maintain?

Certainly not. To further the European revolution the German socialists must defend what they have won. They must not surrender either to the enemy at home or to the enemy abroad. To defend their gains they will have to fight the Russians to the last man. And they will also have to fight Russia's allies whoever they

may be. If the French Republic takes service under His Majesty the Czar and autocrat of all the Russias the German socialists would take up arms and would throw themselves enthusiastically into battle. It would in certain circumstances be possible for the French Republic to act as the representative of a bourgeois revolution in opposition to the Kaiser's Germany. On the other hand it is the German socialists who undoubtedly carry the banner of the revolution of the working classes in opposition to the French Republic of Constans, Rouvier and even Clemenceau.

Germany would be engaged in a life and death struggle if she were invaded by the Russians and the French at the same time. Only by revolutionary means could she survive as a nation. It is certain that in those circumstances the present German government would not foster the revolution unless it were forced to do so. But we have a powerful Social Democrat Party which will force it to do so. Alternatively the Social Democrat Party will take over the reins of government.

We have not forgotten the wonderful example which France gave us in 1793. The centenary of 1793 is approaching. If the Czar's lust for conquest and the chauvinism of the French middle classes combine to halt the victorious peaceful progress of the Social Democrat Party then – make no mistake about it – the German socialists will prove to the world that the German workers of today are no unworthy successors of the French sansculottes of 1793 and that 1893 could have as worthy a place in history as 1793. Should M. Constans's troops invade Germany they will be greeted with the words of the Marseillaise:

> Quoi, ces cohortes étrangères
> Feraient la loi dans nos foyers!

A period of peace will bring the Social Democrat Party to power within about ten years. But a war would either bring the German socialists to power within two or three years or it would lead to their utter ruin for at least fifteen or twenty years. It would be sheer folly for the German socialists to desire a war which would place their future in jeopardy when they have only to wait patiently for certain victory if peace is maintained. No socialist, whatever his nationality, desires a military triumph by the present German government, by the French middle class Republic – and least of all by the Russian Czar – which would lead to the subjugation of the whole continent. That is why socialists of all countries want peace. But if war did come it would involve from fifteen to twenty million combatants and the continent would be devastated as never before. Such a conflict would either bring immediate victory to the socialists

or it would lead to so complete a collapse of the existing order of things and to such enormous destruction that it would be quite impossible for capitalist society to survive. Social revolution would be postponed for ten or fifteen years but its cuccess then would be as rapid and as complete as one could wish.

So much for the article that I wrote for the *Almanach du Parti Ouvrier pour 1892*. It was written in the late summer of 1892 at a time when the excitement caused by the French naval visit to Kronstadt had raised the martial spirits of the French middle classes. At the same time the great French manœuvres between the Seine and the Marne – the old battlefields of 1814 – had brought French patriotic feelings to fever heat. At that time the France whose views are expressed in the national press and the speeches of members of the majority parties in the Chamber of Deputies was prepared to perpetrate almost any folly to oblige the Russians. In those circumstances there was a very real danger that war might break out. So that there should be no last-minute misunderstandings between French and German socialists I felt it necessary to make it clear to the French socialists what – in my view – the attitude of the German socialists would be should war break out.

Then the Russian warmongers received a severe check. First the harvest failed and there was a danger of famine. Next the French loan failed and that represented the final collapse of the credit of the Russian government. It was claimed that the £20 million loan had been heavily over-subscribed but when the Paris bankers tried to unload the bonds on the public they could not get rid of them. The bankers had to sell good securities to raise money to buy unsound Russian bonds. This was done on such a scale on the big European stock exchanges that there was a general fall in the value of shares. And the new Russian bonds fell well below the price at which they had been issued. There was a financial crisis and the Russian government had to buy back £8 million worth of bonds and eventually secured only £10 million on the loan instead of £20 million. The Russians cheerfully tried to borrow another £40 million from abroad and this loan, too, was a complete failure. This showed that the policy of French capitalists was not influenced in any way by "patriotism" but that it *was* influenced by a healthy fear of war.

Since that time the failure of the harvest has indeed been followed by a famine – and one on a scale which has been unknown in Western Europe for a long time. Famines of such severity rarely occur even in India which is the typical country which suffers from such calamities. Indeed Holy Russia itself in former times, before the

days of railways, very seldom experienced a famine of such severity. How has this come about?

The explanation is quite simple. The Russian famine is not due merely to a failure of the harvest. It is part and parcel of a gigantic social revolution that has taken place in Russia since the Crimean war. The poor harvest has simply thrown a glaring light upon the acute disorders brought by this social revolution. Old Russia sank into its grave for ever on the day when Czar Nicholas – despairing of himself and of old Russia – took poison. On its ruins has been built the Russia of the bourgeoisie. In those days an incipient middle class already existed in Russia. It consisted partly of bankers and import merchants (mostly Germans, German Russians or their descendants) and partly of Russians in the interior of the country who had come up in the world. The latter were largely army contractors and suppliers of spirits who made money at the expense of the state and of the man in the street. The early middle class in Russia also included some factory owners. From that time onwards the growth of the middle classes – particularly the manufacturers – has been artificially promoted by state aid on a massive scale, by subventions and premiums, and finally by a fiscal policy of very high protection. The idea was to turn the huge Russian empire into a self-sufficient economic unit which could do without (or virtually do without) imports from abroad. It was anticipated that the home market would grow continuously. The Russian government also hoped that even the products of the more temperate zones could be grown in Russia and this explains Russia's continuous efforts to extend her territories in the Balkans and in Asia. The final aim of the Russians has been to seize Constantinople on the one hand and India on the other. This is the secret – this is the underlying economic cause – of the tremendous expansionist zeal of the Russian middle classes. The expansion to the south west we call Pan-Slavism.

Serfdom, of course, was quite incompatible with such plans for the promotion of industrial growth. The serfs were emancipated in 1861. But what an emancipation it was! Russia followed the example of Prussia where the serfs had been very gradually freed from their various feudal obligations between 1810 and 1851. Russia, however, tried to accomplish emancipation in only a few years. Consequently in order to overcome their opposition far greater concessions had to be made to the great landowners who possessed serfs than had been made by the Prussian government and its corrupt officials to the gracious nobles. And when it comes to bribery Prussian civil servants are mere babes in arms when compared with Russian bureaucrats. Consequently when the

Russian estates were broken up the nobles secured land which had generally been made fertile by the labour of many generations of peasants. On the other hand the peasants secured a minimum amount of land on which to try to make a living and even this was generally poor heath land. The lords secured the communal woods and meadows and if the peasant wanted to use them – and he had to use them to survive – he had to pay a rent for them to the landowner.

To be certain that both parties – lords and peasants alike – should be ruined with the greatest possible speed, the government paid the nobles for lands surrendered to the peasants in the form of state bonds while the peasants had to pay off their debts to the state in the form of annual payments spread over a long period. As was to be expected the nobles dissipated their bonds in a glorious spending spree. The peasant, on the other hand, was faced with annual payments that were positively enormous for a person in his position. At the same time he was suddenly thrown out of a natural economy into a money economy.

The Russian peasant who formerly – except for the payment of relatively small taxes – did not have occasion to pay for things in money is now expected not only to make ends meet but also to pay higher taxes and his annual redemption payments – and to pay in hard cash. He has to do this despite the fact that he is now working on a smaller and poorer plot of land than before and no longer enjoys free wood or any rights of free pasturage. This has put him in a position in which he can neither live nor die. To make matters worse the manufactured products made by peasant-craftsmen at home now have to compete with the articles made by the factories that have recently been established. At one time domestic industry was the peasants' chief method of making money. And where village domestic industry was not totally destroyed it fell under the domination of merchants and middle men. As a part-time domestic craftsman the Russian peasant has become the slave of a capitalist – generally a merchant from Saxony or a sweater[3] from England. Anyone who wants to know about the fate of the Russian peasant in the last fifty years should read the chapter on "the establishment of the home market" in the first volume of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*.[4]

The transition from a natural to a money economy is the main method by which industrial capital captures the home market. When this happens the peasant economy is completely shattered. Boisguillebert and Vauban have given a classic description of this

[3] "Sweater" in English in the original.

[4] Marx–Engels, *Gesamwelte Werke*, Vol. 23, pp. 773–6.

process as it took place in France in Louis XIV's reign. But what happened in those days was mere child's play to what is happening in Russia at this moment. In Russia the process is taking place on a scale three or four times greater than in France. Moreover, the changes in methods of industrial production – to which the life and work of the peasant have to be adapted – are much more rapid and decisive than they were in France. The French peasant was drawn step by step into the new manufacturing system while the Russian peasant has been plunged overnight into the rough and tumble of large scale industrial production. The flintlocks of the rural craftsman have suddenly been replaced by the repeating rifles of the modern factory.

It was this state of affairs that was abruptly brought to light when the harvest failed in 1891. The transition from a domestic to an industrial economy has been going on quietly in Russia for many years and has hardly been noticed by the philistine middle classes of Western Europe. A situation developed in which the first harvest failure was bound to lead to an international crisis. The crisis duly arrived and many years will pass before it is over. Any government would be helpless in face of a famine on this scale – and especially a Russian government which has deliberately trained its officials to be thieves. Since 1861 the old communal economy and traditions of the Russian peasants have been systematically destroyed, partly by economic forces and partly by the deliberate policy of the government. The old village community (*mir*) has collapsed or is disappearing. Yet at the very time when the individual peasant is expected to stand on his own feet the ground has been cut away from beneath him. No wonder that last autumn the winter seed was sown in only a few districts. And where it was sown it was generally soon destroyed by bad weather. No wonder that the peasant has been unable to find fodder for his working beasts and has eventually eaten the animals himself. No wonder that the peasant is deserting his homestead and is fleeing to the towns where he seeks employment in vain and in the end succumbs to hunger-typhus.

This is a great economic and social crisis which is quite different from any ordinary famine. The background of the crisis has been a long period of change that amounts to an economic revolution. All that the famine has done is to reveal in an acute form the social evils that were there already. This crisis is chronic in character and it will last for many years. The crisis may be expected to have significant economic consequences. The traditional village community (*mir*) will disappear. The village usurers (*kulaks*) will become richer and will establish themselves as great landlords.

In a word the crisis will enable the new middle class to take over land and power from both the nobles and the peasants. Owing to the economic crisis there will be no war in Europe just now. The Russian warmongers have had their wings clipped for some years to come. Instead of millions of soldiers dying on the field of battle millions of Russian peasants are perishing of hunger. We must wait and see how all this will affect the future of the despotic régime in Russia.

VIII

CAN EUROPE DISARM? (1893)[1]

Introduction

The articles which are now printed as a pamphlet originally appeared in the Berlin newspaper *Vorwärts* in March 1893 when the Reichstag was debating the army estimates.

It is generally agreed – and I wrote on this assumption – that the continued growth of standing armies in Europe has now reached a point where the choice lies between bankruptcy caused by excessive military expenditure or a world war of devastating destructiveness. One of these catastrophes will occur unless standing armies are replaced by popular militias while there is still time.

My purpose is to show that such a change is possible at this moment. It can be done by existing governments in the present political situation. I proceed on this assumption and simply suggest the measures which could be adopted by every existing government without endangering national security in any way. From a purely military point of view there is absolutely no reason why modern standing armies should not be disbanded. If they are allowed to survive their continued existence will be for political and not for military reasons. They will be used as a defence against opposition at home rather than against a foreign enemy.

The suggestion that the length of service with the colours should be gradually reduced by international agreement lies at the heart of my thesis. I regard this as the simplest and quickest method of effecting the transition from standing armies to popular militias. The necessary treaties would naturally vary according to the type of government involved as well as the political situation at the time of the signing of each agreement. It would be impossible to think of a better time than the present for taking the action that I am advocating. Today it is possible to argue in favour of making a start with a *maximum* of two years' military service. Then in a

[1] Published as a series of articles in *Vorwärts* between March 1 and 10, 1893 and subsequently reprinted as a pamphlet: *Kann Europa abrüsten?* (Nürnberg, 1893). See Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, Vol. 4, *Geschichte und Politik* 2, pp. 236–57 (Fischer Bücherei, 1966).

few years it might be possible to agree upon a much shorter period of service with the colours.

I

For the past twenty-five years the whole of Europe has been arming on a scale that has never been known before. All the great powers are competing in armaments and in preparations for war. Germany, France and Russia are becoming exhausted by their determination to take the lead in the armaments race. At this very moment the German government has announced to the people its plans for such an increase in armaments that even the present docile Reichstag is aghast at the prospect. In the circumstances it might be thought to be mere foolishness to talk about disarmament.

Yet in all countries there are demands for disarmament from the common people who supply nearly all the recruits and pay nearly all the taxes. And the piling up of armaments has everywhere led to such a state of exhaustion that countries are finding that they simply have not got the means to go on arming any more. One country runs out of recruits, another is short of money, while a third can find neither new troops nor the additional funds that it requires. Is there no way out of this impasse, other than a war of destruction such as the world has never seen before?

I am prepared to assert that disarmament, which would guarantee peace for the future, is not only possible but is relatively easy to achieve. I believe that Germany – more than any other advanced country – has both the duty and the ability to take the lead in reducing her armaments.

After the Franco–Prussian war of 1870–1 the system of raising armies by (limited) conscription – with the possibility of a man avoiding service if he provided a substitute – finally gave way to the system of universal service first in the army, then in the reserve, and finally in the territorials (*Landwehr*). It is true that in 1870–1 the system in Germany was still in its original somewhat underdeveloped Prussian form. Virtually all continental states adopted the German system of military service in one form or another. There might have been no great harm in this since under the new system the bulk of the men under arms were middle aged married men who were naturally less aggressive than Napoleon III's army which contained a strong element of substitutes who were professional soldiers.

Then came the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The result of this annexation was that France regarded the Treaty of Frankfurt as a mere armistice – just as Prussia had once regarded the

Peace of Tilsit as a mere armistice. After the Franco–Prussian war there was a feverish armaments race between Germany and France into which Russia, Austria and Italy were gradually drawn. At first the length of service in the territorials (*Landwehr*) was extended. In France a new reserve of older men was added to the existing territorial army. In Germany two periods of service with the territorials was required and there was even a revival of the *Landsturm* for the older soldiers. And so it went on until men were being recalled to the colours at – even after – the age at which nature puts a term to a man's ability to perform military service.

The next step was to tighten up the method of calling up recruits with the object of increasing the size of the army still further. Here too the limit has been reached – or very nearly reached. Last year's recruits to the French army already include quite a number of young men who are barely able – or are wholly unable – to perform their military duties effectively. English officers were present at the great manœuvres in the Champagne as independent observers. They were lavish in their praise of the general efficiency of the modern French army but they reported that a surprising number of the younger soldiers were exhausted by the long marches and exercises. It is true that in Germany we have not yet completely come to the end of our reserves of young men but the new military estimates will see to that! From this point of view too we are reaching the limits of our resources.

The modern revolutionary principle of the Prussian military system lies in the obligation of every able bodied man of military age to serve with the colours in the defence of his country. And the only really revolutionary aspect of all the changes in military affairs that have occurred since 1871 lies in the fact that this principle – once a mere fantasy of the chauvinists – has (though often reluctantly) been increasingly put into actual practice. Nothing can now change either the length of time that a man is liable to serve in the army or the calling up of all young men to the colours – certainly not in Germany and least of all by the Social Democrat Party which alone is capable of applying the principle in its most complete form.

There is only one way in which an approach can be made towards solving the problem of disarmament – by shortening the length of service with the colours. Progress towards disarmament could be achieved by means of an international agreement between the Great Powers to limit to two years (in the first instance) the actual service performed by men in all branches of the services. Agreement might also be reached on a further reduction of this

period as soon as the states concerned are satisfied that this can be done. The agreement should also provide for the eventual universal adoption of the militia system. I am certain that Germany, above all, should take the lead in putting forward a proposal on these lines. I believe that Germany, more than any other country, would gain an advantage through making such a suggestion – even if the idea should be rejected.

II

If the maximum period of service with the colours were fixed by international agreement all states would be equally affected. It is generally accepted that when an army, which has not been under fire before, is engaged in its first campaign its efficiency as an offensive force (both from a strategic and a tactical point of view) depends – within certain limits – upon the length of time previously devoted to the training of its recruits. In 1870 our troops gained experience at Wörth and Sedan of the wild fury of the bayonet attacks of the long service Imperial infantry and the charges of the French cavalry. But in the first days of the campaign at Spichern the German forces showed that they were able – even when outnumbered – to dislodge the French infantry from strongly held positions. It is generally accepted that – within certain limits which may vary from one country to another – the general efficiency of troops under fire for the first time and their ability to take the offensive depends upon the length of their previous training.

If an attempt to fix the maximum length of the period of military service were successful, the relative efficiency of the various armies would remain much the same as they are today. If one army were to lose something of its efficiency in the early stages of a campaign then other armies would also suffer a similar loss of efficiency. The possibility of one army defeating another will be the same in the future as it is now. Let us take France and Germany as an example. Any difference between the length of service in those countries is so small as to be of little consequence. If the time devoted to training the troops were shortened the relative efficiency of the two armies would depend – as it does now – upon the way in which the time for training was used. Moreover the relation between the size of the two armies would depend upon the relation between the size of the population of the two countries. Once universal military service has been effectively introduced the size of an army must always depend upon the size of the population in countries of approximately equal economic development – for the proportion of men unfit for military service depends upon the degree of econo-

mic development. The way in which a new Prussian army was created in 1813 can never be repeated again.

Much depends upon the use that is made of the time devoted to the training of a soldier. In all armies there are people who could – if they were allowed to do so – let the cat out of the bag and let us all know that, owing to the need for economy, some recruits have been "trained" in only a few months. In such circumstances the instructors have to concentrate upon essentials and there is no time for any silly parade ground nonsense. And they are astonished to discover how short a time it takes to turn an average young man into a soldier. Bebel has told the Reichstag that the officers were astonished at the efficiency of the German substitute-reserve forces. Plenty of officers in the Austrian army are prepared to testify that their territorials (*Landwehr*) are better troops than the regiments of the line. And the time taken to train the Austrian territorials is much the same as that given to training the German substitute-reserve forces. There is nothing surprising in this. In training territorials there is simply no time to waste on the parade ground follies of the regiments of the line.

The German infantry training manual of 1888 has reduced to an absolute minimum the time spent on tactical formations for the offensive. The manual contains nothing new. After the war of 1858 the Austrians introduced the principle that formations in reverse must be capable of immediate offensive action. At about the same time Hesse-Darmstadt introduced the system of forming a battalion-column by simply joining four company-columns together. But after 1866, under pressure from Prussia, Hesse-Darmstadt had to give up this sensible arrangement. The new manual at last abolishes a mass of old Frankish tribal ceremonies which were as useless as they were revered. I should be the last person to complain about the manual. After the Franco-Prussian war I indulged myself in the luxury of drawing up a scheme – suited to modern warfare – for closed and open formations at company and battalion level and I was surprised to find that my ideas had been adopted almost verbatim in the relevant parts of the manual.

To put a manual into practice is a very different thing from drawing it up. The knights of the parade ground, who always come to their own in peacetime in the Prussian army, have found a back-door method of wasting time despite the recommendations contained in the manual. These officers claim that the "true discipline" gained by marching up and down the parade ground is absolutely essential to counteract the effects of fighting in loose order. Consequently completely useless exercises are still being practised on the parade ground. The abolition of the goose-step alone would

enable many more weeks to be spent on sensible exercises. An additional advantage would be that we could invite foreign officers to watch German military manœuvres without splitting their sides with laughter.

Sentry duty is also quite out of date. The traditional view is that sentry duty develops the intelligence and the power of self-expression. This is done by training soldiers – in case they have not learned it already – to think about nothing at all when doing sentry duty for two hours at a time. Nowadays training in sentry duty takes place in the open. The use of sentries in towns – where we have adequate police forces – has become an anomaly. If sentry duty were abolished at least 20 per cent more time could be made available for proper military duties – and the maintenance of order in the streets of our cities could be handed over entirely to the civil authorities.

There are moreover plenty of soldiers who for one reason or another are excused most military duties – craftsmen, officers' servants and so on. There is room for much improvement here.

Next we may consider the cavalry. Surely the training of the cavalry requires as much time as possible. Although one would wish for adequate time to train recruits who have never before ridden or looked after a horse nevertheless the time taken to train a cavalryman could be reduced in various ways. For example there should be less economy in the provision of fodder. If horses are to be strong enough to take part in manœuvres they must be fed properly beforehand. It would be desirable for every squadron to have a number of extra horses on its strength so that cavalrymen could have more practice on horseback. In short what is needed is a determination to introduce a more intensive training and to cut out inessentials so that the time spent by a cavalryman with the colours could be reduced. Of course I agree that there is an imperative need to train remount riders but even here it would be possible to find ways and means to reduce the time spent with the colours. Moreover the system of three or four year volunteers for the cavalry could be kept – and extended – with appropriate subsequent reduction of service for such volunteers in the territorials and the reserve. Lacking such an incentive it would be difficult to secure volunteers.

Of course if you consult the "military authorities" you will hear a very different tale. They say that all my suggestions are worthless. They argue that if anything is changed then the whole military system will collapse. But in the last fifty years I have seen so many military institutions that were once regarded as holy and untouchable consigned to the rubbish heap – by the same "military authori-

ties". What is more I have seen things praised to the skies by the "military authorities" of one country discarded as useless by "military authorities" in another country. How often have I seen treasured and beloved traditions proved to be useless when put to the test under conditions of actual warfare. Moreover I know that every army has – for the benefit of the common soldier and the man in the street – a sort of conventional tradition which is sedulously cultivated by senior officers. But this sort of tradition is scorned by officers who are capable of thinking for themselves and in any case it disappears as soon as the troops are involved in an actual campaign. In short I have had enough experience of what has happened in the past to advise everybody never to put their trust in "military authorities".

III

It is a remarkable fact that although senior army officers are very conservative people from a professional point of view there have been greater and more revolutionary changes in military practices in recent years than those which have occurred in any other department of human activity. Centuries seem to separate the old six and seven pounders and the primitive rifles that I once handled on the parade ground in Berlin with the modern breech loaders and five millimetre rifles with magazine breech loaders. And this is by no means the end of progress in the field of military affairs. Every day technology produces some new invention which consigns to the rubbish heap some weapon that has only recently been adopted. And now even the old romantic gunpowder is being superseded and future campaigns will be quite different – and quite unpredictable – as compared with those of the past. In view of these continual fundamental changes in military techniques it is increasingly difficult to forecast the course of future campaigns.

Only forty years ago the effective range of rifle fire was limited to 300 paces. At that distance an individual soldier could face a salvo from a whole battalion and survive unharmed – assuming of course that all the enemy soldiers really aimed at him. In those days the range attained by the field artillery was, for practical purposes, no more than 1,500 to 1,800 paces. In the Franco-Prussian war the maximum effective range of the rifle was 600 to 1,000 paces and the artillery 3,000 to 4,000 paces. Now the new small calibre rifles – admittedly not yet tested in actual warfare – have a range nearly equal to that of the artillery. And their bullets have a power of penetration which is from four to six times greater than that of older types of rifle. Today a section armed with modern

rifles has a fire power equal to that of an entire company armed with old-fashioned rifles. Although the artillery has not made progress comparable to that of the rifle – as far as the range of fire is concerned – the new explosives used by the artillery have a destructive power that would formerly have been regarded as impossible. But it is not yet certain who will have to survive the blast of the new explosive – the soldier who fires the gun or the soldier at whom the shell is fired!

Yet in the midst of these continuous and rapidly increasing changes in the technique of warfare there are military authorities who – only five years ago – were capable of putting their troops through the conventional ballet dancing associated with Frederick the Great's troops although no one would dream of using such tactics on the field of battle. The same authorities still practised formations guaranteed to lead to defeat because the troops had marched to the right and there was no room to march to the left. And these military authorities do not even dare to remove from the uniforms of their men the buttons and other bright metal objects which are such good targets for five millimetre bore rifles. They send the lancers (Uhlans) into battle with broad red breastplates while the dragoons – admittedly without their breastplates – face enemy fire in white coats. It was only with the greatest reluctance that the military authorities brought themselves to sacrifice on the altar of the fatherland the beloved epaulettes (beloved because they were so utterly lacking in taste) rather than the soldiers who wore them!

I should have thought that it was in the interest neither of the German people nor of the German army that conservative superstition should dominate military thinking and practice in the midst of a technical revolution. We need more independent and bolder military leaders and – unless I am very much mistaken – there are plenty of them to be found among our ablest officers. These are officers who yearn for freedom from mere routine and drill which have dominated military training during twenty years of peace. But until these officers have the opportunity and the courage to put their ideas into practice those of us who are on the outside must step into the breach and do our best to prove that we too learned something when we were in the army.

I have tried to show that a two year period of training with the colours could be introduced now in all branches of the services. In two years it would be possible to give recruits an adequate training for service in time of war. And I have made it clear that a reduction of the training to two years would be only a beginning. My proposal for an international treaty limiting military training

to two years would be only the first step towards gradual further reductions in the period of service – to eighteen months (two summers and a winter), then to a year, and finally to. . . ? Here we come to the future when a genuine system of militias would be introduced. A discussion on the militia had better wait until a start has been made by cutting down the present period of service with the colours.

It is vitally necessary to make a start. First, it must be recognised that a reduction in the period of military service is essential for the economic welfare of all countries and the maintenance of peace in Europe. Next it must be appreciated that part of a young man's military training should take place at a much earlier age than at present.

When I returned to the Rhineland after an absence of ten years I was agreeably surprised to see that horizontal and parallel bars had been set up in the playgrounds of the village schools. So far so good – but not good enough. The apparatus has been correctly installed in the usual efficient Prussian manner but it has never been used properly. Is it too much to ask that gymnastics should be properly taught? Is it too much to ask that every class should be given adequate exercises on the apparatus and in free gymnastics? This should be done at an age when boys' limbs are still supple and it should not be delayed until lads are twenty years of age. At the moment one can see these young conscripts perspiring all over as they try in vain to get some elasticity into their stiff joints, muscles and ligaments. Any doctor will tell you that owing to the division of labour in modern industry every worker is crippled because entire sets of muscles are overdeveloped at the expense of others. The type of injury suffered by industrial workers varies from one type of job to another. Special physical defects are characteristic of every type of industrial work. It is surely the height of folly first to allow youths to acquire physical defects and then – when they are in the army – to try and cure those defects. Surely civil servants can be expected to have enough sense to realise that the army would get recruits in three times better physical condition if boys at schools and youths in trade schools were prevented from acquiring physical defects.

That, however, is only a beginning. At school a boy can easily be taught about the drill and movement of troops in formation. It is natural for a schoolboy who has practised gymnastics to hold himself erect at attention or on the march. Everyone who has served in the army knows what our recruits look like on parade and knows too how difficult it is to get them to stand up straight or to march properly. The movement of troops in line – at company

level – can also be learned much more easily at school than in the army. What the recruit looks upon as a detestable exercise – and one which he often finds impossible to perform – is regarded by schoolboys as an enjoyable game. It is difficult for adult recruits to master the art of marching forwards and turning in line but schoolboys can learn this as if it were a game if they are regularly exercised. If most of the summer months were devoted to route marches and to exercises in the open the boys would benefit both physically and mentally. Moreover the army would save money since it would be able to reduce the time devoted to the early training of recruits. The results achieved by my old friend Beust, a former Prussian officer, in his school in Zürich, show conclusively that military exercises enable boys to learn successfully how to cope with army life in the open air. Beust's experience also shows that such exercises develop the intelligence of the scholars and provide a basic military training in a relatively short time. Modern warfare is a highly complicated business and, without a basic training at school, it is impossible to envisage a smooth transition from the conscript armies of today to the militias of the future. From this point of view Beust's experiments are of great significance.

I would now like to strike a specific Prussian note. The future of non-commissioned officers who have completed their service raises serious problems. As civilians they have been turned into policemen, customs officials, porters, clerks and minor civil servants of all kinds. They are bundled into all sorts of unsatisfactory corners of the Prussian bureaucratic machine. The authorities have tried hard to find posts for retired non-commissioned officers. But these non-commissioned officers have all too often ended up in jobs for which they have no qualifications and they are being asked to perform tasks without any previous experience of the work. Surely the time has come when these men should be given jobs for which they are qualified because of their army experience. As schoolmasters they could perform a useful service for the community. They would give boys instruction in gymnastics and military exercises – not in reading or writing. This would be good for them and for their pupils. And our rebellious youths might exercise a civilising influence upon the non-commissioned officers when they emerge from the dark privacy of barracks and military discipline into the light of a school playground and civil law.

IV

We shall discuss later the prospect of securing acceptance of our proposal that an international treaty should be concluded to pro-

vide for the universal and simultaneous reduction of the length of military service in stages. But let it be assumed for the moment that such an agreement will be signed. In that case the question would arise: "Would the agreement actually be put into practice and would all the signatories faithfully honour their obligations?"

On the whole I have little doubt that the agreement would be carried out. Any attempt at evasion (on such a scale as to be worth while) could not be concealed for long. Moreover, the people themselves would insist upon the agreement being carried out. No conscript would stay in the army of his own accord once his legal period of service had been completed.

The treaty would be welcomed by Austria and Italy and also by all the second and third rate powers which have introduced universal conscription. They would adhere strictly to the terms of the treaty. We shall consider the position of Russia in our next article. But what about France? The attitude of the French towards the treaty will be of decisive importance.

There can be no doubt that once the French government has signed and ratified such a treaty it will, to all intent and purpose, fulfil its engagements. It is true that just now the desire for revenge against Germany has gained the upper hand among the French property owning classes and among those sections of the workers who have not been converted to socialism. In these circumstances there might be open or concealed attempts to evade the obligations of a treaty designed to reduce the period of military service. But such infringements of the agreement would be of no great consequence. If the French government really felt unable to carry out its obligations it would simply denounce the treaty. Germany is in the fortunate position of being able to turn a blind eye to minor infringements of the treaty. While the efforts made by the French to render impossible any repetition of the defeat of 1870 must command our respect the fact remains that if war did break out Germany's prospects of victory are even better than they might appear at first sight. There are several reasons for this. First, the population of the Reich is increasing every year and Germany now has over twelve million more people than France. Secondly, Prussia's military system has been in existence for over seventy years and the inhabitants of the country have got used to it. The Prussian army has frequently been mobilised and has gained so much experience that all the problems associated with preparing for active service have been solved. These advantages are shared by the armies of other German states. France, on the other hand, has a more complicated military organisation than Germany and she has not yet undertaken a general mobilisation. Thirdly, the

undemocratic system of one-year voluntary service with the colours has run into insuperable difficulties since the soldiers who have to serve for three years have used sharp practices to force the privileged one year volunteers out of the army. This shows that the political conscience of the Germans – and the political institutions tolerated by the Germans – cannot be compared with those of the French. But what is a drawback from a political point of view is, in this instance, an advantage from a military point of view. There is no doubt that no country has so many young people in grammar and middle schools in relation to its population as Germany. This makes it possible to work the system of one-year volunteers however undemocratic and politically objectionable it may be. From a military point of view it is an excellent method of securing reasonably well educated men who can be trained as officers. The success of the one-year volunteer system was first seen in the campaign of 1866. Since the Franco–Prussian war this aspect of Germany's military power has been fostered almost to excess. Even if in recent years some German officers have done their level best to bring the one-year volunteer system into disrepute, there can be no doubt that, on the whole, man for man, these officers are superior to their French rivals from a military point of view. The main point to remember is that Germany has in the ranks of its reserves and territorials a far higher proportion of men qualified to be officers than any other country.

Since Germany has an unusually large number of officers at her disposal she is able on mobilisation to put into the field more new formations (already trained in peacetime) than any other country. Richter has stated that on mobilisation every German infantry regiment will be joined by a mobile reserve regiment, two territorial battalions and two substitute battalions. As far as I know his assertion has not been contradicted either in the Reichstag or the Military Commission. In other words there will be ten wartime battalions to three peacetime battalions. The 519 battalions of 173 peacetime regiments will in wartime become 1,730 battalions, not counting the fusiliers and the sharpshooters. This expansion of the armed forces on mobilisation will take place far more quickly in Germany than in any other country.

I have it on the authority of a French reserve officer that France has far fewer trained reserve officers than Germany. But, according to an official statement, there are enough of them to lead the new formations required upon mobilisation. My informant, however, admitted that half of these officers were not very competent. It is questionable whether all the proposed new French formations could be created if war broke out and even if they were there

would not be anything like as many as Germany could put into the field. And France would immediately have to use all her available officers if she mobilised her armies while Germany would have some in reserve for future use.

In former wars there has been a lack of officers after the first few months. This is still true of all countries other than Germany. Only Germany has an inexhaustible supply of officers. So Germany is quite strong enough to turn a blind eye to minor French infringements of a treaty reducing the period of service with the colours. It would be a matter of indifference to Germany if the French trained some of their men for two or three weeks longer than they should have done under the treaty.

V

It would be a matter of indifference whether Russia were prepared to discuss a treaty for the reduction of the period of military service or not. And it would not matter very much whether she signed such a treaty. Russia can virtually be ignored in any discussion of this problem.

Russia's population of over 100 millions is more than double that of Germany but, in the event of war, Russia cannot mobilise an army of anything like the size of the German army. Germany's population of 50 millions live in a restricted region of 540,000 square kilometres while the 90 to 100 million Russians (those who have to be considered from a military point of view) are scattered over an area of at least three and a half million square kilometres. Germany has a significant military advantage since she has a much greater density of population than that of Russia. This advantage is accentuated by the fact that Germany's railway network is immeasurably superior to that of Russia. But the fact remains that in the long run a population of 100 millions can produce more soldiers than one of 50 millions. It will take time for these troops to arrive but they must arrive one day. What then?

An army needs officers as well as men. And from that point of view the Russians face very real problems. It is only the nobles and the urban middle classes who can supply the officers that the army needs. The aristocracy is limited in numbers and the urban middle class is still more limited. In Russia only one in ten of the population live in towns and few of these towns are worthy of the name. The number of middle schools – and the number of their pupils – is very small. So where can Russia get the officers that she needs?

What suits one country does not suit another. The system of universal conscription can be introduced successfully only in coun-

tries that have attained a certain level of economic and cultural development. Where this level has not been reached universal conscription can do more harm than good. This has obviously happened in Russia.

It takes a relatively long time to turn the average Russian recruit into a trained soldier. No one doubts the courage of the Russian soldier. So long as tactical decisions were reached by the infantry attacking in close formation the Russian soldier was in his element. All his experience of life has taught him to work in close association with his fellow men. If he lives in a village he is brought up in a semi-communist society (the *mir*) and if he lives in a town he is accustomed to work as a member of a co-operative association (the *artel*). Both provide for the mutual liability of all members. Russian society is based upon a system of mutual dependence but this means that the individual is lost if he is expected to act on his own initiative. And this applies also to the Russian when he is in the army. A Russian battalion cannot be scattered. The greater the danger the more tightly are the men packed together. The instinct to herd together was of immense value as late as the Napoleonic wars when it counter-balanced some of the weaknesses of Russian troops in other respects. Today it is a serious drawback, for mass infantry attacks have disappeared in modern warfare. Troops now advance in scattered columns – and different units may be mixed up together. It can easily happen that an officer has to assume command of men whom he has never seen before. Today every soldier must be prepared to act on his own initiative and to do what has to be done – without, however, losing touch with his comrades. This kind of co-operation is hardly compatible with the primitive herd instinct of the Russians. It can be acquired only if the individual soldier has intelligence and exercises initiative. The soldiers who can be taught to use initiative are men who have reached the level of culture which can be attained in the industrialised countries of Western Europe. The small calibre breech-loader and smokeless powder have turned what was once the great merit of the Russian soldier into a great defect. Today it will take much longer than formerly to turn a Russian recruit into a competent soldier. And even when he is fully trained he will still be no match when faced with troops from West European countries.

Where are the officers coming from who will take charge of all the new formations that would be called up if war broke out? If it is difficult for France to find enough officers for her requirements how much more difficult will it be for Russia to secure the necessary officers! In Russia the educated part of the population – from which alone competent officers can be drawn – forms a relatively

tiny proportion of the population. Moreover in Russia even the fully trained soldiers require more officers to each unit than is necessary in other armies.

Moreover the mobilisation of the Russian army will be hampered by the fact that Russian civil servants – and even army officers – are notoriously corrupt and dishonest. In all former wars in which Russia has been engaged it immediately became apparent that even parts of the peace time army and their equipment existed only on paper. What will happen when the reserves and the territorials are called up and have to be provided with uniforms, arms and munitions? When an army is mobilised everything should go smoothly and everything should be available at the right place and at the right time. Any failure in this respect would cause utter confusion. How can things be expected to go smoothly when a mobilisation is controlled by dishonest corrupt Russian officials? A Russian mobilisation – that will indeed be a sight for the gods!

So what it all amounts to is that – on purely military grounds – we can let the Czar call up as many men as he pleases and he can help them with the colours for as long as he likes. Apart from the troops already under arms it will be very difficult for him to call up many more and it will be even more difficult for him to make them available at the right time. To experiment with universal conscription might well prove to be an expensive luxury for the Russians.

If Russia were involved in a war her army would stand on the frontiers from Kovno (Kaunas) to Kamieniec in her own territory yet in enemy country inhabited by Poles and Jews – for the Czar's government has managed to turn the Jews into deadly enemies. A few defeats would force the Russians back from the Vistula to the Dwina and the Dnieper. Then an army of Polish allies would be set up behind the German lines advancing into Russia. Prussia would receive a just punishment for her treatment of the Poles in the past if she were forced, in the interest of her own security, to re-establish a powerful Polish state.

So far we have discussed only the purely military factors and we have come to the conclusion that Russia can safely be ignored as far as a treaty for limiting the length of military service is concerned. Our arguments will be strengthened by examining Russia's present economic condition and particularly the state of her finances.

VI

Russia's present internal situation is a desperate one. Russia was once a very stable country but now this European China is undergoing an economic and social revolution which is pursuing a truly

relentless course. This is due to the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the growth of industrial capitalism. At the moment the revolution in Russia is cataclysmic in character.

When serfdom was abolished the landowners received state bonds in compensation and they squandered the money as quickly as possible. When these funds were exhausted the construction of new railways opened up a new market for timber from the great estates. The nobles sold their trees and again enjoyed a carefree existence on the proceeds. But they failed to farm their estates properly with labour which had to be paid. No wonder that the Russian landowners fell head over heels into debt – if they were not completely insolvent. No wonder that the output of their estates failed to expand and actually declined.

The peasants received less land – and generally land of poorer quality – than the land which they had farmed in the days of serfdom. They lost access to woods as well as the right to make use of the common land. Taxes were increased. Peasants who once paid for wheat they needed in kind now had to pay in cash for their purchases. Moreover they had to make cash redemption payments as well as payment to cover interest and amortisation in respect of the loans made by the state to pay compensation to the nobles for the land allocated to the peasants when serfdom was abolished. The peasant economy suffered a sharp decline at the very time when a money economy was replacing the former natural economy – a change which in itself is sufficient to ruin the peasants. The peasants have been grossly exploited by the wealthy landlords, by the rich farmers and publicans, and by the moneylenders. And as if that were not enough those peasants who combined farming with some form of domestic industry have been faced with competition from the new factories run by capitalists. This has completed the downfall of the peasants. The competition from the new factories in the towns has not only undermined the livelihood of the village craftsman who makes things for his own family but it has also ruined the village craftsman who sells his products in the open market. If he has not been actually driven out of business the village craftsman has fallen under the domination of a capitalist middleman (*Verleger*) or – worse still – of his agent. The Russian peasant has been accustomed to farm a smallholding that was originally established by clearing a forest. He lived within the framework of an established communal society (the village *mir*). Now he has suddenly had to adapt himself to a modern capitalist society in a highly developed form – an economy incidentally which had to dispose of its products on the home market. This situation has ruined the peasant who is also a village craftsman. Nine-tenths

of the population are peasants. Consequently if the peasants are ruined the state is ruined.

These changes have been going on for twenty years or so. Now further consequences are coming to light. Reckless cutting down of timber has ruined the capacity of the soil to retain water. In the winter great floods occur when rain or melting snow flows quickly into ponds and streams. In the summer the streams are sluggish and the soil is dry. There are reports from many of the most fertile districts in the country that the water level has sunk by as much as a metre. When the roots of cereal plants are no longer able to reach the water they fail to germinate. It is not only human beings who have been ruined. The very soil has been destroyed in many districts – at least for a generation to come.

The famine of 1891 has marked the climax of this chronic economic and social decline. Now the whole world has appreciated what has taken place. Russia has not been able to recover since the great famine. That tragic event has robbed the peasants of their cattle – their last asset. Now they have sunk still further into debt and their will to live must soon break down.

In such a catastrophic situation Russia is in no position to wage a war – except a war of desperation. Nobles and peasants – the very state itself – are all ruined by debts. We know that Russia's foreign debts amount to over £200 millions. Nobody knows the extent of the internal debt. We have no information concerning the value of the state bonds that have been bought by the public. We do not know how much paper money is in circulation because the value of Russian notes fluctuates from day to day. It is certain that Russia's credit abroad is exhausted. The Russian state bonds of £200 millions have completely saturated the money market of western Europe. England has long ago rid herself of Russian bonds and Germany has recently got rid of most of hers too. That France and Holland have had their fill of Russian bonds can be seen by the fate of the last Russian loan in Paris. The loan was for 500 million francs. Bonds worth only 300 million francs were purchased by the public. The Russian Minister of Finance had to take the remaining 200 million francs off the hands of the underwriters. This shows that even in France there is absolutely no prospect of launching a new Russian loan in the immediate future.

That is the condition of the country that is supposed to be a military threat to Germany. In fact Russia cannot wage even a "war of despair" – unless of course we were so stupid as to supply Russia with the funds that she would need to wage war!

It is very difficult to understand either the foolish policy of the French government which supports Russia or the equally stupid

views held by the "public opinion" of the French middle classes who are backing the present régime. France has no need of Russia. It is Russia that needs France. Lacking French support the Czar – and his policy – would be isolated in Europe. The Czar would have no influence over events either in the West or in the Balkans. By using a little common sense the French could get anything that they want from Russia. In fact the French government is crawling on its belly in front of the Czar.

Russia's wheat exports have already been ruined by competition from cheaper American wheat. Rye is now Russia's main export and most of it is sent to Germany. Whenever the Germans decide to eat wheaten bread instead of rye bread the present Czarist-upper middle-class Russia is finished for good.

VII

Enough criticism of our peaceful neighbours and potential enemies! We will now turn to the home front.

In Germany we shall derive an advantage from a gradual reduction in the period of service in the army only if we can stop, once and for all, the brutal treatment of soldiers which has become notorious in recent years and is much more prevalent than people care to admit. On the one hand we have spit and polish and parade ground drill: on the other hand we have shameful brutality. Both have always been characteristic of the Prussian army in times of peace and inactivity. From Prussia these evils have spread to Saxony, Bavaria and other German states. This state of affairs has been inherited from the days of "old Prussia" when the conscripts were either rogues or the sons of serfs, and accustomed to accept without complaint the harsh treatment they received at the hands of their junker-officers. Officers from districts east of the Elbe – particularly members of families whose fortunes have declined – are still to be found in the Prussian army. They are the harshest officers from the men's point of view. The only officers who can compete with them in this respect are the sons of up-and-coming middle-class families who are trying to ape their social superiors.

The brutal treatment of soldiers never quite died out in the Prussian army and it has now become more frequent and more serious than in former times. Soldiers have more to learn than before but time has not been made available for extra instruction by getting rid of old-fashioned tactical exercises which have now become quite pointless. In the circumstances the practice has grown up of giving more and more authority to non-commissioned officers and they have been allowed to use what methods they please so long

as they teach the recruits what has to be learned. The non-commissioned officers are virtually forced to employ drastic measures to give the troops all the instruction that is necessary in a limited time. It is true that on paper a soldier has the right to complain of ill treatment. This however is a farce in practice. Old-fashioned Prussian techniques are readily employed to silence a soldier who dares to complain. I am sure that regiments from west of the Elbe and regiments composed largely of recruits from big cities are less subject to these evils than regiments of peasants recruited from the east.

At one time the Prussian soldier had a remedy. In the days of the muzzle loader it was quite easy to drop a pebble down the muzzle of a gun and "accidentally" shoot a detested officer on manœuvres. I knew a young man from Cologne in 1849 who was killed in this way by a shot intended for his captain. It is less easy to do this with the modern breech loader without being seen. It may be added that army suicide statistics provide a fairly accurate guide to the degree of ill treatment suffered by soldiers at the hands of their officers. Should officers go too far the old type of revenge may be revived – and indeed there were reports that it had been revived in the last wars in which Prussia was involved. But this is not the way to ensure the defeat of the enemy!

English officers who were present at the manœuvres in the Champagne district in 1891 unanimously praised the good relations between officers and men in the French army. Here the scandals reported in the press about incidents in Germany army barracks would be impossible. Even before the revolution of 1789 it was found to be impossible to introduce corporal punishment, as practised in the Prussian army, into the French army. Not even in the worst period of the campaign in Algeria – not even in the days of the Second Empire – would a French officer have dared to indulge in a tenth of the brutalities that we know take place in the German army. Now that universal conscription has been introduced I would like to see the French non-commissioned officer who would sink so low as to order his men to box each other's ears or to spit in each other's faces. What a low opinion the French soldiers must have of their future enemy when they hear and read of the things that German soldiers are prepared to suffer at the hands of their officers without a murmur. And you may be certain that steps are taken to ensure that soldiers in every French barracks are told about such incidents.

The morale of the French army and the relationship between French officers, non-commissioned officers and men is the same as that which inspired the Prussian army between 1813 and 1815 and

twice took our soldiers to Paris. But in Germany we are reverting to the state of affairs in 1806 when a soldier was hardly regarded as a human being and was cursed and treated with shameful brutality. There was a yawning chasm between officers and men. That state of affairs led to the catastrophic defeat of the Prussians at the battle of Jena and their internment in French prison camps.

There is much talk about morale as the decisive factor in war. Yet when we are at peace we are systematically undermining the morale of the German army.

VIII

So far we have assumed that the proposal for the simultaneous gradual reduction of the period of military service – leading eventually to a transition to a militia system – will be universally adopted. But will it be accepted?

Let us suppose that Germany takes the initiative and puts forward the suggestion to Austria, Italy and France. Austria would jump at the chance of securing a maximum period of service of two years and would probably cut down the length of service still further. It seems that Austrian officers are saying – far more openly than German officers – that successful results can be achieved in training at any rate some of the troops for a shorter period than is now employed. Many Austrian officers actually assert that the territorials (*Landwehr*) who train for only a few months are more efficient than regiments of the line. I have been assured that a territorial battalion can be mobilised in 24 hours as compared with several days for a battalion of the line. This is not surprising since the line regiments are hampered by old habits of humdrum routine while the territorials are modern units whose officers have had the courage to reject out of date traditions. The Austrian government and people yearn for a reduction of the military expenses that they have to bear. Austria's experience will encourage her to favour a plan to reduce the time spent with the colours.

Italy will also eagerly accept the proposal because she is suffering financially from the burden of heavy military expenditure. The situation in Italy is so serious that some action must be taken quickly. The reduction of the maximum time during which men serve in the army would obviously be the simplest way to secure financial economies. Either the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy) goes bankrupt or it must adopt some such remedy as the one that we are advocating.

Should Germany – having gained the support of Austria and Italy – approach France with a proposal that the length of military

service should be reduced by international agreement the French government would be placed in an awkward position. If France were to accept the proposal she would not impair her relative military strength in the slightest. In fact she would actually improve her military position in relation to Germany. The fact that the French only introduced universal compulsory service 20 years ago is in many respects a drawback. But it has one compensating advantage. It means that the French military organisation is up to date, that old traditions have been swept aside, and that further improvements can easily be introduced without having to overcome the opposition of those who hold fast to old-fashioned methods. In general it may be said that after a great defeat any army is ready for great improvements. France, more than any other country, would be in a position to make the best possible use of the proposed shorter period of military service. Moreover France is at the moment engaged in reforming her educational system so that it will be easier for her – than for other countries – to adapt the physical education and pre-military training of her schoolboys to the future needs of the army without delay. This would improve France's military strength in relation to that of Germany. Nevertheless it is possible, indeed, even likely, that the protests of the chauvinists in France would be strong enough to bring about the fall of any government that accepted the proposal which we have made, especially if the proposal came from Germany. The French patriots are just as foolish as the German patriots.

If this happened Germany – as the initiator of the idea – would gain a great advantage. After 27 years of Bismarck's rule Germany is hated everywhere abroad. And there is some justification for this. Germany has annexed the Danes of north Schleswig and has ignored the relevant article of the Treaty of Prague concerning the holding of a plebiscite in Schleswig. Germany has annexed Alsace and Lorraine and has employed methods of petty oppression in Prussia's Polish provinces. These annexations have had nothing to do with the achievement of national unity. We have to thank Bismarck for the fact that Germany is feared as a potential aggressor who is planning to make further annexations in the future. The chauvinist German middle classes have turned the German Austrians out of Germany but talk glibly about Germany still stretching from the Etsch to the Memel and they continue to expect Germans and Austrians to be linked by bonds of brotherly love. They want to annex Holland, Flanders, Switzerland and what they call the "German" Baltic provinces of Russia. Bismarck has been supported by these super-patriots with such success that nobody in Europe trusts the "honest Germans" any more. Wherever you go

you will find sympathy for France and distrust of Germany. And Germany is held responsible for the present danger of war. Germany could put an end to all this if she were to support the proposal that I have put forward. She would be the champion of peace and all the doubts of her detractors would vanish. The very country responsible for starting the arms race would now take the lead in reducing armaments. Europe's distrust of Germany would disappear while fear of Germany would give way to sympathy for her new aims. The catch phrase that the Triple Alliance is an alliance for peace would become a reality. And the Triple Alliance which now exists only on paper would become a genuine alliance. Germany would be supported by public opinion throughout Europe and America. This would be a great moral victory which would more than outweigh any possible military objections that might be made with regard to our proposal.

On the other hand should France reject the disarmament proposal she would find herself isolated and regarded with the very suspicion that now hangs over Germany. The middle class of Europe – and their "public opinion" is of vital significance – would say: "Now we can all see who wants war and who wants peace!" And then if by chance a government took office in France which really wanted war it would be faced with a situation in which it would be impossible to embark upon hostilities. In those circumstances France would stand before the world as an aggressor. England and the smaller countries on the Continent would not support her. France would not even be sure of Russia's support – that traditional support which consists of encouraging one's ally to go to war only to leave him in the lurch at a critical moment.

It must be remembered that England will play the most decisive *rôle* in the next war. Should hostilities break out between the Triple Alliance and the Franco-Russian alliance both sides would need to import large quantities of wheat by sea. France would be separated from her ally by enemy territory and would not be able to secure any wheat from Russia. England has complete command over the sea routes to the Continent. If England's navy were placed at the disposal of one of the rival alliances the other would face a famine because it would be cut off from supplies of wheat. Just as Paris had to surrender owing to a shortage of food so the alliance which lacked wheat would suffer from famine on a much larger scale and would have to surrender. It is as simple as the two times table.

At the moment the Liberals have the upper hand in England and they are decidedly sympathetic to France. Old Gladstone himself is a friend of the Russians. If war breaks out upon the Continent England will stay neutral as long as she can but even her "benevolent

neutrality" might, in certain circumstances, be of great advantage to one side or the other. If Germany puts forward our proposal for a shortening of the period of military service we may be sure that England's sympathy for the French would disappear. In such circumstances Germany would have gained the benevolent neutrality of England. Germany would have made it virtually impossible for England to join Germany's enemies.

If France accepts our proposal the danger of war – brought about by the continual growth of armaments – would disappear. Countries will all be able to look forward to peace and Germany would have the honour of having brought this about. But if France were to reject our proposal she would damage her own position in Europe and she would improve Germany's position to such an extent that Germany would not fear that she might be attacked at some time in the future. Without any danger to herself Germany would be able – in association with her Triple Alliance partners who would now really be true allies – to begin gradually to reduce her own period of military service without troubling herself about the policy of other countries in this respect. Germany could also work towards the transition to a militia system. Will Germany have the courage to take the step that would be her salvation? Or will Germany wait until France at last appreciates the true position of Russia and decides to take the decisive step herself – and so gain the respect and sympathy of all Europe?

Since I take the view that the gymnastic and military training of all young men should be an essential feature of the transition to the proposed new system I should make it clear that the militia which I am suggesting bears no resemblance to any existing militia such as the Swiss militia.

London, March 28, 1893 F. Engels

IX

FREDERICK DEMUTH, 1898

Louise Freyberger to August Bebel, London, September 2 & 4, 1898.[1]

My dear August,

. . . General himself[2] told me that Freddy Demuth was Marx's son. At Tussy's[3] insistence I asked the General straight out. He was very surprised that Tussy should stick to her point of view so obstinately[4] and even at that time he authorised me – should the occasion arise – to deny any rumour that he had disowned his own son. You will remember that I told you about this long before General's death.

Moreover a few days before he died General told Mr Moore[5] that Frederick Demuth was Karl Marx's son. Thereupon Mr Moore went to Orpington to tell Tussy. She replied that General was lying since he had always said that he was the father. Moore returned from Orpington and once more asked the General as a matter of urgency to clear the matter up. The old man repeated his assertion that Freddy was Marx's son. He told Moore: "Tussy wants to make an idol of her father."

On Sunday,[6] the very day before he died, General himself wrote on his slate[7] that Marx was Frederick Demuth's father. Tussy broke down when she left the room. All her hatred of me was forgotten and she wept bitterly on my shoulder.

General authorised us (Mr Moore, Ludwig and myself) to reveal the facts only if he were accused of having treated Freddy badly.

[1] A copy of this letter is in the Bernstein papers in the International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam). It has been printed in W. Blumenberg, *Marx* (1962), pp. 115–17 and in Arnold Künzli, *Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie* (1966), pp. 325–7.

[2] i.e. Friedrich Engels.

[3] i.e. Eleanor Marx.

[4] Eleanor Marx believed that Engels was the father of Frederick Demuth.

[5] Samuel Moore, who – with Aveling – translated into English the first volume of *Das Kapital.*

[6] August 4, 1895. Engels died on August 5.

[7] Engels was suffering from cancer of the throat and could not speak.

He was not going to have his name dragged in the mud – especially as it would do nobody any good. He had agreed to take Marx's place in order to save Marx from serious domestic difficulties. The existence of Marx's son was known to us,[8] to Mr Moore, to Lessner,[9] and to Pfänder.[10] I think that Laura[11] guessed the truth even although she may have had no positive information on the subject. When the letters to Freddy were published[12] Lessner said to me: "Freddy must be Tussy's brother. Of course we knew about it but we could never find out where the boy was brought up."

Freddy is ridiculously like Marx and only blind prejudice could see the slightest resemblance to General in the boy's typical Jewish features and blue-black hair. I have seen the letter that Marx wrote to Engels in Manchester at the time.[13] General had not yet moved to London. I believe that General destroyed this letter as he destroyed so many others in the Marx–Engels correspondence.

That is all that I know about the affair. Neither his mother[14] nor General ever told Freddy the name of his father. I got to know Freddy on the occasion of my first visit to London. Old Nimm[15] introduced him to me as her admirer and he came to visit her regularly once a week. It is curious that he never entered the house by the front door but always came to the kitchen through the tradesman's entrance. Freddy's visits continued after I had taken charge of General's household and I saw to it that he had the full rights of a guest.

I have just read again what you wrote about the affair. Since his wife was dreadfully jealous Marx was always afraid that she would leave him. He had no affection for the boy. To acknowledge him would precipitate too great a scandal. I think that Freddy was boarded with a certain Mrs Louis and he took the name of his foster mother. It was only after Nimm's death that he called himself Demuth.

[8] i.e. Louise Freyberger and Bebel.

[9] Friedrich Lessner (1825–1910), a member of the Communist League in the 1840s and a close friend of Marx and Engels.

[10] Karl Pfänder (1818–76), a member of the Communist League and a friend of Marx and Engels.

[11] Laura Marx.

[12] i.e. Eleanor Marx's letters to Frederick Demuth (written shortly before her suicide). The letters were published by Eduard Bernstein in "Was Eleanor Marx in den Tod trieb" (*Die Neue Zeit*, XVI, ii, 1897–8, p. 481 *et. seq.*)

[13] i.e. the time of Frederick Demuth's birth.

[14] Helene Demuth.

[15] Helene Demuth.

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